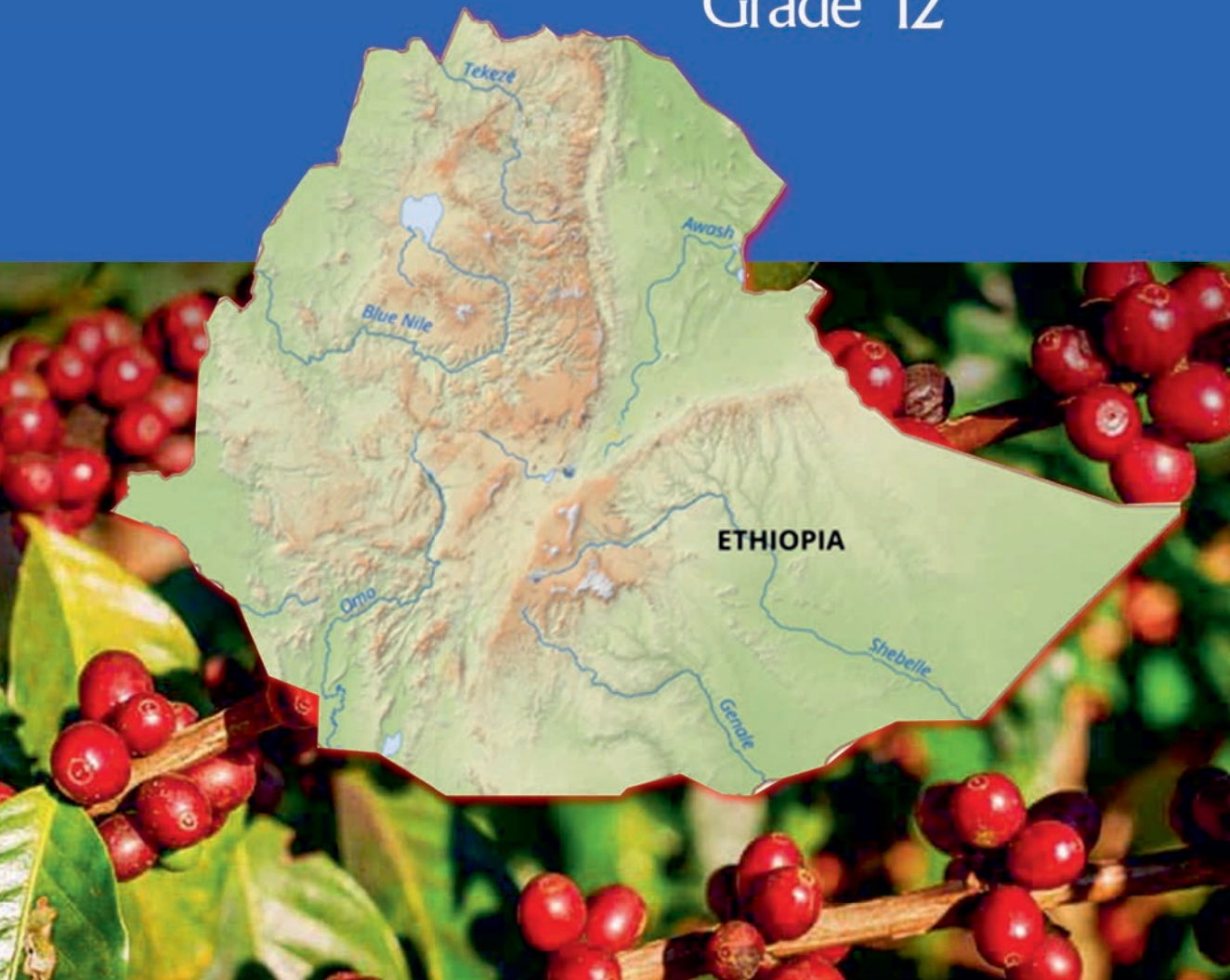


Student Textbook
Grade 12



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FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

HISTORY

Student Textbook

Grade 12

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HISTORY

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HISTORY

STUDENT TEXTBOOK

GRADE 12

Writers	Teferi Mekonnen (PhD) & Tamrat Wasyihun (PhD)
Content Editor	Yonas Legesse (M.A)
Language Editor	Abebe Admasu (PhD)
Illustrator	Temesgen Gebeyehu (Professor)
Book Designer	Fantahun Ayele (PhD)
Pedagogy Editor	Dessu Wirtu (PhD)
Evaluators	Doctor Telila (MA), Bekele Kenea & Zegeye Wolde Mariam (MA)



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MINISTRY OF EDUCATION



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UNIT ONE

DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM AND NATIONALISM FROM 1815 TO 1914

Introduction

In this unit, you are going to learn about the nature and main characteristic features of capitalism. You will also learn about the factors that led to the Industrial Revolution, and its political and socio-economic results. The unit also examines factors contributing to the growth of nationalism in the nineteenth century. The unification of Italy and Germany as major manifestations of nationalism in the nineteenth century will be given enough coverage. The unit also deals with imperialism as one of the main features of the second half of the nineteenth century. You will also learn the causes, course and consequences of the American civil war. Finally, you will discuss the nature of the “Eastern Question” and the Balkan Wars.

Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- identify factors that contribute to the growth of nationalism;
- appreciate the existing technological advancement of the capitalist economy;
- make a comparative analysis of Italy’s and Germany’s unification ; and
- explain the various economic, political and social philosophies developed in Europe and their impacts on the rest of the world.

Lessons

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ◆ The Industrial Revolution | ◆ Development of Capitalism |
| ◆ Nationalism | ◆ American Civil War |
| ◆ Unification of Italy | ◆ The “Eastern Question” |
| ◆ Unification of Germany | |

Key words and concepts

- Capitalism Industrial Revolution
- Imperialism “Social Darwinism”
- Mercantilism “Eastern Question”
- laissez-faire Balkan Wars

LESSON 1

1.1. Development of Capitalism

The Nature and Main Features of Capitalism

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- list down the main features of capitalism.
- describe the theoretical foundations of Marxian Economics.

Brainstorming Questions

- » What were the main characteristic features of capitalism?
- » What were the essences of the capitalist system?

As you learned in Grade 10, capitalism grew in the womb of decaying feudalism. It has become the dominant economic system in the Western world since the breakup of feudalism. Many historians agree that fully fledged capitalism emerged in North-western Europe, especially in Great Britain and the Netherlands, from the 16th to 17th centuries, when mercantilism was established. Mercantilism is defined as the distribution of goods that are bought at a certain price and sold at a higher price in order to generate profits. The ethics fostered by the Protestant Reformation of the 16th century helped to consolidate capitalism in the Western world. Moreover, capitalism enjoyed the benefits of the rise of strong nation states in Europe. These nation-states succeeded in supporting the development of capitalism through regulations, uniform monetary systems, public investment, etc. and eventually made possible the shift from public to private initiative. Subsequently, capitalism gradually

became the dominant economic system throughout the world.

In the 18th century, mercantilism declined when a group of economic theorists led by Adam Smith challenged mercantilist doctrines. They believed that a state could only increase its wealth at the expense of another state's wealth while the amount of the world's wealth remained constant. As a result of the decline in mercantilism, industrial capitalism arose in the mid-18th century due to the vast accumulation of capital during the phase of merchant capitalism and its investment in machinery. Industrial capitalism marked development of manufacturing factory system and led to the global domination of capitalist mode of production.

Capitalism had the following main characteristic features:

1. Capitalism is an economic system characterized by private ownership of the means of production, especially in the industrial sector. The economy is run by individuals (or corporations) who own and operate companies and make decisions on the use of resources.
2. Capitalist society was characterized by the split between two antagonistic classes: the capitalist class (the owners), which owned the means for production (property, plants, and equipment) and the working class, which sold their labor to the capitalist class in exchange for wages.
3. Unlike the previous systems, capitalism used accumulated capital to enlarge productive capacity rather than to invest in economically unproductive enterprises, such as pyramids and cathedrals.
4. The motive for all companies in the capitalist system is to make and sell goods and services only for profits.
5. Capitalist societies believe markets should be left alone to operate without government intervention. This idea is known as *laissez-faire*. True capitalists believe that a free market will always create the right amount of supply to meet demand and all prices will adjust accordingly.

The ideology of classical capitalism was articulated by Adam Smith (1723-1790) in his book entitled: *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776). He was a Scottish economist and moral philosopher, who is considered to be one of the fore father's of capitalism. Smith recommended leaving economic decisions to the free play of self-regulating market forces. Smith supported the idea

that laissez fair economics that would benefit its practitioners while also promoting society's general welfare.

On the other hand, the growth of industrial capitalism in the 19th century created a vast new class of industrial workers whose generally miserable conditions inspired the revolutionary philosophy of Karl Marx. As Marx suggested, in the socialist system where there was no private ownership and all means of production were collective or state-owned, central planning determined how much should be produced and how all resources were allocated.

Therefore, the antithesis of capitalism is Marxian Economics, named after Karl Marx. He believed that capitalism brings about class segregation between the capitalist class and the working class. According to Marx, the exploitation of the surplus value of labour is one of the major drawbacks of capitalism. He said that the working people possess personal property or capital in the form of their labour. By selling their labour to other persons, workers enter into wage labour contracts. The workers profit from their labour and may use the subsequent earnings to buy necessities. The employer, however, also earns a profit from the workers labour. Marx also argued that capitalist economies would weaken in systematic crises. These crises would cause social disturbance. Wealth would become more and more concentrated into the hand of even more privileged class. Marx also predicted the inevitable overthrow of capitalism in a proletarian-led class war.



Figure 1.1 Karl Marx and Fredric Engels

Activity 1.1

1. Organize a classroom debate in support or against the ideology of classical capitalism versus Marxian Economics.

LESSON 2

1.2. The Industrial Revolution

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- Analyze major factors that led to the Industrial Revolution;
- examine the social and political results of the Industrial Revolution; and
- notice global socio-economic changes during 1815-1914.

Brainstorming Questions

- » What were the factors that led to the industrial revolution?
- » What were the political and socio-economic consequences of the industrial revolution?

As you learnt in Grade 10, the industrial revolution was the first establishment of industrial capitalism in any country. It took place in Britain in the period between 1750/1780 and 1850. The industrial revolution was preceded and made possible by a long period of change and development going back at least to the mid-16th century and even to the Middle Ages. Moreover, change and development did not cease in the 1850's but continued because of industrialization and the change which it brought was a continuing process. However, by 1850, Britain was already a mature industrial state. Its major industries and its transport system had been transformed by machinery and steam power.

The industrial revolution meant that industrial production in major industries was transformed so that far greater and cheaper production was possible than ever before. This cheap mass production was achieved by interconnecting organizational and technological changes. These organizational and technological changes were at the heart of the Industrial Revolution. There was a change from dispersed production in small units under the old putting out system to the new factory system of the industrial revolution. Under the new factory system industrial production was concentrated in large units, i.e., the factories which employed many workers in each factory. The industrial capitalist owned the factory and built the machinery in the factory. The power unit which operated the machinery, the raw materials processed

in the factory and the finished products.

The workers in the factories owned only their labor power which they sold to the factory owner for money wages. The wage workers in the factories were hired and dismissed at the will of the industrial capitalist. The factory system and the power operated machinery which went with the factory system had several advantages for the factory owner. The factory system was more productive, i.e., it enabled far more production in a given time at lower unit cost. The factory system was therefore, more profitable provided that the goods which were produced could be sold. By 1850, the factory system was dominant in major industries in Britain, especially the cotton textile industry of Lancashire in the northwest of England. Small workshops and the putting out system still survived on a large scale in many industries, but the future belonged to the factory system.

Machines in factories replaced or complemented work done by hand with human strength and skill. The industrial revolution took machinery a stage further. There were more machines of new types, and they were more complex and larger. The size and expense of machinery in the industrial revolution meant that by the late 18th century the employment of these machines required industrial capitalists and factory systems. The new machines in factories and elsewhere employed inanimate power. Inanimate power from water and from the wind has been used since the Middle Ages or in the case of sailing ships since ancient times. However, as the economy expanded and when industry needed a form of power greater than water could provide and more flexible than waterpower, a new form of power came into use, i.e., steam power. The heat to generate steam came from burning coal, which in Britain was cheap and abundant. The first commercially viable steam engine was constructed by Newcomen around 1705/1709. But it could only be used for pumps chiefly in mining. James Watt in 1783/84 made a steam engine which was more powerful and more economical in its use of fuel and adapted to operate machinery in factories. From 1780s, more and more factories adopted steam power.

Steam power was also applied to land transport in the form of railways. The first modern railway was operated entirely by steam locomotives and carried passengers as well as freight. The Liverpool and Manchester railway was opened in 1830. By 1850, a network of railways connected all important places in Britain.

Activity 1.2

1. Why did the Industrial Revolution first take place in Britain?

Political and Socio-economic Consequences of the Industrial Revolution

Cheap mass production was one of the features of the industrial revolution. The basic economic problem in industrial states was no longer the scarcity of commodities. Instead, the main problem became overproduction and the consequent difficulty of selling the commodities which were produced. Many poor people meant limited demand for the commodities produced. Before the industrial revolution, economic depression usually resulted from wars, big epidemics, or most often bad harvests. From the industrial revolution onwards, however, a normal cause of economic depression was overproduction caused by a lack of effective demand.

The industrial revolution made the agricultural sector of advanced countries less dominant. People transferred to other sectors of the economy, and investment and production in other sectors increased. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, advanced economies had a falling percentage of their population living in rural areas and employed in agriculture. Nevertheless, despite the decrease in the percentage of the population living in rural areas and engaged in agriculture in the more advanced countries, agricultural productivity increased so that fewer people engaged in agriculture produced more food. In this way, agriculture could support larger urban population and more people who were not engaged in agriculture. Agricultural productivity has increased in advanced countries because of the spread of better methods of agriculture. In the 19th and 20th centuries, science was also applied to increasing agricultural production, for example, the development of artificial fertilizers and pesticides.

The industrial revolution accelerated the shift from the country side to the towns and cities. More productive agriculture could feed this larger urban population. Population expanded rapidly in Britain and other industrialized countries of the west despite bad living and working conditions for the working class. Probably, the main reasons for this population growth were that more food was available to support a larger population and industrialization with expanding economies could provide more employment for an expanding population.

As a result of the industrial revolution, a new class system developed with more class consciousness than ever before. A large industrial capitalist class was added to the existing bourgeoisie of merchants, professional people and bankers, making the bourgeoisie as a whole richer and more numerous. In the 19th century at different times in different countries, the bourgeoisie became the economically and politically dominant class, replacing the centuries-long domination of the land-owning nobility.

Alongside the industrial bourgeoisie and because of industrialization, there developed the new class of the industrial proletariat. There had always been wage workers, but these were now more numerous and were more and more concentrated in large factories especially in towns and cities. As the industrial proletariat became more conscious of itself as a class and more conscious that its interests were different from and antagonistic to those of the bourgeoisie. The industrial proletariat came to provide the mass base for the new doctrines of socialism and the support for working class political parties with socialist programs governments and ruling classes were alarmed by the growth of socialism in the 19th century.

Industrialization increased national wealth although this was very unevenly distributed. From about 1850, industry, technology, and science were applied to armies and navies. This meant that the already existing gap in power between western states and non-western states became bigger than ever before. This meant clashes of interest and confrontations between western states and non-western states. Conflicts could be resolved more easily by western states using military or naval force or both. Moreover, the growth of industry and the expansion of the western economy in general meant that western states became more interested in non-western areas of the world than before as sources of raw materials and as markets for export or potential markets. Also, steamships, railways and the electric telegraph (1840s on) improved transport and communications and tied the world more closely together than ever before. So that from the third quarter of the 19th century, the world became increasingly one single integrated capitalist world economy.

The result of all these changes was the imperialism of the late 19th century, i.e., the expanding and accelerated drive for colonial acquisitions and spheres of influence. However, the earlier industrial revolution and the spread of industrialization had laid the groundwork for late-19th century imperialism. In fact, very large acquisitions of colonial territory took place in the 19th century before what is usually called the “Age of Imperialism,” beginning around 1885 or 1890. Finally, the industrial rev-

olution made economic, social, and cultural changes faster than ever before, so that “change became the norm”.

Activity 1.3

1. Discuss the political and socio-economic consequences of the Industrial Revolution.

LESSON 3

1.3. Nationalism

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- list down major factors for the growth of nationalism;
- discuss the salient features of nationalism in the 19th century; and
- discuss how nationalism transformed its character in the period between the 1880s and 1914.

Brainstorming Question

» What were the major factors behind the growth of nationalism in the 19th century?

Nationalism has been the most powerful political force since the 1850s in the Western world. Nationalism’s deepest roots lie in a shared sense of regional and cultural identity, especially as those roots are expressed in custom, language and religion. It influenced all classes but more so the urban than the rural peasants.

Activity 1.4

1. Why did nationalism influence more the urban people than peasants in the countryside? What do you think is the reason behind this?

Moreover, nationalism created the atmosphere which made World War I possible in that nationalism aggravated the great international crisis of 1905–1914 and made the peoples of Europe support the war when it broke out in July-August 1914. Nationalism, of course, did not begin in the middle of the nineteenth century, but it grew and intensified from then until World War I.

The following factors promoted the growth of nationalism in the 19th century:

Compulsory primary education was used by the government for state building and inculcating patriotism. Governments also used compulsory military service to inculcate patriotism and loyalty to the state and rulers. The cheap newspapers for the masses often had chauvinistic tones, but nationalism and hostile feelings towards neighboring states were also features of the “quality” newspapers for the upper and middle classes.

Much of the literature of the years before World War I was also strongly nationalist and warned against the dangers of neighboring countries. Patriotic societies were created to inculcate patriotism, to agitate for stronger armament, and sometimes also to agitate for bigger colonial empires. Nationalism was stimulated by the wars of unification in Italy and Germany and of national liberation in the Balkans. British nationalism was stimulated by the small colonial wars which Britain fought so often, though the second Boer War (1899-1902) was an unpleasant shock which cooled down British aggressiveness for a time until it was revived by fear of Germany. In the USA, victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898 stimulated American nationalism.

Pseudo-science also stimulated nationalism and inculcated aggressive hostile feelings towards neighboring states and the idea that war was inevitable. This pseudo-science is what became known as «Social Darwinism.» It was «Social Darwinism» that spread the idea that history is a struggle between states and nations for power, supremacy and even survival. The strongest state and nation, which were the best, would be the victors, while weak states and nations would be subjugated and even destroyed.

In the period between the 1880s and 1914, nationalism transformed its character in several ways: First, more and more national movements appeared in Europe and in the Ottoman Empire outside Europe. Many of these movements were towards numerically quite small numbers of people living in quite small territories. Therefore, nationalism, which earlier in the nineteenth century had appeared to work towards greater unity, as in the case of Italy and Germany, now tends towards fragmentation. Second, language and ethnicity became the major criteria, especially language for nationalism. All over Europe, submerged minority nationalities were struggling to assert the rights of their languages to equality with previously dominated languages. So there were bitter disputes over language questions.

Third, a national question became part of the domestic politics of many states, par-

ticularly multinationals like Austria-Hungary and Tsarist Russia, and others like Britain with its serious Irish question. In terms of class, the new minority nationality movements attracted the petty bourgeois, because the success of a national movement and its language would mean not just more prestige for the nationality and its language but more employment in the public sector for the language speakers. Nationalism for the government was a two-edged weapon. Nationalism could be and was used to strengthen loyalty to the state and the ruler and to divert the workers away from socialism. However, where national minorities existed, nationalism could arise from the national demands of these national minorities and cause discontent and disloyalty.

The USA was very successful in the nineteenth century in assimilating millions of emigrants who came to the USA from Europe. This success was made possible because migrants left Europe because they were dissatisfied with conditions in their home country. By becoming US citizens, they joined a country and a nation which offered them more economic opportunities and more social and political freedom.

Activity 1.5

1. How did the USA become very successful in the nineteenth century in assimilating and turning millions of emigrants into Americans?

LESSON 4

1.4. Unification of Italy

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- state factors that facilitated the Italian unification;
- appreciate the roles of leaders in the processes of Italian unification;
- outline the process of the Italian unification;

Brainstorming Question

- » What were the obstacles and favorable factors in the process of Italian unification?

The political and social process that united the separate states of the Italian Peninsula into a single nation in the nineteenth century was known as Italian unification. It is

difficult to put the exact dates for the beginning and end of Italian reunification, but most historians agree that it began with the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and the end of Napoleon's rule, and it ended with the Franco-Prussian War in 1871.

In 1852, Italy was still politically divided and Austrian influence was still supreme. In the north, the two rich provinces of Lombardy and Venetia were part of the Austrian Empire. In the north-central part of Italy, there were the petty states of Parma, Modena and Tuscany, which were very much under Austrian influence and ruled despotically by rulers related to the Hapsburg emperor of Austria. The Papal States still covered a vast territory across Italy, consisting of the provinces of the Romagna, the Marches, Umbria and Rome and the patrimony. In addition to being the spiritual head of Catholics all over the world, the pope was the sovereign ruler of the Papal States. Since 1849, there had been a French garrison in Rome to protect the pope against any revolution and to show Austria that France had an interest in Italy and did not accept that Italy was an exclusively Austrian sphere of influence. The south of Italy and the island of Sicily were part of the kingdom of Naples. The kingdom was poor, feudal and backward. It was ruled despotically, and its king was closely allied with Austria. In the northwest of Italy was the kingdom of Piedmont, consisting of the mainland territory, which was its most important territory, and the island of Sardinia. Piedmont was the only Italian state that was really independent of Austria and that had a constitution, a parliament and civil rights, though these had only existed since 1848. This situation made it possible for Piedmont to take the lead in the movement for Italian unification. Because liberals and nationalists all over Italy saw their best hope of a united Italy in unification with Piedmont under the constitutional monarchy of King Victor Emmanuel II (r.1849-1878) of Piedmont.

Activity 1.6

1. Prepare a map that shows the Italian states mentioned above.

The main obstacle to Italian political unification was the power of Austria. Austria wanted to maintain the status quo. Another obstacle was the weakness of national sentiment in Italy. A favorable factor in the struggle for unification was the diplomatic isolation of Austria after the Crimean war (1855–56) and rivalries between France and Austria in Italy, which meant that Italian nationalism was able to use French help for Italian aims.

Camillo Cavour (1810–61) prime minister of Piedmont from 1852–62 was the main

architect of Italian unification “from above.” He prepared Piedmont for the role of leadership in Italian unification. In 1858, Cavour met the French emperor, Napoleon III, secretly at Plombiere, in France, and succeeded in reaching an agreement with Napoleon for an alliance of France and Piedmont against Austria. Cavour contributed a lot to the successful unification of Italy. In the end, Cavour successfully gained control of Lombardy, Tuscany, Parma and Modena, which greatly helped the unification process.

In April 1859, Cavour successfully provoked a declaration of war by Austria on Piedmont. Napoleon III then intervened on the side of Piedmont against Austria. The combined force invaded Lombardy and defeated the Austrian army at the Battles of Magenta and Salferino in June 1859. The Austrians were driven out of Lombardy but still held Venetia. One of the results of the Battle of Salferino was the establishment of the International Red Cross Association by the Swiss humanitarian Henri Dunant. Napoleon, however, concluded a unilateral peace treaty with Austria on the basis that Austria ceded Lombardy to Piedmont but kept Venetia.

Other developments resulting from the war also took place. The papal province of Romagna and the states of Parma, Modena and Tuscany revolted against their rulers in 1859. Their rulers were overthrown. Provisional governments were established which were in close touch with the government of Piedmont and demanded union with Piedmont. Once the north had been united as the Kingdom of Italy, the unification movement turned to absorbing the powerful Kingdom of Two Sicilies in the south. In 1860, there was an uprising in Sicily against the unpopular government of the Kingdom of Naples. At that time, the successful military leader, Garibaldi, was invited to come from Piedmont to lead the Sicilian uprising. Garibaldi agreed to lead the Sicilian uprising provided that the people accepted the program of unification with the rest of Italy under Victor Emmanuel. He recruited his famous Thousand Volunteers in the North and took them to Sicily, where they joined by other volunteers, advanced up the peninsula and took the city of Naples on September 7, 1860.

The reasons for Garibaldi’s success were: first, his own skill as a leader in guerrilla warfare and his magnetic personality, which made people of all classes eager to fight and die under his leadership. Second, his successful mobilization of the Sicilian masses. The masses supported him partly because of his personal qualities but also because they hoped that his movement would bring them freedom from oppression and bitter life. Third, on the mainland, his success was largely owing to the demor-

alization of the army of Naples and to the defeatism and treachery of many of the officials of the Naples government.

The fall of Gaeta brought the unification movement to a successful conclusion. Only Rome and Venetia remained to be added. On February 18, 1861, Victor Emmanuel assembled the deputies of all the states that acknowledged his supremacy at Turin, and in their presence, he assumed the title of King of Italy. Victor Emmanuel II, king of Piedmont, changed his title too to Victor Emmanuel II, king of Italy. Four months later, Cavour, having seen his life's work nearly completed, died.



Figure 1.2 Camillo Cavour (left) and Giuseppe Garibaldi

The Italian government used the 1866 Austro-Prussian War and the 1870–71 Franco-Prussian war to complete Italian unification. In 1866, in preparation for war against Austria, Bismarck made an alliance with Italy on the basis that Italy would go to war against Austria on the side of Prussia and, in return, would get Venetia. In spite of Italy's poor showing, Prussia's success in the war forced Austria to cede Venetia. In 1870, the Franco-Prussian war forced Napoleon III to withdraw French troops from Rome. The Italian government therefore sent its troops and seized Rome in September 1870. Rome soon became the capital of Italy.

Activity 1.7

1. Identify the obstacles and favorable factors for Italian unification.
2. Why did Cavour stop Garibaldi's advance at the River Volturno in September 1860 and decide to complete the defeat of the king of Naples by the army of Piedmont?

LESSON 5

1.5. Unification of Germany

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- identify the factors that facilitated and hindered the unification of Germany;
- list down major events in the process of unification of Germany; and
- appreciate the roles of leaders in the processes of German unification.

Brainstorming Question

» Analyze the strategies that Bismarck used to unite Germany.

In the 1850s, Germany was a loose confederation of 39 states called the German Confederation (the Bund). The Bund was presided over by Austria, with Prussia second. The Bund was not a satisfactory form of unity for German nationalists who wanted real political unity for reasons of German nationalism and economic reasons. German nationalism was encouraged by the success of Italian national unification between 1859 and 1861. The obstacles to German unification were: Austria, which wanted to preserve the status quo. The German princes, wanted to keep their independence and the cultural differences between North and South Germany.

In 1861, William I (r.1861–1888) was crowned King of Prussia. He and his war minister, Von Roon, proposed enlarging and reforming the Prussian army to give Prussia more influence against Austria and as security against France. But the proposal was opposed by the Prussian parliament, which refused to vote on the necessary new taxation. An important issue behind the Prussian parliament was who would control the army. The king, thus, appointed Otto von Bismarck as chief minister of Prussia. Bismarck (1815–1898) was politically conservative but a political realist and extremely able. He soon overcame the crisis by collecting additional taxation for the army reforms without the consent of Parliament. There was no resistance. German nationalism rapidly shifted from its liberal and democratic character in 1848 to Bismarck's authoritarian rule.

Bismarck knew that Germany could not be united under Prussia without war against Austria and probably France. Austria would not give up its leadership in the Bund

unless it suffered a defeat. The traditional French policy was to keep Germany politically divided and therefore weak, so that France too would probably not accept German unification unless France suffered a military defeat. Bismarck also knew that his program of uniting Germany would not be possible without good relations between Prussia and Russia. Therefore, he exerted all his diplomatic skills to maintain good relations with Russia. He was helped by the fact that Prussia and Russia had a common interest in opposing Polish nationalism. Both Russia and Prussia, particularly the first, had large areas of former Polish territories inhabited by the Poles. Therefore, during the great Polish revolt of 1863, Prussia was the only great power that was sympathetic to Russia.



Figure 1.3 Otto Von Bismarck

Therefore, Bismarck accomplished this through three military successes: He first allied with Austria to defeat Denmark in a short war fought in 1864, thus acquiring Schleswig-Holstein. In 1866, with the support of Italy, he virtually created the Austro-Prussian War and won a decisive victory at the Battle of Königgratz, which, allowed him to exclude long-time rival Austria when forming the North German Confederation with the states that had supported Prussia in the Austro-Prussian War. The Confederation was the direct precursor to the 1871 Empire. Finally, Prussia defeated France in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71). The German Confederation was transformed into an Empire with the proclamation of Prussian King Wilhelm I as German Emperor at the Palace of Versailles, to the humiliation of France.

Activity 1.8

1. Identify the obstacles and favorable factors for the unification of Germany.
2. Make a comparative analysis of the unification of Italy and Germany.

LESSON 6

1.6. The American Civil War

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- outline the genesis and growth of slavery as one of the divisive issues;
- debate on major steps and consequences of the American civil war; and
- appraise the impacts of the American Civil War.

Brainstorming Question

» What were the divisive issues between Northern and Southern states of the USA?

Origins of the Conflict

As you learned in grade 10, the American Civil War was fought in the United States from 1861 until 1865 between the forces coming mostly from the 23 northern states of the union and the newly formed Confederate States of America, which consisted of 11 southern states that had declared their secession.

There were several divisive issues between the north and south of the USA. The South resented the economic dominance of the North. The South wanted low tariffs to ensure cheaper imports from Europe while the North wanted protective tariffs to encourage their industries. The South emphasized states' rights, i.e., the constitutional rights of the individual states of the USA while the North put more emphasis on the National Federal Government. However, the slavery issue outweighed all other issues and was the only issue capable of producing secession and civil war. When the south lost control of the political institutions of the USA, they turned to secession, fearing that northern domination of the union would lead to attacks on slavery.

Tensions grew rapidly during the 1850s. The United States Republican Party was established in 1854. The new party opposed the expansion of slavery in the western territories. The Republicans mobilized popular support among Northerners and Westerners who did not want to compete against slave labor. 1860 was a year of presidential election. At that time, the Republican Party had a very good candidate named Abraham Lincoln, who was an effective politician, an able speaker, and an attractive personality. He was a man who appealed to ordinary northerners because he was a self-educated man. In 1860, Lincoln's election as President triggered secession in the south as the south had warned before the elections. Lincoln's election was seen as an intolerable threat to slavery in the south.

Before Lincoln took office, seven states seceded from the union, establishing a rebel government, known as the Confederate States of America, on February 9, 1861. They took control of federal forts and property within their boundaries.



Figure 1.4 Abraham Lincoln

On March 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was sworn in as President of the United States. In his inaugural address, he called secession "legally void." He stated he had no intent to invade the southern states but would use force to maintain possession of the federal property. Then, Lincoln called for all of the states in the Union to send troops to recapture the forts and preserve the Union.

The Civil War and Its Results

The northerners were willing to fight to end secession. The North initially was fighting to end secession not to end slavery. Nevertheless, slavery had caused secession and therefore the causes of the civil war were both slavery and secession.

Why the Union prevailed (or why the Confederacy was defeated) in the Civil War has been the subject of extensive analysis and debate. Advantages are widely believed to have contributed to the union's success. In the civil war between the North and the South, the North had most of the advantages. It had more states, a much bigger population, more skilled labor, far more industry, more railways, much greater agricultural production, except for cotton, much greater financial wealth, and also naval power to block the south and cut the south off essential imports. Although the British and French governments and ruling classes sympathized with the South's "king cotton," they were not strong enough to intervene in the war on the side of the south. Nevertheless, the north did not win easily because the south had initially better generals and fought with great determination, and the defensive power of firearms favored the south. The war lasted from 1861 to 1865 and claimed the lives of 620,000 people.

The Northern motive for making the war a struggle against slavery was more acceptable. Thus, making the civil war a struggle against slavery would make it politically and morally impossible for any European government to support the confederacy because slavery was now regarded in Europe as obsolete, totally wrong, and totally indefensible.

In September 1862, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation to become effective as of January 1st, 1863. The proclamation said that all slaves in rebel-held territory would be free as of January 1st, 1863. The proclamation helped the North to recruit African American troops and many African American troops did serve with distinction in the Northern armies. The proclamation also damaged the south by encouraging slaves in the confederacy to run away from the plantations especially when the northern army advanced into the south. In April 1865, the Confederacy was finally defeated unconditionally and completely. A few days later on April 14, 1865 Lincoln was assassinated by a southern fanatic named John Wilkes Booth.

The civil war decided once and for all the issues of secession and slavery. Both ended by the victory of the North. After the civil war, southern political leaders had virtually

no impact on the immediate post-war decisions. Thus, several amendments to the US constitution were made: the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth. The Thirteenth abolished slavery, the Fourteenth granted citizenship to former slaves, and the Fifteenth allowed them to vote.

Activity 1.9

1. Mention any four divisive issues between the North and the South states of the USA that finally led to the American Civil War.

LESSON 7

1.7. The Eastern Question

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- understand the nature of the “Eastern Question”;
- argue on the role of nationalism in the “Eastern Question”; and
- analyze the causes and consequences of the Balkan Wars.

Brainstorming Questions

- » What do you know about the “Eastern Question”?
- » What were the causes and results of the two Balkan Wars?

The “Eastern Question” meant what would happen to the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans and elsewhere as Ottoman power declined. In the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire was threatened by the militancy of Balkan national movements, backed usually by Russia. In particular, the Eastern Question was an issue of political and economic instability in the Ottoman Empire from the late 18th to early 20th centuries. Moreover, it was the main cause of the subsequent strategic competition and political considerations of the European great powers in the region.



Map 1.1 Balkan Region

As the collapse of the Ottoman Empire approached, the European powers engaged in a power struggle to safeguard their military, strategic and commercial interests in the Ottoman domains. The decline of the Ottoman Empire benefited Imperial Russia; on the other hand, Austria-Hungary and the United Kingdom demanded the Empire's preservation as being in their best interests.

In the 1870s, the hardships of the Ottomans had increased; their treasury was empty, and they faced insurrections not only in Herzegovina and Bulgaria, but also in Serbia and Montenegro. However, the Ottoman Empire managed to crush the insurgents in August 1876. On the other hand, Russia now intended to enter the conflict on the side of the rebels, using rumors of Ottoman atrocities against the rebellious population as an excuse.

In April 1877, Russia declared war against the Ottoman Empire. It had effectively secured Austrian neutrality with the Reichstadt Agreement of July 1876, under which Ottoman territories captured during the war would be partitioned between the Russian and Austria-Hungarian Empires, with the latter obtaining Bosnia and Herzegovina. Britain did not involve itself in the conflict. However, when Russia threatened to conquer Constantinople (now Istanbul), Britain urged Austria and Germany to ally with it against Russia. Russia negotiated peace through the Treaty of San Stefano (3 March 1878), which stipulated independence for Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro; autonomy for Bulgaria; reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the ceding of Dobru-

ja and parts of Armenia; and a large indemnity to Russia. This would give Russia great influence in Southeastern Europe, as it could dominate the newly independent states.

However, to reduce these advantages to Russia, the Great Powers (especially Britain) insisted on a thorough revision of the Treaty of San Stefano. At the Treaty of Berlin on July 13, 1878, the boundaries of the new states were adjusted in the Ottoman Empire's favor. Bulgaria was divided into two states (Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia), as it was feared that a single state would be susceptible to Russian domination. Bosnia and Herzegovina were transferred to Austrian control. Later, Austria-Hungary took advantage of the Ottoman crisis to annex the two provinces in 1908. This act outraged Pan-Slav nationalists in Serbia, who had long seen Serbia and anticipated a merger with Bosnia in a union of the southern Slavs. This eventually became an immediate cause of World War I.

Germany drew away from Russia and became closer to Austria-Hungary, with whom it concluded the Dual Alliance in 1879. Germany was also closely allied with the Ottoman Empire. In return, the German government took over the reorganization of the Ottoman military and financial systems. It received several commercial concessions, including permission to build the Baghdad Railway, which secured for them access to several important economic markets and opened the potential for German entry into the Persian Gulf area, then controlled by Britain. German interests were driven not only by commercial interests, but also by a burgeoning rivalry with Britain and France. Meanwhile, Britain agreed to the Entente Cordiale with France in 1904, thereby resolving differences between the two countries over international affairs. Britain also made peace with Russia in 1907 with the Anglo-Russian Entente.

Activity 1.10

1. What were the motives behind Russian ambitions in the Balkans?

Balkan Wars (1912-1913)

The Balkan Wars were two successive military conflicts that took place in the Balkan Peninsula in 1912 and 1913 that deprived the Ottoman Empire of all its remaining territory in Europe except part of Thrace and the city of Adrianople.

The First Balkan War began in the Balkans when Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Greece joined forces to attack the Ottoman Empire. By the early 20th century, Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro and Serbia had achieved independence from the Ottoman Empire, but large elements of their ethnic populations remained under Ottoman rule. In 1912, these countries formed the Balkan League with Russian support to take Macedonia away from Turkey.

The First Balkan War began on October 8, 1912, and the Balkan allies were soon victorious. The Turkish collapse was so complete that an armistice was signed on December 3, 1912. A peace conference began in London, but, after a coup d'état by the Young Turks in Constantinople in January 1913, war with the Ottomans continued. Again, the allies were victorious: Ioánnina fell to the Greeks and Adrianople to the Bulgarians. Under a peace treaty signed in London on May 30, 1913, the Ottoman Empire lost almost all of its remaining European territory, including all of Macedonia and Albania. Albanian independence was insisted upon by the European powers, and Macedonia was to be divided among the Balkan allies.

The Second Balkan War erupted when the Balkan allies Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria, quarreled among themselves over the partitioning of their conquests in Macedonia. The result was a resumption of hostilities between Bulgaria, on the one hand, and Serbia and Greece, which were joined by Romania, on the other. Serbia and Greece allied against Bulgaria, and the war began on the night of June 29–30, 1913, when King Ferdinand of Bulgaria ordered his troops to attack Serbian and Greek forces in Macedonia. Serbian and Greek forces were later joined by Romania to attack Bulgaria. The Ottoman Empire also attacked Bulgaria and advanced in Thrace, regaining Adrianople. On July 30, they concluded an armistice to end hostilities, and the Treaty of Bucharest was signed between the combatants on August 10, 1913. Under the terms of the treaty, Greece and Serbia divided most of Macedonia between themselves, leaving Bulgaria with only a small part of the region. The Balkan Wars were marked by ethnic cleansing, with all parties being responsible for grave atrocities against civilians. As a result of the Balkan Wars, Greece gained southern Macedonia as well as the island of Crete. Serbia gained the Kosovo region and extended into northern and central Macedonia. Albania was made an independent state by a German prince.

The most alarming aspect of the war was the growth of tension between Austria-Hungary and Serbia. Serbia had extensive claims upon Albanian territory. Having obtained an assurance of German support, Austria-Hungary delivered an ultimatum on October 17, 1913, to force Serbia to withdraw from the Albanian borderlands. The conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia was aggravated by the assassination of the Austrian prince, Franz Ferdinand by a Serb nationalist named Gavrilo Princip on June 28, 1914, in Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia. This action convinced Austro-Hungaria to attack Serbia to crush Serbia's independence was the only solution. The invasion of Serbia by Austria-Hungary thus led the First World War.

Activity 1.11

1. Discuss how the wars of unification in Italy and Germany, as well as the wars of national liberation in the Balkans, stimulated nationalism.

Unit Summary

Many historians have agreed that fully-fledged capitalism emerged in Northwestern Europe, especially in Great Britain and the Netherlands, from the 16th to 17th centuries. In due course, capitalism gradually became the dominant economic system throughout the world. Capitalism is an economic system characterized by private ownership of the means of production. Capitalist society was characterized by the split between two antagonistic classes: the capitalist class (the owners) and the working class. The industrial revolution was the first establishment of industrial capitalism in any country. It took place in Britain (c.1750/1780–1851). It had far-reaching economic, social, and political effects. The result of all these changes was the imperialism of the late nineteenth century, i.e., the expanding and accelerated drive for colonial acquisitions and spheres of influence.

Nationalism has been the most powerful political force since the 1850s in the western world. Nationalism's deepest roots lie in a shared sense of regional and cultural identity, especially as those roots are expressed in custom, language, and religion. One national issue concerning the unification of Italy and the unification of Germany dominated the international politics of Europe in the nineteenth century. Nationalism was also an important element in the "Eastern Question," which was a major issue in international relations since the 1850s.

The Italian Unification was the political and social process that unified the states of the Italian Peninsula into a single nation in the 19th century. The Italian government used the 1866 Austro-Prussian War and the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian War to complete Italian unification. In the 1850s, Germany was a member of a confederation of 39 states called the German Confederation (the Bund). The Bund was presided over by Austria, with Prussia second. The architect of the unification of Germany was Otto Von Bismarck. He knew that Germany could not be united under Prussia without war against Austria and probably France. Thus, Bismarck accomplished this through three military successes.

There were several divisive issues between the north and south of the USA that led to the Civil War that lasted from 1861 to 1865. However, the slavery issue outweighed all other issues and was the only issue capable of producing secession and civil war. The victory of the North in the war decided once and for all the issues of secession and slavery.

The “Eastern Question” meant what would happen to the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans and elsewhere as Ottoman power declined. In the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire was threatened by the militancy of Balkan national movements, backed usually by Russia. It was the main cause behind the subsequent strategic competition and political considerations of the European great powers in the region. The Balkan Wars were two successive military conflicts that took place in the Balkan Peninsula in 1912 and 1913 that deprived the Ottoman Empire of all its remaining territory in Europe.

Unit Review Exercises

Instruction I-Fill in the Blank Spaces

1. The kingdom which played a leading role the Italian unification was _____.
2. One of the results of the Battle of Salferino was the establishment of the International Red Cross Association by the Swiss humanitarian named _____.
3. Inthe1850s,Germanywasalooseconfederationof39statescalled_____.
4. The German state that led the unification of Germany was _____.

5. The president of the Confederate States of America was _____.
6. The amendment to the US constitution that abolished slavery was _____.

Instruction II: Give Short and Precise Answers to the Following Questions

1. What was the Industrial Revolution?
2. Mention at least four suggested causes of the Industrial Revolution.
3. List down the impacts of the industrial revolution on agriculture.
4. What is the definition of nationalism?
5. State the factors that facilitated the growth of nationalism in the nineteenth century.
6. What does the “Eastern question” mean?
7. How did the USA become very successful in the nineteenth century in assimilating and turning millions of emigrants into Americans?
8. Identify the obstacles and favorable factors for the unification of Germany.
9. Discuss the economic and social conditions of the North and the South on the eve of the civil war briefly.
10. Mention any four divisive issues between the North and the South states of the USA that finally led to the American civil war.

UNIT TWO

AFRICA AND THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE (1880S – 1960S)

Unit Introduction

This unit discusses the main historical developments in Africa from the 1880s to the 1960s. The period of European colonization is the focus of this unit and involves lessons such as: the Process of Colonization, African Resistance against Colonial Expansion, Colonial Administration and the Colonial States.

Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- analyze the major issues in the history of colonial Africa;
- appreciate the resistance of African people against colonialism;
- examine the colonial social, economic and political administration; and
- identify the strength and weaknesses of African resistance to colonial rule.

Lessons

- The Era of “Legitimate Trade” and Colonial Empires
- African Resistance against Colonial Expansion
- Colonial Administration and the Colonial States

Keywords and Concepts

- | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| ▪ Colonialism | ▪ Process of Colonization | ▪ Resistance |
| ▪ Legitimate | | ▪ Direct Rule |
| ▪ Indirect Rule | ▪ Trade Ideology | |

LESSON 1

2.1. The Era of “Legitimate Trade” and Colonial Empires

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- explain the essence of the “Legitimate Trade”
- discuss the infrastructure and ideology of the new imperialism
- describe the motives behind the European partition of Africa
- denounce the motives of the European powers.

Brainstorming Questions

- » Why did the Europeans want to colonize Africa?
- » How could the European colonizers manage to easily defeat the African people and establish colonial states in Africa?

The Birth and Expansion of the ‘Legitimate Trade’

The Trans-Atlantic Slave trade was referred to as the “Illegitimate Trade” because its commodities were humans or slaves rather than other goods. After the end of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and the success of the abolitionist campaigns, the former trade in humans or African slaves could not continue. For three centuries, the “Illegitimate Trade” in humans had dominated the commercial activities in the West African coastal areas. After the Industrial Revolution, the European colonial powers, particularly the British, took measures that first weakened and gradually abolished not only the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade but also the slave trade in general. The Europeans introduced a new trade in West Africa which they called the “Legitimate Trade” in which the principal commodities were no more human beings or African slaves.

During the first half of the 19th century, new West African commodities replaced slaves as merchandise to be exported abroad. These commodities for export included items like gum, groundnuts, and palm. By the middle of the 19th century, palm oil became West Africa’s major export item. The ‘Legitimate Trade’, that replaced the ‘Illegitimate Trade’, did not however economically prosper the West African states. It rather benefited most African rulers and wealthy merchants. The new “Legitimate Trade” could not bring significant improvement to the majority of West Africans. Indeed, the living condition of the people could not improve. The goods imported from Europe, which were cloth, alcoholic drinks and firearms could not contribute for the development of African native economies. The imported European clothes thoroughly weakened the development of the African indigenous craft industry. African peoples were attracted by imported European goods. The imported firearms too, had a negative impact. They not only undermined the indigenous African weapon

making industry, but also enabled the African rulers to get military might to plunder their own people. In fact, the imported firearms were not modern in the true sense of the term and could not enable African rulers to protect themselves and their people from the colonial powers, who were equipped with more sophisticated weapons. The European merchants, who were involved in the “Legitimate Trade” in West Africa, had succeeded in controlling not only the export trade but also the internal trade in West Africa as well. The European traders maximized their profits as they served as intermediaries between the African merchants and the European traders. This increased commercial competition between the European merchants led to the European competition which eventually culminated in the ‘Scramble for Africa’ in the 1870’s and 1880’s to control sources of raw materials and markets.

Activity 2.1

1. Discuss in group the impact of the Illegitimate Trade on Africa?
2. Can we blame only the European colonizers for the problems created in the West Africa during the Transatlantic Slave Trade?
3. Was Africa involved in the Transatlantic Slave Trade? Why?

The Infrastructure and the Ideology of New Imperialism

Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. When we say New Imperialism we are referring to a period of increased expansion of capitalism that was started in the second half the 19th century and continued until the outbreak of the First World War. In the period known as the New Imperialism, European powers wanted to control African colonies. After achieving unification, in the early 1870s, Germany and Italy joined the struggle to control territories in Africa.

Following the rapid economic development that came as a result of adopting the economic policy of free trade, a serious financial crisis affected the western states in the early 1870s. In order to withstand the economic crisis and protect their economic interest, European states began to take measures. For instance, in the 1870s and the 1880s, the two major European colonial powers, Great Britain and France partitioned the western part of the African continent into their spheres of influence. The Berlin Conference of 1884/85 enabled European powers to divide Africa among themselves. That led to the physical occupation of territories in Africa which means the intensification the colonial conquest.

There was European presence in Africa even before the start of the period of the New

Imperialism. The period of the New Imperialism differs from the earlier period in the sense that the Europeans came to Africa with a very developed technology. Before the 1870s, although the Europeans had contacts with the peoples of the coastal areas of Africa, particularly, West Africa, they were not equipped with efficient firearms to easily conquer the native peoples there. Moreover, the Europeans also lacked appropriate means of communication to control Africa particularly the interior parts of Africa.

In general, the European colonial powers had a great difficulty to penetrate deep into the African interior. At the early days of colonization, tsetse fly and mosquito had almost prevented the Europeans from entering the African interior. Eventually, the European colonizers managed to penetrate deep into the African interior with relative ease; thanks to technological advancement including the invention of better river boats, steam ship, better rifles, and the discovery of medicine to combat malaria. By 1880, a relatively small number of well-armed and properly trained European soldiers had managed to easily defeat the native Africans who had a marked numerical superiority over them.

After the second Industrial Revolution, many of the European states became technologically more advanced and they developed interest to colonize un-colonized areas in Africa. Industrial development invited new powers to involve in the colonial contest. As we have already mentioned, Germany and Italy were newcomers in the colonial struggle to acquire colonies in Africa. Technology and involvement of new powers in the colonial struggle hastened the development and spread of the New Imperialism.

The emerging European industries needed a huge capital investment. The financial capital required to run the new industries paved the way for the development of financial institutions like banking and capital markets that could finance the new industries. The expansion of industries in Europe not only demanded excess raw materials but also importing food for the then growing urban population in the industrialized cities and towns. Technological advancement in maritime technology and navigation techniques enabled the European colonial powers to get raw materials and food supply with relative ease traveling even to distant areas including the Far East. Improvement in ship building also encouraged the revival of militarism and aggression in the world. Great Britain, which was the first country to embark on the industrial revolution, was the strongest World Power of the period and had suprem-

acy in military and naval powers. Its technological superiority enabled Great Britain to build more efficient naval force. Soon other European colonial powers followed suit and modernized their armed forces including their navy.

After the 19th century, the European colonial powers worked hard to consolidate their rule in the areas which they had already occupied. In fact, they also worked to get new colonies although there were no adequate territories to be newly colonized in Africa by then.

The technological boom that came as a result of the New Imperialism had some negative impacts on peoples who had their own polities. The militarily superior European colonial states now managed to colonize the entire African continent except Ethiopia and Liberia, and many areas in Asia and the Pacific Islands. Although the European colonization of territories in Africa was started earlier, the scale had increased dramatically, and the European acquisition of territories reached its peak during the period known as the New Imperialism. When the First World War broke out in 1914, about 85 percent of the territories in the world had fallen under colonial rule. During the First World War, the colonized people followed their colonial masters paid sacrifices in military confrontations that had nothing to do with them.

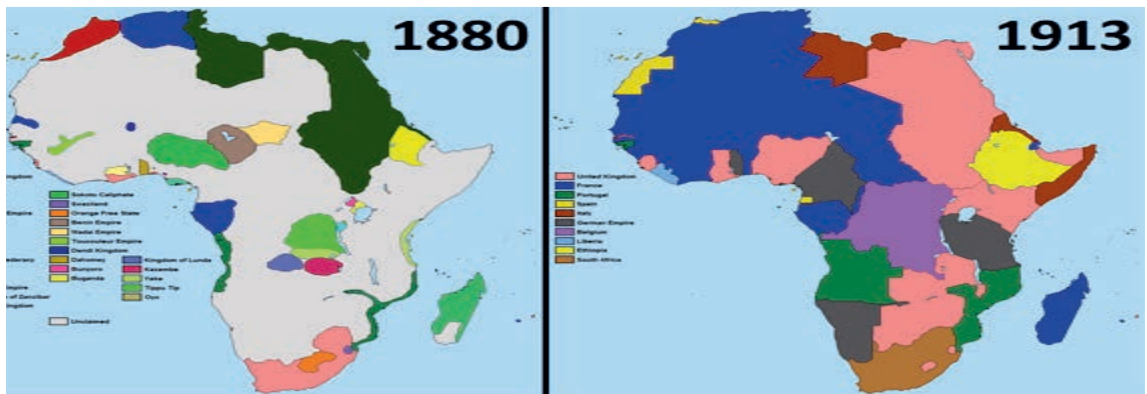
The Partition of Africa, Motives and Processes

On the eve of the European Scramble for Africa, Western Europe had conducted the industrial revolution for a century and had clearly become the most powerful and technologically advanced continent in the world. Firearms, transportation, and communication technologies were developing very quickly, and national pride was growing in each European country. Furthermore, advances in medicine have enabled Europeans to spend longer periods in the tropics free of illness. An economic decline in the early 1870's pushed some Europeans to look toward the non-industrial world, especially the African countries. They viewed these countries as both markets for their products and suppliers of natural resources to fuel their industries. In addition, the strongest European countries began to fear what would happen to the balance of power if their rivals acquired colonies in Africa. All of this resulted in the scramble for Africa. It began with slow territorial acquisition through the early 1880's and was followed by a competitive rush to claim African lands after the Berlin Conference (1884–1885). Therefore, you will learn about the major developments that led to the Berlin conference.

Activity 2.2

1. Why did Great Britain and France manage to establish big colonial empires while others, like Italy and Germany, were unable to have an adequate number of colonial states in Africa?

Because of her position as an industrial nation in the world, Britain dominated Africa's external trade until the second half of the 19th century. She produced industrial goods and exported them to Africa using her largest merchant navy. This provided her with an opportunity to establish trading stations and occupy bases and coastal colonies on the continent. As their home markets became saturated, these powers turned to Africa to sell their manufactured goods. As a result "protectionism" was encouraged more than "free trade". This in turn increased the desire of the new industrial powers



Map 2.1 Africa in 1880 and 1913

While Britain, France and Belgium were advancing their arms into Africa, Germany, was waiting for its time. In 1884, Bismarck declared a German protectorate over three African territories, namely Togoland, Cameroon and Southwest Africa (present day Namibia). He then invited the major European powers to Berlin. The stated goals of the conference were to be the settlement of Congo claims between Britain, France, and Portugal and the Anglo-French rivalries along the Niger River. European powers recognized that rules were needed for controlling African territories, especially for seizures that held the potential for European conflict.

The Berlin Conference was held in Berlin (Germany) from November 1884 to February 1885. It was Bismarck, the chancellor of Germany, who initiated the conference. The conference was an attempt by European leaders to add international agreement

to the carving up of Africa that was already underway. It involved representatives of 13 European countries. The European states were namely Britain, Germany, France, Austria, Hungary, Russia, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Denmark and Sweden. In fact, the Ottoman Empire which has been thoroughly weakened and lost most of its former territories was not represented in the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. Although the main agenda in the Berlin Conference was Africa, no African country, including Ethiopia and Liberia, was invited to take part in the Conference.

By the time the conference ended (February 25, 1885), King Leopold of Belgium had secured ownership of the Congo Free State, and the conference recognized Leopold's so-called "International Association" as the legitimate authority in the Congo basin. In return, the Belgian king agreed to allow European traders and missionaries free access to the area.

Based on the Berlin negotiations, Leopold proclaimed his own personal kingdom, the 'Congo Free State', in 1885. France got acceptance of its claims to the French-Congo; Portugal lost most of its Congo claims; and European powers recognized Germany's new protectorates. The European nations declared free trade along the Congo Basin and free navigation on the Niger River. The European colonial powers also consolidated their rule in the areas they already occupied and set out rules to occupy additional new territories. Nevertheless, the most significant of these rules or General Act of Berlin was Article 36. It stated that colonial powers were obligated to notify each other when they claimed African territory. Furthermore, subsequent "effective occupation" of the claimed area was necessary for the claim to remain valid.

LESSON 2

2.2. African Resistance against Colonial Expansion

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- evaluate the impacts of colonialism on Africa;
- determine the cause and effect of The Mahadist Movement;
- sketch a map that shows settlement colonialism in Africa;
- sympathize with the sacrifices that the Africans made to achieve political independence.

Key words and concepts

- Colonialism ▪ Resistance ▪ Scorched earth policy

African Initiatives and Responses to Colonialism

The Africans did not welcome the European colonizers who were uninvited guests in Africa. The Africans attempted to resist the European colonizers as much as they could. The colonial powers employed different methods to colonize Africa. They used fake treaties to extend their control of the continent. When treaties failed to bring them what they wanted, the European colonizers resorted to the use of force. The Africans, on the other hand, reacted to the colonial aggression in two ways. The African reaction to colonial rule included both peaceful and violent methods. Practically, the African society resisted the colonizers using any means, and there was resistance in almost every region of European advance. But there were differences in the intensity of resistance from one region to another. The African resistance had a clear ideological basis, that is, the resistance was an attempt to safeguard their sovereignty.

Samori Toure of Mandinka

Samori Toure (c 1828- June 2, 1900) was a Muslim religious figure and a military leader, who is referred to as the founder of the Islamic Empire known as the Was-soulou Empire that was located in the present-day north and south eastern Guinea. The areas that were parts of the empire created by Samori Toure included the present-day territories of Sierra Leone, Cot d' Ivoire and Burkina Faso. Samori Toure strongly resisted the colonial rule of France in West Africa until the French defeated and captured him in 1898.

By the year 1867, Samori became a commander of a relatively strong army having his base at a place called Sanankoro in the highlands of Guinea. Samori Toure worked hard to create a well-trained and properly armed army that could help to build a strong and stable empire. In order to strengthen his army, Samori used to import firearms via Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone since 1876. His military power enabled him to control the gold mine district known as Bure. And this increased Samori Toure's economic strength. In 1878, Samori Toure proclaimed himself the leader of the Wassoulou Empire he created. Samori Toure made the town of Bissandugu the capital of his empire. He soon established strong political and commercial relations with the neighboring Toucouleur Empire. In 1881, after heavy fighting, Samori Toure

managed to control the essential Dyula trading post of Kankan which is found on the upper Milo River.

By 1881, the territorial size of the Wassoulou Empire was enlarged and included parts of the present-day territories of Guinea, Mali, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire. The French attempt to expand in West Africa in the late 1870s, brought them to direct conflict with Samori Touré. The French were expanding towards the territories occupied by the Wassoulou Empire. In early 1882, the French forces launched attack against the forces of Samori Touré. His forces successfully repulsed the French attack and retained their possessions there. In this battle, Samori Touré was surprised by the military discipline and quality of firearms of the French troops he defeated. Touré wanted to have well trained; disciplined and properly armed troops like the French soldiers. In order to create an efficient modern army, Samori Touré sought European assistance. In January 1885 he sent his envoys to the British colonial rulers in Freetown, Sierra Leone, promising to place his empire under British protection. The British were not willing to confront with the French by accepting Samori's request to put his Empire under their protectorate. Nevertheless, the British agreed to sell modern weapons to Samori Touré.

The French troops launched a military expedition in 1885 to control the Bure rich gold mines. The forces of Samori Touré, who were by then better armed, successfully resisted the French attack and launched a successful three directional counter-offensive and expelled the expanding French forces from Bure. Samori Touré's army was well organized divided into infantry and cavalry units.



Figure 2.1 Samori Touré

In March 1891, the French forces launched a military offensive against Samori in Eastern Guinea. Although the forces of Samori had scored victories in some battles, they could not totally expel the French troops from their empire. In June 1892, the French troops defeated the forces of Samori Touri and captured the capital of the empire, Bissangudu. To make matters even worse to Samori Touri, the British refused to sell firearms and ammunitions to Samori anymore.

In the last resort, Samori Touri formed an anti-colonial coalition with the neighboring Ashante Empire. Nevertheless, the alliance could not be fruitful as the British troops defeated the Ashante Empire in 1897. In the next year, i.e., 1898, Samori Touri lost almost all the territory of the empire he created to the French and was forced to retreat. Eventually, on 29 September 1898 Samori Touri surrendered to the French and was exiled to Gabon and died on 2 June 1900 in captivity.

The attempts made by the Africans to stop the European powers from colonizing their countries were not successful. It was partly because the African resistances against the European invaders were not well-organized. The Europeans had also a marked superiority in military training and quality of firearms. Sometimes the Europeans were able to mobilize the Africans against fellow Africans who were determined to fight them. The only successful anti-colonial struggle in Africa was that of Ethiopia. Ethiopians under Emperor Menelik II had managed to defeat the Italians at the battle of Adwa in 1896 and Ethiopia became the only country in Africa whose independence was recognized by the colonial powers in the era of colonialism.

Activity 2.3

1. Describe the contribution of Samori Toure in the fight against colonialism.

The Ashanti

The Ashanti Empire was a pre-colonial West African state that emerged in the 17th century in what is today Ghana. The Ashanti, or Asante, were an ethnic sub-group of the Akan-speaking people and were composed of small chiefdoms.

The Ashanti established their state around Kumasi in the late 1600s, shortly after their first encounter with Europeans. In some ways, the Empire grew out of the wars and dislocations caused by the Europeans who sought to control the famous gold deposits which gave this region its name, the Gold Coast. During this era, the Portu-

guese were the most active Europeans in West Africa. They made Ashanti a significant trading partner, providing wealth and weapons that allowed the small state to grow stronger than its neighbors. In the 18th century Ashanti was simply one of the Akan-speaking Portuguese trading partners in the region.

That situation changed when Osei Tutu, the Asantehene (paramount chief) of Ashanti from 1701 to 1717, and his priest, KomfoAnokye, unified the independent chiefdoms into the most powerful political and military state in the coastal region. The Asantehene organized the Asante Union, an alliance of Akan-speaking people who were now loyal to his central authority. The Asantehene made Kumasi the capital of the new empire. He also created a constitution, reorganized and centralized the military, and created a new cultural festival, Odwira, which symbolized the new union. Most importantly, he created the Golden Stool, which he argued represented the ancestors of all the Ashanti. Upon that throne, Osei Tutu legitimized his rule and that of the royal dynasty that followed him.

Gold was the major product of the Ashanti Empire. Osei Tutu made the gold mines royal possessions. He also made gold dust the circulating currency in the empire. Gold dust was frequently accumulated by the citizens of Asante, particularly by the evolving wealthy merchant class. The Ashanti Empire's economy depended on the gold trade in the 1700s, but by the early 1800s, it had become a major exporter of enslaved people. In exchange, the Ashanti received luxury items and some manufactured goods, including most importantly, firearms.

The consequence of this trade for the Ashanti and their neighbors was terrible. From 1790 until 1896, the Ashanti Empire was in a continuous state of war. These wars led to the acquisition of more slaves for trade. The constant warfare also weakened the Empire against the British, who eventually became their main enemy. Between 1823 and 1873, the Ashanti Empire resisted British advance on their territory. In 1874, however, British forces successfully invaded the Empire and briefly captured Kumasi. The Ashanti rebelled against British rule and the Empire was again conquered in 1897. After another uprising in 1900, the British overthrew and exiled the Asantehene and annexed the Empire into their Gold Coast colony in 1902.

Urabi Pasha's Rebellion in Egypt

Ahmed Urabi, or Urabi Pasha, was an officer in the Egyptian army. Urabi participated in an 1879 mutiny that developed into the Urabi revolt against the administration

of Khedive Tewfik, which was under the influence of an Anglo-French dual rule. He was promoted to Tewfik's cabinet and began reforms of Egypt's military and civil administrations, but the demonstrations in Alexandria in 1882 led to the British bombardment and the occupation of Egypt. Urabi and his supporters were arrested. And exiled to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka).

This revolt, also known as the Urabi revolt, was primarily inspired by his desire for social justice for the Egyptians based on equal standing before the law. With the support of the peasants as well, he launched a broader effort to try to free Egypt and Sudan from foreign control and to end the absolutist regime of the Khedive Ismael Pasha. The revolt, then, spread to express resentment at the influence of foreigners, including the aristocracy of the Ottoman Empire.

Urabi was eventually captured and tried by the restored Khedivate for rebellion on December 3, 1882. Urabi was found guilty and was sentenced to death, but the sentence was immediately commuted to banishment for life. He left Egypt on December 28, 1882, for Ceylon. In May 1901, Khedive Abbas II, Tewfik's son and successor, permitted Urabi to return to Egypt. Abbas was a nationalist and remained deeply opposed to British influence in Egypt. Urabi returned in 1901 and remained in Egypt until his death in 1911.

Urabi's revolt had a long-lasting significance in Egypt as the first instance of nationalistic sentiments in Egypt, which would later play a very important role in Egyptian history. Some historians also note that the 1881–1882 revolution laid the foundation for mass politics in Egypt. In 20th-century Egypt, particularly during the regime of Gamal Abdel Nasser, Urabi would come to be regarded as an Egyptian patriot and a national hero; he also inspired political activists living in Ceylon.

The Mahadist Movement in the Sudan

The Mahadist rebellion in the Sudan began in 1881 by Muhammad Ahmad, a Muslim holy man from Dongola who declared that he was the expected Mahdi. His followers, too, identified him as Al-Mahdi. In 1881, he organized a revolt, declaring that he was the expected Islamic savior, or Mahdi, and it was from this name that the Sudanese religious revivalist and anti-colonial movement was named the Mahadist movement.

On August 12, 1881, Al-Mahdi won his first victory over the colonial forces at the battle of Aba. Again in November 1883, the Mahaddists won another victory over the

Anglo-Egyptian army in Kordofan Province. Subsequently, in 1885, Al-Mahdi's forces captured Khartoum and killed Charles Gordon Pasha. Five months later, Muhammad Ahmad passed away. The Mahaddists were also known as the Dervishes (religious beggars) and later as the Ansars (helpers).

Upon the death of the Mahdi in 1885, Khalifa Abdullah took the leadership. He set up a strong administrative system by appointing district governors responsible for collecting taxation strictly in accordance with the rules of the Quran. The British regarded the successive victories of the Mahaddists as a threat and wanted to avenge the death of Charles Gordon. In 1896, the Anglo-Egyptian army, under the command of General Kitchner, advanced into the Sudan. Two years later, in 1898, this army inflicted a final defeat upon the Mahadist forces at the battle of Omdurman. Sudan was occupied by the combined forces of Britain and Egypt. Following this, the British set up what they called the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. Lord Kitchner was appointed as the first Governor-General of the Sudan.

The Maji-Maji Rebellion

In East Africa, the most serious challenge for the Germans was the widespread resistance of the people of Tanganyika. This rebellion broke out in the southern part of the colony, in the hinterland of Kilwa, in July 1905. It began in the Matumbi hills, following the imposition of heavy taxes and the use of forced labor in the cotton growing farma for export. The revolt spread rapidly throughout the region, with attacks on all foreigners: missionaries, administrators, and their Swahili/Arab clerks.

It was a spontaneous revolt with no previous planning or central leadership. And yet, the peoples of Southern Tanzania came together in a way that is unique in the history of African resistance to colonialism. Instinctively, they turned to their beliefs in the powers of the spirit world. It was a deliberate attempt to overcome the problems that had crippled earlier African resistance to European conquest, i.e., a lack of African unity and the European machine-gun. They sprinkled their bodies with magic water known as Maji-Maji, which they believed would turn the bullets of their enemies into water. It is therefore from this term that the resistance movement got the name Maji-Maji. Although the revolt spread to Morogoro and the outskirts of Dar es Salam, it had gradually lost its initial momentum. The power of Maji-Maji had been weakened and its political unity was gradually falling apart because of ethnic and other differences. In addition to this, by the end of 1905, the Germans had brought

reinforcements, recruited from Somaliland and New Guinea. As a result, in 1906, the Germans gradually reclaimed the central highland region under their control. They even perused a “scorched-earth” policy, destroying villages and laying waste vast stretches of southern and central Tanzania. Finally, they defeated the powerful Ngoni warriors in 1907. The war devastated several African villages and brought famine to the Africans. It also resulted in the destruction of trade and wealth in the country.

In any case, the Maji-Maji revolt demonstrated the possibility of broader African anti-colonial nationalism. The sacrifice of the thousands of Tanzanians who died in the Maji-Maji revolt was important in inspiring the later generation of nationalists who brought their country to independence in the early 1960’s.

LESSON 3

2.3. Colonial Administration and the Colonial States

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- identify the difference between the colonial policies of Britain and France;
- explain the political economy of colonial agriculture, mining and trade;
- discuss the political, social and economic impacts of colonialism on Africa;
- denounce the economic impact of colonialism.

British and French Colonial Policies

British Colonial Policy

The British followed a colonial administration known as “indirect rule” which was most clearly formulated by Frederick Lugard. In 1922, Lugard published his book called “The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa.” He described the system of government he had worked out for the administration in Northern Nigeria. He recommended its application to all British tropical African colonies. “Indirect rule” was believed by the British to be the cheapest and most effective way of administering a vast population stretched over even vaster territories with the minimum of European personnel. But “indirect rule” was far from being a clear-cut system. Its application varied enormously from colony to colony.

Brainstorming Question

» How do British and French colonial policies differ from each other?

The British based their colonial administration upon what they saw as a series of minor but totally separate pre-colonial chiefdoms. To make this a reality, they emphasized differences in dialects and redefined them as totally separate languages. They described customary differences in dress, housing, and religious practices in terms of rigid “tribal” distinctions. Indeed, it has been argued that colonial authorities invented “tribalism.” By insisting on the strength of “tribal” differences and rivalries, colonists made it more difficult for Africans to achieve unity in opposition. The British thus made use of the age-old imperial maxim: “divide and rule.”

The French Colonial Policy

The French believed that by teaching the colonial peoples the French language, subjecting them to French law, and giving them French civil and political rights, they could assimilate the people they colonized.

Throughout their colonies in Africa, the French applied this theory in full only in Senegal. In 1848, France conferred French citizenship on the Senegalese and also gave them the right to elect a representative, called a deputy, to the French National Assembly (the lower house of the French parliament) in Paris. In accordance with the policy of assimilation, the Senegalese were given the French system of local government based on communes. All the indigenous inhabitants were French citizens and enjoyed the same civil and political rights as Frenchmen. People born in other parts of the French colonies could become French citizens only if they could read, write, and speak French well.

Albert Sarraut, Minister of Colonies in 1920–24 and 1932–33, was the individual who laid the foundations for the French colonial policy of administration usually known as “Direct Rule.” Sarraut’s outlook was very different from that of the Englishmen. It was less respectful of African personalities while also being more fraternal toward Africans. Sarraut never talked about allowing the Africans to develop along their own lines. His dominant thought was that France and her African colonies must be kept as united in peace as they had been in war.

There were two major differences between the British and French methods of using

African chiefs in local government. The first was that the British tried as much as possible to ensure that all the chiefs they used were traditional rulers, as the French were not particularly keen on this point. The second was that the British were more inclined to respect the chiefs under them and to give them more powers than the French did. It was above all in education that French policy differed from the British. Although a few mission schools received government subsidies for exceptional efficiency, nine-tenths of the formal education in French Africa was given by the state. All the teaching was in French. It is, however, noteworthy that, ultimately, the French and British methods virtually led to the same result. They caused African chiefs to lose their traditional character and made them dependent on their colonial masters.

During the colonial period, Belgium had some colonial possessions in Africa. Belgian African colonial possessions included Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi. Belgian colonial rule in the Congo was based on the idea of a “colonial trinity” in which interests of the state, missionaries and private companies were all considered.

Portuguese colonial rule in Africa, particularly in Angola and Mozambique, included both oppressive and liberal methods. There was no clear landmarked policy to administer the Portuguese colonies in Africa. We can say that the Portuguese colonial system of administration was more or less oppressive. In fact, there were few liberal policies like the assimilation policy. The assimilation policy was never fully implemented, but it kept native African peoples in Portuguese colonies hoping that one day they would behave and live like white Portuguese.

German colonial rule in Africa from 1884-1914 was an expression of nationalism and moral superiority. The Germans pursued a colonial administrative policy of direct rule like the French to maximally exploit the resources of the people of Tanganyika. The Germans employed direct rule, assigning enough personnel or manpower to administer their colonial possession of Tanganyika.

The Political Economy of Colonial Agriculture, Mining and Trade

One of the driving factors for the European conquest of Africa was economic motive. That was the need for raw materials for European industries and new markets for manufactured goods. Colonial governments often encouraged Africans to undertake cash crop production. A major role was filled in this process by African chiefs, whether “traditional” or newly created. The chiefs were often given the task of establishing their own export plantations using unpaid force labor of their subjects. The most

important cash crops were palm oil, palm kernels, peanuts, cocoa, coffee and cotton.

Small-scale peasant farmers had dominated the cash crop production in much of tropical Africa. Ground nuts remained the main cash crop in Cote d'Ivoire, Angola, Tanganyika, Uganda and Eastern Belgian Congo. Cocoa was even more successful as a dominant cash crop in northern Nigeria and Senegal. Coffee was developed as a profitable cash crop and remained the principal export crop of the Gold Coast and southwestern Nigeria. Cotton, which was low-priced and labor-intensive, was usually produced only under pressure from Europeans. To satisfy the demands of the French textile industry, peasant production of cotton was made compulsory in certain parts of Ubangui Chari (Central Africa Republic), Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Mali and Niger. In Southern Sudan, between the Blue Nile and White Nile, the British government sponsored a vast irrigation scheme to promote the peasant production of cotton. African tenants, however, lost access to land for growing food and only received 40% of the profits from their cotton.

Most of the African peasant farmers still graze most of their own basic food. Cheap rice from French Indo-China was imported into French West African colonies and sold at rates which undercut local food producers. African peasant farmers, who had often started the growth of cash crops for export under pressure from colonial taxation, rapidly became dependent upon the imports which their crops might buy.

In general, during the 1920's and 1930's, African farmers were paid less for what they produced, but had to pay more for what they bought. Thus, it was particularly the case after the "Great Depression," which struck Europe and the United States in 1929-30. With failing real incomes and the constant pressure of colonial taxation, African peasants had to bring more and more land into cash-crop production. Food crops were neglected, the soil became exhausted, and in times of drought, famine struck. In 1931, famine killed nearly half the population in some areas of Niger.

Mining

The sector of the colonial economy most profitable for capital investment was mining. Colonial authorities assumed all rights over minerals within their territories. They were then leased to European-owned companies to exploit. The British thus took over the gold fields of Asante. The other major mineral resources which attracted European mining capital to West Africa were the ancient tin-mines of the Jos plateau region in northern Nigeria. These were exploited by low-technology, open-caste

mining using huge quantities of unskilled African labor. The richest parts of tropical Africa for European mineral exploitation in the colonial period were the central African region of Katanga (Shaba) and the Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) “copper belt”. The Union Minière Company has obtained exclusive control of copper-mining in Katanga. They drew much of their initial labor from the area near Northern Rhodesia. The settlement of white farmers along the Northern Rhodesia line of rail was to grow maize and cattle to feed the Katanga miners.

Southern Rhodesia was another important zone of European mining enterprises. Besides the coal of Hwange, which provided the copper belt (Katanga) mines with most of their industrial fuel, Southern Rhodesia became a major producer of gold, copper, and asbestos. The dominant industrial mining center of southern Africa was the Witwatersrand.

Activity 2.4

1. Discuss in groups the history of African resistance against colonial rule in any one of the African countries.

Unit Summary

The suppression of the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade, the commodities of which were slaves, was a long process that took about half a century. The British were the first to take measures to bring an end to the “illegitimate trade”. The reason why the British decided to stop the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade has to do with the industrial revolution. After the British embarked on the industrial revolution, they realized that the black people could help them much if the British remain in Africa and produce raw materials for the growing European industries. They also thought that Africa could be a potential market for European manufactured goods.

The European scramble for Africa began slowly in the 1870’s and reached its peak in the late 1880’s and 1890’s. Between 1885 and 1900, European powers were racing against each other to control territories in Africa. The Berlin Conference of 1884–85 was an attempt made by the European leaders to add international agreement to the carving up of Africa that was already under way. It involved representatives from many European countries. The participants agreed to notify others of the areas they captured.

Africans fought against European invaders. In this regard, we can mention the struggle led by Samori Toure of the Muslim empire of Mandinka against French penetration of West Africa, Urabi Pasha's resistance in Egypt, the Mahadist Movement in Sudan, and the Maji-Maji Rebellion in Tanganyika.

The British followed a colonial administration known as 'Indirect Rule' which was formulated by Frederick Lugard. The French pursued a colonial administrative policy known as 'Direct Rule.' Albert Sarraut, Minister of Colonies in 1920-24 and 1932-33, was the individual who laid the foundations for the French colonial policy of administration of "Direct Rule".

Unit Review Exercises

Instructions: Fill in the blanks

1. The British colonial policy was designed by _____.
2. Direct rule was the colonial policy of the _____.
3. The anti colonial struggle in west Africa against the French was led by _____.
4. The Mau Mau was an anti-colonial movement in _____.
5. _____ have been a serious political problem for independent African states.

UNIT THREE

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ETHIOPIA, MID 19TH C. TO 1941

Introduction

This unit discusses the main historical developments in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa from 1855 to 1941. This unit includes long-distance trade and people's interaction in the 19th century, power rivalry and consolidating central government, 1855–1913. The shift of the political center from the north to Shewa, the territorial expansion, external relations, challenges and threats, and the victory of Adwa are also issues to be treated in this unit. In addition, the religious doctrinal controversies within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the birth of Eritrea as an Italian colony, the birth of Djibouti as a French colony, the power struggles among the ruling elite, 1906–1936, Italian aggression on Ethiopia and the patriotic resistance will be addressed in this topic.

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- analyze the revival and consolidation of the central authorities and the unification of the Ethiopian State;
- explain the great struggle and survival of Ethiopia's independence;
- appreciate the Ethiopian people's sacrifices for the causes of independence and sovereignty.

Lessons:

- ◆ Long Distance Trade and Peoples' Interaction in Ethiopia in the 19th Century
- ◆ Power Rivalry and Consolidating Central Government, 1855-1913
- ◆ Territorial Expansion and Disappearance of Local States
- ◆ External Relations and Challenges

- ◆ The Victory of Adwa
- ◆ Religious Doctrinal Controversies
- ◆ The Birth of Eritrea as an Italian Colony
- ◆ Power Struggle among Ruling Elites, 1906-1935
- ◆ Italian Aggression and the Patriotic Resistance: Causes and Courses of the War

Key Words and Concepts

- Aggression • Feudal wars • Power struggle • Patriotism • Independence

LESSON 1

3.1. Long Distance Trade and Peoples' Interaction in Ethiopia in the 19th Century

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- identify the main trade routes and commodities during the long-distance trade in Ethiopia of the 19th Century; and
- explain how long-distance trade helped for the interaction of the Ethiopian people.

Brainstorming Questions

- » What factors contributed to the unification of Ethiopia?
- » How did Ethiopia manage to maintain its independence during the stiff power struggles of the period of the *Zemene Mesafint*?
- » What do we mean by “Long Distance Trade”? What makes it different from the usual trade?

Factors for the Revival of the Long-Distance Trade

The establishment of a monarchical system among the southwestern Oromo regions, particularly the rise of the five Oromo kingdoms in the Gibe region, was one of the factors that contributed to the revival of the long-distance period and the reappear-

ance of the northern Ethiopian merchants in the Gibe region. At the beginning of the 19th century, there were intense regional feudal wars that could be an obstacle to the smooth conduct of trade. Although the period was apparently unstable and unsafe for the smooth conduct of commercial activities, trade improved from time to time. This was probably because of the relative improvement of the political conditions along the Red Sea coast after the Egyptian conquest of South Arabia at the beginning of the 19th century. New political development along the Red Sea coasts and Arabia by the turn of the 19th century strengthened peace and order and increased the importance of the Red Sea as a very important channel of trade.

Trade Routes and Market Centers

Activity 3.1

1. Make a group and guess the main export commodities of the long-distance trade. Then tell your list of trade items to other classmates.

One of the main caravan trade routes started from the Gibe region and led to Assendabo in Guduru (Eastern Wollega). The Assendabo market was an important place which served as a point of contact for people between the Abay and the Gibe River valleys. From Assendabo, the products of southwestern Ethiopia found their way to Basso in Gojjam. The Basso market, which is located immediately north of the Abay River, was a very important meeting place for merchants who came from different parts of Ethiopia. Muslim and Christian merchants from Tigray, Gondar, Wollo, Shewa and different parts of the present-day Oromia region south of the Abay River used to meet at the Basso marketplace.

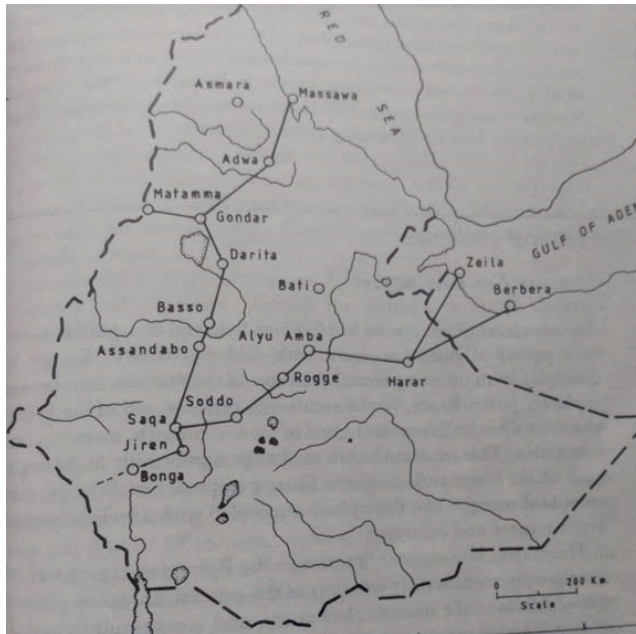
From Basso, one group of merchants proceeded to Derita in Begemder and then to Gondar. At Gondar, the route was divided into two: one of the routes led to the Sudan through Metemma; while the other went to Massawa via Adwa. From Basso, the merchants of Shewa also proceeded to Ankober, while the Wollo merchants went to Aussa and then to the ports of Tajura and Obock.

Bati and Ancharo were very important market centres in Wollo. Another major caravan route that originated from the Gibe region followed a north-eastern direction to the Soddo market in the Gurage land. The Soddo market was linked with the Ankober market in Shewa. With the emergence and consolidation of the Shewan Kingdom in the 19th century, the caravan route that linked the Shewan Plateau with Harar also revived. Thus, Harari merchants began to visit Ankober frequently in the nineteenth

century. The trade route from Harar went either to Zeila or Berbera on the coast of the Gulf of Aden.

The principal long-distance caravan routes were:

1. Bonga (Kafa) –Jimma-Saka-Assendabo-Basso-Gondar
 - a. Gondar-Metemma-Sudan
 - b. Gondar-Adwa-Massawa
2. Bonga-Jimma-Saka-Assendabo-Aussa-Tajura/Obock
3. Bonga-Jimma-Soddo-Ankober-Harar-Zeila/ Berbera.



Map. 3.1 Long distance trade routes (adopted from Bahru Zewde, A History of Modern Ethiopia)

Trade Items and Slave Trade

Throughout the nineteenth century, the major trading items included ivory, civet, gold, wax, and animal skins and slaves. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, coffee also became one of the important commodities for export. Ethiopian goods were natural products which were obtained mainly from southwestern Ethiopia. Even today, most of the Ethiopian commodities for export are natural agricultural products.

Slaves became the major Ethiopian export item since the ancient times. Slaves from Ethiopia were exported both to the Sudan and Arabia. The well known slave auction markets were Yejjube in Gojjam, and Abdul Rasul, near Aleyu Amba. In addition, coffee gradually came to assume considerable importance, particularly after rail transport in the twentieth century made it possible to transport the item in relatively large quantities.

As far as the merchants were concerned, although there were also some Christian merchants, the majority were Muslim traders from northern Ethiopia, known as Jabarti. These merchants traveled in large caravans, selecting one of them as their head, Negade Ras, a term which was later transformed into Negadras. Eventually, the Afkala who were the dominant Muslim merchants in southwestern Ethiopia came to dominate the local trade of the Gibe region. The Jabarti had a dominant role in the long-distance trade of the nineteenth century until they began to face competition from the Afkala. The Afkala had many connections along all the caravan routes from which they collected the important trade commodities. They had also better protection from the local people and could easily and safely travel between the market places in the north and the Gibe region. Although the Jabarti still maintained their monopoly, by the middle of the nineteenth century, most of the caravan trade between the south and northern Ethiopia was conducted by the Afkala.

Activity 3.2

1. Discuss in groups and write a one-page report concerning how trade can contribute to interaction among people.

Trade as a Factor for People's Interaction

The revival of long-distance trade in the nineteenth century had a significant effect on the political developments in the Gibe region. It was through the agency of Muslim merchants that Islam was introduced to the Gibe region in the first half of the nineteenth century. The introduction and spread of Islam helped the Oromo chiefs to establish monarchies and legitimize their power by neglecting the Gada system and other Oromo practices which were against hereditary rule or monarchy. Islam helped the rulers in southwestern Ethiopia to strengthen their state apparatus, reinforce their authority, and facilitate the growth of trade. The long-distance trade created strong links between the people of northern Ethiopia and south-western Ethiopia. Merchants from the north began to intermingle with people from south-western

Ethiopia. There was also an exchange of ideas and cultures.

LESSON 2

3.2. Power Rivalry and Consolidating Central Government, 1855-1913

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- explain how the Zemene Mesafint came to an end;
- discuss the power rivalry between the major lords of Ethiopia between 1855 and 1913;
- appreciate the struggle made to bring an end to the period of the end of the ZemeneMesafint.

Brainstorming Questions

- » What do you understand by *Zemene-Mesafint*?
- » Was *Zemene-Mesafint* a period of mere destruction and the absence of government power?

Beginning from 1769 and lasting through the middle of the 19th century, Ethiopia experienced a period of intense regionalism. By then, the country was divided into several almost independent regional polities, which were themselves further divided into smaller units. By then, the power of the so-called Solomonic kings had been thoroughly weakened. The Yejju Rases had dominated Ethiopian politics from 1769 to 1855. The Yejju rulers, who were also known as Worashe, were Amharized Oromos with a Muslim background. They took the title Ras Bitwoded, and most of them used Debre Tabor as their capital. Nevertheless, the Yejju Rases could not bring lasting peace and unity within Ethiopia. The period from 1769 to 1855, which is commonly known as the Zemene Mesafint or the Era of Princes, was a time when not only the power of the Solomonic kings was thoroughly weakened, but it was also a period when the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was torn by religious doctrinal controversies.

Religious Doctrinal Controversies

Christianity was introduced in Ethiopia in the 4th century AD. The first and dominant Christian sect in Ethiopia was the Orthodox sect of Christianity. Nevertheless, there

were doctrinal controversies within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in the medieval period. For instance, there was a dispute within the church between the House of Abba Ewostatewos and the House of Teklehaimanot. The disagreement was regarding the observance of Saturday as a Sabbath which was resolved by Emperor Zera'yacob in 1450 at the Council of Debre Metmaq which accepted both Saturday and Sunday as holyday.

During the Zemene Mesafint there were controversies within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church on the birth of Christ. One group claimed that Jesus Christ had three births (Soset Ledet) while the other sect argued that Jesus Christ had only two births (Hulet Ledet). The second group was also known as Karra (knife, perhaps because its adherents are criticized for cutting the births of Jesus Christ down to two). Emperor Yohannis IV gave state support for the Hulet Ledet (Karra) group. The Qebat ('Unction') doctrine had a strong support in Gojjam. The other doctrine, Ye Tsega Lej ('Grace') was dominant first in Gondar and then in Shewa. The Tewahedo (Union) doctrine, which was supported by the Egyptian Patriarch of Ethiopia, was dominant in much of Tigray and Lasta. As a result, such doctrinal divisions within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church had a regional character. Thus, the doctrinal division prevented the Ethiopian Orthodox Church from playing its traditional role as a cohesive institution among the Orthodox Christian masses.

The End of the Era of Prines or the Zemene Mesafint

The Zemene Mesafint was characterized by frequent civil wars among regional lords. The Ethiopian peasants were the principal victims of civil war. The peasants were forced to attend battles against their will. They were forced to hand over their produce to the lords in their vicinity. Peasants had to pay numerous taxes to numerous lords. They were also obliged to feed and take care of some soldiers that were assigned to them through the billeting system, as the soldiers were not salaried. Because of the frequent wars, they could not conduct their agricultural activities peacefully. In general, the impoverished peasants were almost completely exhausted by the perpetual feudal warfare that characterized the period of the Zemene Mesafint.

Nevertheless, the period of the Zemene Mesafint was not simply a time of the complete anarchy and collapse of the state power. It did see some periods of relative peace. During the long rule of Ras Gugsa, the Worashe hegemony gained a solid basis. In fact, during that period Shewa and Tigray were not fully under the Worashe hegemony even during the tenure of Ras Gugsa. Moreover, the Yejju lords contributed to

the survival of the institution of the weakened monarchy. The works of travelers of the period are not only stories of decline and destruction. Their accounts also show some positive developments. Therefore, the period needs additional research.

As we have seen already during the Zemene Mesafint, the central government was greatly weakened. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church also faced serious doctrinal divisions. The country lacked peace and stability. The peasantry suffered more than any other section of Ethiopian society. In order to solve these problems and reunite the country, a young man named Kassa Hailu rose against the Worashe dynasty. In four major battles, the young Kassa defeated powerful regional lords of northern Ethiopia. In November 1852 Kassa defeated Dejach Goshu Zewde of Gojjam at the battle of Guramba. In April 1853, Dejach Kassa routed the vassals of Ras Ali Alula, including Dejach Birru Goshu and Dejach Birru Aligaz, at the battle of Gorgora Bichen. Then Kassa launched an attack against Ras Ali Alula, and defeated Ali at the battle of Ayshal on 29 June 1853. The battle of Ayshal was very significant as it put an end to the Worashe rule. The battle of Ayshal did not mark the end of the period of the Zemene Mesafint because there was still another powerful lord in northern Ethiopia particularly in Simen i.e., Dejach Wube Haile Mariam. Kassa Hailu had to remove the last obstacle to assuming power. Therefore, the forces of Kassa Hailu and Dejach Wube met at a place called Deresge in February 1855. Dejazmach Kassa Hailu defeated Dejach Wube and ascended to the throne as Tewodros II, King of Kings of Ethiopia. The battle of Deresge brought an end to the period of the Zemene Mesafint.

Activity 3.3

1. Why did Dejach Kassa Hailu choose Emperor Tewodros II as his throne name?
2. What makes Emperor Tewodros II different from his immediate predecessors?
3. Why were Emperor Tewodros II's reforms not warmly welcomed?
4. How did the battle of Debarqi in 1848 shape the life of Emperor Tewodros?

Emperor Tewodros II attempted to introduce several important reforms. In this regard, we can mention attempts to unify the country, the introduction of a centralized administration, and the creation of a national army to prepare the country for possible foreign and particularly Egyptian aggression. Tewodros II was aware of the value of military training, military discipline, and proper firearms.

He got this lesson while he was a rebel, from the battle of Deberki in 1848 where he lost many fighters while fighting against Egyptians. Tewodros realized that he was routed by the Egyptian soldiers who had marked superiority over the forces of Kassa Hailu in military training and in the quality of weapons.

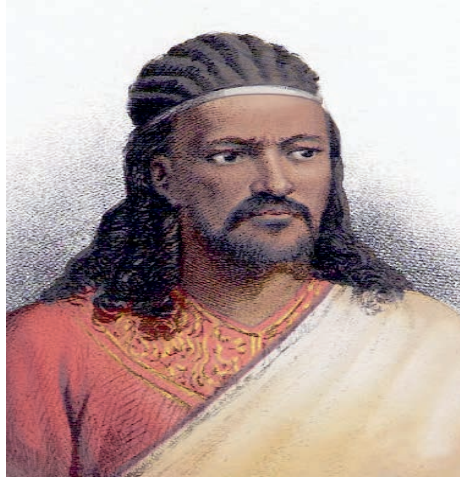


Figure 3.1 Emperor Tewodros II (1855-1868)

Therefore, Tewodros introduced a military reform which included modern military training with military drills and introduced military titles like AserAleqa (corporal), Hamsa Aleqa (sergeant), Meto Aleqa (lieutenant) and Shaleqa (Major). He also wanted his soldiers to be armed with modern and very efficient firearms.

Emperor Tewodros II launched campaigns against Wollo, Gojjam and Shewa to unite Ethiopia. He punished those who tried to resist him. His punitive measures were not limited to his adversaries. Tewodros also punished his own soldiers to enforce strict military discipline. But these measures had some undesired effects and many of his own soldiers eventually deserted him.

The relationship between Emperor Tewodros II and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was generally unhealthy. Tewodros quarrelled with the clergy and the patriarch, Abune Selema not because of religious reasons. What brought Emperor Tewodros and the Church into conflict was Tewodros' attempt to confiscate the extra land holdings of the church to redistribute it among landless peasants. He also declared that each church should retain land that could maintain no more than two priests and three deacons. That brought him into conflict with the Orthodox clergy. As a result, Abune Selama excommunicated Tewodros. In response, Tewodros' imprisoned Abune Selama in 1864 and the Abune died in prison in 1867.

The other reason that brought the downfall of Emperor Tewodros was the serious opposition he faced from the regional lords of the various regions in Ethiopia who lost their regional power because of Tewodros's centralization. He appointed his own men in the regions he incorporated. Just a decade after Tewodros had assumed the imperial throne; most of the Ethiopian territories that were incorporated by him by force of arms had fallen under big regional lords including Tisso Gobeze of Wolkait, Dajach Kassa Mercha of Tigray, Tedla Gualu of Gojjam, Wagshum Gobeze Gebremedhin of Lasta and Negus Menelik of Shewa.

Emperor Tewodros was aware of Ethiopia's backwardness and made serious attempts to modernize Ethiopia, particularly because he wanted to build well trained, disciplined and well armed national army. Tewodros was not solely interested in importing European manufactured goods. He rather sought firearms to be manufactured in Ethiopia by the Ethiopians. For this he wanted European assistance and wrote letters to Queen Victoria of England to send him skilled personnel. Unfortunately, Tewodros could not get a quick positive response from the British government for his request for British technical assistance.

Disappointed by lack of response from the British government, Emperor Tewodros II took Captain Cameron, the British consul and European missionaries in Ethiopia as hostages and forced them to manufacture mortars in his gun-foundry established at Gafat near his capital, Debre Tabor. Although the European missionaries had no experience in arms production, Tewodros forced them to manufacture mortars including the largest one which he named Sevastopol.



Fig. 3.2 The largest mortar (Sevastopol) produced at Gafat still lying at Meqdela Amba

The British government tried to convince Tewodros to release European captives by sending Hormuzd Rassam promising that the British were ready to send him the skilled personnel he requested. Nevertheless, Tewodros was not willing to release the hostages. Therefore, in 1867, the British government sent a military expedition against Ethiopia led by General Robert Napier with a limited objective of releasing European captives. By 1867, the army of Emperor Tewodros had declined to 5,000 – 10,00 while the British force was composed of 32,000 – 40,000 men. In addition, the British had a marked superiority over the Ethiopian forces, both in military training and the quality of firearms. On the April 10, 1868 the British forces routed the Ethiopian forces led by Fitawrari Gebreye at the battle of Arogee. In this battle, the right-hand man of Emperor Tewodros, Fitawrari Gebreye lost his life. The death of Fitawrari Gebreye was a big blow to Tewodros. The British eventually stormed Meqdela. General Napier demanded the unconditional surrender of Tewodros. But Tewodros was not willing to do so. Emperor Tewodros II first released all the European hostages and then committed suicide on April 13, 1868 at Meqdela rather than surrender to the British. The British soldiers looted Ethiopian treasury at Meqdela. The forces under General Robert Napier also took Prince Alemayehu Tewodros and his mother and wife of the late Emperor Tewodros i.e., Etege Tiruwork as captives and left Ethiopia.

The death of Emperor Tewodros again led to the usual power struggle among the leading regional lords. Nevertheless, the objective reality of the period was quite different from that of the Zemene Mesafint. Tewodros has already made himself as a good model for his successors to keep the unification of Ethiopia. As a result, the powerful lords were determined to become emperor. Thus all the three powerful rivals, namely: Dejazmach Kassa Mircha of Tigray, Wagshum Gobezie Gebre Medhin of Lasta and Menilek Haile Melekot of Shewa, wanted to become king of kings of Ethiopia like Tewodros.

Activity 3.4

1. How did Kassa Hailu attempt to unify Ethiopia?
2. Compare and contrast the successes and failures of Emperor Tewodros II and Emperor Yohannis II in unifying Ethiopia.
3. Why did the Egyptians launch two major wars of aggression against Ethiopia during the reign of Emperor Yohannis IV?

4. What were the consequences of the signing of the Hewett Treaty by Emperor Yohannis IV?

5. Do you think Emperor Tewodros II succeeded in creating a united Ethiopia? Why?

Of the three contenders to assume the Imperial throne, the first to succeed the late Tewodros was Wagshum Gobezie Gebre Medhin of Lasta, who took the throne name Emperor Tekle Giorgis. The reign of Emperor Tekle Giorgis was not more than three years long. His authority was seriously challenged by other feudal princes of Gojjam, Shewa and Tigray. Although he tried to consolidate his authority, the other contenders for power were not willing to obey and recognize him. Kassa Mircha of Tigray, for instance, was not willing to pay tribute to the new Emperor. Finally, in July 1871, at the battle of Asem Dejmach Kassa Mircha of Tigray defeated and captured Emperor Tekle Giorgis and brought an end to Emperor Tekle Giorgis' short reign. That was because of the modern weapons Kassa Mircha received from General Napier for helping the British forces on their march to Meqdela to fight against Tewodros. In 1872, Dejmach Kassa Mircha declared himself Emperor Yohannis IV of Ethiopia and ruled from 1872 to 1889.

Although Emperor Tewodros' plan to create a united Ethiopia did not materialize, there was no return to the Zemene Mesafint. The idea of Ethiopian unity was adopted and implemented by the successors of Tewodros, including Yohannis IV, though with differing styles. Emperor Yohannis IV was politically liberal and followed an administration that resembled federalism. Yohannis was willing and ready to share power with his vassals. He granted a great deal of autonomy to regional and dynastic rulers. In this regard, in 1878, he forced Menilek of Shewa to drop his title of king of kings and confirmed his title of king of Shewa. Emperor Yohannis IV also designated Ras Adal Tesema of Gojjam as Negus of Gojjam and Kafa in 1881. Yohannis IV did not interfere in the internal affairs of his vassals as long as they recognized his over-lordship and paid tribute.

Activity 3.5

1. Make a group of four students and compare and contrast the unification attempts of Emperor Tewodros II with those of Emperor Yohannis IV.

Emperor Yohannis IV devoted most of his time and energy to defending his country

from external invaders. He fought successful wars against Egyptian invaders. He also worked hard to stop the territorial expansion of the Italians from Massawa to the hinterland of Ethiopia. He also fought against the Mahadist forces in Sudan and lost his life in the battle of Metemma in 1889. Although the Ethiopian forces were about to celebrate victory over the Mahadists, Yohannis was seriously wounded, and victory turned into defeat.

The Shift of the Political Centre from the North to Shewa

Although Emperor Yohannis IV had designated Ras Mengesha as his heir and successor, it was Negus Menilek of Shewa who formally inherited the throne from Emperor Yohannis IV. As mentioned already, the pioneer of the modern Ethiopian state formation was Emperor Tewodros II. But Tewodros could not achieve his goals of national unification. Emperor Yohannis IV was somewhat successful in building an empire where regional hereditary rulers enjoyed the right of internal autonomy. Nevertheless, the process of the Ethiopian empire's formation was not completed. Negus Menilek of Shewa, who crowned himself king of the kings of Ethiopia in 1889, learnt from the experiences and failures of his predecessors and made a great effort to complete the national unification process. During the reign of Emperor Menilek II, the size of the old Christian kingdom grew by more than double and, thanks to the remarkable victory the Ethiopians scored over the Italian forces at Adwa in 1896, Ethiopia got her first internationally recognized modern boundaries.

The main features of the reign of Emperor Menilek II included:

1. Large scale territorial expansion. He extended the territory of the Shewan Kingdom to the south, southwest, and southeastern Ethiopia.
2. Defending the country against colonial aggression by mobilizing the entire Ethiopian population
3. The process of modernization in Ethiopia that was begun by Emperor Tewodros

LESSON 3

3.3. Territorial Expansion and the Incorporation of Kingdoms

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- analyze causes and consequences of territorial expansion to the South, southwest and southeast;
- assess the reaction of the people of Southern Ethiopia against the centralization policy; and
- compare and contrast the nature of the land tenure system in northern and southern Ethiopia.

Brainstorming Questions

- Why did Negus Menilek of Shewa expand his territory into southern Ethiopia?
- How did the conquered people respond to Menilek's expansion?
- Discuss the different aspects of the national operation imposed on the newly incorporated peoples of the south, southwest and southeast Ethiopia in the 19th century.
- Was Menilek the first Ethiopian monarch to start large scale territorial expansion?

People's Reaction to the Policy of Centralization

Territorial expansions by the kings of the central highland kingdom were common even in the medieval period. For instance, King Amde Tsion had embarked on a major territorial expansion.

As we have seen, one of the main features of the reign of Negus and later Neguse Negest Menilek was the forcible incorporation of vast territories into the southern, southwestern, and southeastern territories of present-day Ethiopia. When Menilek was king of Shewa, he began to expand his territory. Ethiopian export commodities such as ivory, gold, civet, coffee, and even slaves were mostly obtained in these areas, notably in southern Ethiopia. Negus Menilek, more than any other monarch before him, appears to have attempted to gain from the natural wealth of southwestern Ethiopia. Menilek desired to govern lands in southwestern Ethiopia, and to realize

his aim of extending into this fertile region, he worked hard to improve the quantity and quality of his weaponry. Menilek also wanted to control the long-distance trade in southern and southwestern Ethiopia.

Menilek's territorial expansion had three phases. The first covered the period from 1870 to 1889., The second stage was conducted between 1889 and 1896. The last stage of the expansion was carried out between 1896 and 1900. Negus Menilek of Shewa began his territorial expansion while he was the king of Shewa in the 1870s. The first to be incorporated by Negus Menilek of Shewa in the early 1870s were the Oromo clans of Shewa. Then the forces of Shewa got the peaceful submission of the Kistane Gurage people, who were predominantly Christians. The people of Southern Gurage gave the forces of King Menilek stiff resistance organized under their leader Hassan Enjamo who was from the people of Qebena. This area was subdued by the forces of Ras Gobena Dache only in 1888, after ten years of resistance.

Activity 3.6

1. Who was Hassan Enjamo? What were his contributions?

Southwestern Ethiopia, which is very rich in natural resources, was a bone of contention between Negus Menilek of Shewa and Negus Tekle Haimanot of Gojjam. In fact, Emperor Yohannis IV had allowed Negus Tekle Haimanot of Gojjam to expand in that direction and stopped Menilek's expansion in southwestern Ethiopia. Nevertheless, the two kings went to war, and in the subsequent battle fought at Embabo on 6 June 1882, the forces of Menilek defeated Haimanot's forces. The Shewan victory over the forces of Gojjam at the battle of Embabo gave Negus Menilek the opportunity to expand towards southwestern Ethiopia. After the battle of Embabo, the local rulers of the kingdoms of southwestern Ethiopia, the five Oromo Kingdoms in the Gibe region and the Leqa states in Wollega were persuaded to accept peaceful submission to the forces of Negus Menilek and incorporation into the Shewan kingdom. In return for their peaceful submission, Negus Menilek recognized the internal administrative autonomy of these kingdoms. King Aba Jifar of Jimma, Jote Tulu of Leqa Qellem and Kumsa Moreda of Leqa Neqamte belong to the list of local rulers who submitted peacefully to Menilek in the years between 1882 and 1884.

The campaigns of expansion of the forces of Negus Menilek in the southern and southeastern regions were not as strong as the resistance in Arsi, Wolaita and Kafa. In these areas, the people put up a stiff resistance to the Shewan forces. The Arsi

Oromo gave the Shewan forces a very stiff resistance. The Shewan forces had to make six unsuccessful military campaigns to incorporate Arsi. In some of these campaigns launched to incorporate Arsi, Negus Menilek himself personally took part. Finally, after four years of brave fighting, the Arsi Oromo were defeated in 1886 at the battle of Azule. The well-armed and militarily better experienced Shewan forces that finally defeated the forces of the Arsi Oromo were led by Ras Darge, the uncle of Menilek. In the Arsi campaign, the Oromo general Ras Gobena Dache who had a significant role in the early campaigns of Negus Menelik's territorial expansion had taken part as a military commander of the forces of Negus Menelik. The Arsi campaign was one of the bloody campaigns that claimed the lives of many people. Unlike the rulers of southwestern Ethiopia, who peacefully submitted to the forces of Menilek, the rulers of the Arsi Oromo were not granted internal administration. They were removed from their positions and replaced by governors appointed by the Shewans.

Activity 3.7

1. Why did Emperor Menilek conduct territorial expansion during the post-Adwa period?
2. Discuss how Menilek treated the newly incorporated areas.

Arsi served as a stepping stone for Menilek's expansion into the Emirate of Harar. The Emirate of Harar was subdued by the forces of Shewa under Menilek after a bloody battle fought between the armies of Menilek and Emir Abdulahi at a place called Chelenqo on 6 January 1887. His success at the Chelenqo battle enabled Negus Menelik of Shewa to control the eastern commercial town of Harar and gave him full control of the long-distance trade route. In the Chellenqo battle, not only the Harari forces but also the Oromo people fought against the forces of Shewa under Negus Menelik. Chelenqo, the main battleground of the war, is about 90 kilometers from Harar's historic walled city. This victory brought an end to the independent existence of the Emirate of Harar. After the incorporation of Harar in 1887, Menilek did not launch campaigns of territorial expansion in any direction until the Wolaita campaign of 1894, mainly because of the Great Famine in Ethiopia which lasted from 1888 to 1892 and was known as Kefu Qen. The Kefu Qen had severely affected the country, particularly the northern and central regions of Ethiopia.

Activity 3.8

1. What is Kefu Qen?
2. What makes it different from other famines of other times?

The independent kingdom of Wolaita was one of the areas in southern Ethiopia whose rich resources had attracted the army of Emperor Menilek. The campaign for the incorporation of Wolaita was probably the bloodiest of all the campaigns. In this campaign, Emperor Menelik personally participated. Many notable war leaders of Emperor Menelik such as Ras Michael, Fitawrari Gebeyehu, Liqe Meqwas Abate, Dejach Balcha, Ras Wolde Giorgis and Aba Jifar II had taken part in the Wolaita campaign. The Wolaita people gave the forces of Emperor Menelik stiff resistance. The Wolaita fought against the forces of Emperor Menelik II for a long time employing their own indigenous techniques of warfare.



Figure 3.3 KawoTona, the last King of Wolaita

The people of Wolaita, organized under their king KawoTona, put up a determined fight to repulse the forces of Emperor Menilek II. Finally, KawoTona, the last king of Wolaita, was wounded and captured, and he became a prisoner for the rest of his life. The 1894 campaign of Emperor Menelik II brought an end to the independence of the kingdom of Wolaita and the kingdom became part and parcel of the emerging modern Ethiopian Imperial State.

The other independent kingdom to be incorporated by the forces of Emperor Me-

nilek was the kingdom of Kafa. The campaign to incorporate Kafa was carried out after Ethiopia's spectacular victory over the Italians. Kafa was an independent state with its own dynasty. The people of Kafa stood firm against Emperor Menilek's forces, led by their monarch, Tato Gaki Sherecho. Ras Wolde Giorgis commanded Emperor Menilek's army.

Like to that of Wolaita Kingdom, the military confrontation between the forces of Emperor Menelik and the kingdom of Kafa was concluded with immense loss of human life and material damage. Tato Gaki Sherecho, the last king of Kafa, was wounded and captured, and he became a prisoner for the rest of his life until his exile and death.



Figure 3.4 Tato Gaki Sherecho, the last King of Kafa

The post-Adwa campaigns of territorial expansion of Emperor Menelik were intended to check the advance of the European colonial powers who sought to pre-empt Menilik's further expansion. It was in the post-Adwa period that Emperor Menelik managed to incorporate Beni Shangul, Gambella, Borena and much of the Ogaden.

The rulers of the newly incorporated regions of the Ethiopian Empire were also actively involved in the last campaigns of subduing new territories. For instance, in the incorporation of the Sheikhdoms of Assosa, Beni Shangul, and Khomosha, the role of the rulers of the newly incorporated regions i.e., Dejach Jote Tulu of Qellem and Dejach Kumsa Moreda of Neqamte was very significant. They gave military support to Ras Mekonnen, who was sent there to incorporate these Sheikhdoms. The defection of Sheikh Abdurrahman Hojele to the side of Ras Mekonnen aborted the united

resistance of the local people against the strong army of Emperor Menilek II. Following the incorporation, Menilek reinstated the loyal rulers to power as vassals. Those local rulers who submitted peacefully were allowed to stay as local rulers under Menilek. But those who resisted were dismissed from power and there was much land alienation.

The Nature of the North and South's Land Tenure Systems

Northern and southern Ethiopia had different land tenure systems, especially after the 19th century. The traditional community system of land ownership has continued in the north. Many provinces in Ethiopia's northern regions, including Tigray, Begemder, Gojjam, Wollo, and Northern Shewa, had communal land ownership. Anyone who could prove a blood connection to the landowner or the original possessor of the land, as well as the creator of the first settlement, had the right to claim the land. As a result, most of the land in northern Ethiopia was based on the rist system. Rist is the hereditary right to hold and use land. The land tenure also included the gult system, which is a right to collect tax. At the beginning, gult rights were not hereditary.

Gabbar -Melkegna System

The gebbar system was the basic means of surplus appropriation of the feudal class. A gebbar was a land holding peasant who had to pay giber, or tribute, to the state. In many cases, tributes were paid in kind or by providing unpaid forced labor. Free labor service was given by the peasant and members of his family to the bale gult or Melkegna in times of grain production, construction, transportation, guarding prisoners, and domestic services like grinding grain and fetching water and firewood for local chiefs. The gult owners not only kept a portion of the tax collected from their gult areas, but also got gifts and services, including unpaid labor. Gradually, gult rights became hereditary and the rist-gult system emerged. Gult land was given by the state to government officials. Gult owners could be either individuals or institutions, such as churches and monasteries. The gult owners were known as Melkegnas, and they represented the government in their gult areas. Therefore, they were influential and powerful in their localities.

Changing Dynamics of Land Tenure in the South

Menilek's expansion to the south, west and east brought significant changes. On the one hand, it eased the congestion in the rist lands of the north by providing new ar-

eas of settlement. Second, it transposed the gebbar- melkegna relations to most of the newly incorporated regions. In fact, the peacefully submitted areas to the forces of Menilek were free from the burden of the gebbar-melkegna system and thus managed to retain some degree of autonomy.

In the newly incorporated southern territories, peasants were gradually alienated from their land. This began with the introduction of the qelad system of land measurement. The institutionalization of the qelad system not only culminated in the appropriation of much land by the central government but also facilitated the privatization of land. It also increased the state revenue since it classified land tax based on the level of fertility of the land. The qelad system reduced the status of the peasants of the newly incorporated areas from land-owning farmers to insecure tenants on their own land. Poor peasants who were unable to purchase land or those who were driven away from their land were forced to migrate to the urban centers in search of job.

LESSON 4

3.4. External Relations, Challenges and Threats

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- discuss the responses of Ethiopian peoples against foreign aggressions;
- appreciate the determined struggle of the Ethiopian people to resist and expel Egyptian aggression in the 19th century;
- demonstrate critical thinking skills in discussing the cause and outcomes of the aggression.

Brainstorming Questions

- » Why did Khedive Ismael Pasha start wars of aggression against Ethiopia in the 1870s?
- » What were the consequences of the battles of Gundet and Gura?

The External Challenge

In order to materialize his dream of modernization, Tewodros sought the techno-

logical assistance of the European nations. Lack of positive reply from the British government prompted Tewodros to detain the British consul and other Europeans. That led to the British military expedition against Tewodros which ended with the storming and plunder of Meqdele by the British army. After getting the release of European captives, the British forces withdrew from Ethiopia.

The Battles of Gundet and Gura

In 1875, Egypt's ruler, Khedive Ismael Pasha launched a war of aggression on Ethiopia from three directions. In October 1875, one of these invading forces, led by Mohammed Rauf Pasha, occupied Harar. Another group led by Werner Muzinger, a Swiss mercenary who was the main architect of Egyptian aggression in Ethiopia, tried to enter Ethiopia through Tajura. But Muzinger and his army of about 500 men were ambushed and destroyed by the Afar people. Another well-armed Egyptian army under the command of a Danish colonel named Arendrup marched into the interior from the port of Massawa. In October 1875, his army had reached the Mereb River. In October, Emperor Yohannis IV issued a mobilization order. In command of an estimated army of between 20,000 and 25,000, Yohannis crossed the Mereb River and fought against the Egyptian army at the battle of Gundet on November 16, 1875. After two hours of effective attack on the encircled Egyptian troops, Ethiopians scored complete victory. At the battle of Gundet, Colonel Arendrup and about 1,320 Egyptian troops were killed. Although the battle of Gundet was a humiliating defeat for the Egyptians, they did not withdraw from Ethiopian territory. Despite the defeat at the battle of Gundet, Khedive Ismael prepared a second, larger expedition against Ethiopia to avenge his earlier setback. In 1876, about 15,000 well-armed Egyptian troops under the command of Mohammed Ratib Pasha and an American officer, General Loring invaded Ethiopian territories in the north. The second battle was fought between March 7 and 9 March 1876 at a place called Gura, in what is now Akale Guzay in Eritrea. The Ethiopians also captured 2,500 Egyptian soldiers and enormous weapons.

But Ethiopian victories at the battles of Gundet and Gura were not rewarding for Ethiopians. The Egyptians remained in control of the Ethiopian territories they occupied. The brilliant military victories in the two battles were not followed by a lasting peace treaty. Emperor Yohannis IV was neither able nor prepared to push the Egyptians out of either Massawa or Bogos. Defeat in the two gave Khedive Ismail an important lesson that he could not realize his dream of annexing Ethiopian territories

by force of arms. The battles also hastened the downfall of Khedive Ismael. The guns which Emperor Yohannis IV captured from the Egyptian invading troops helped him to establish his supremacy over the other Ethiopian regional lords.

The Hewett (Adwa) Treaty of 1884

Emperor Yohannis IV and the British representative Admiral William Hewett signed a treaty in 1884 signed a treaty at Adwa. The agreement was known as the Hewett Treaty or the Adwa Treaty. In this treaty Yohannis IV agreed to facilitate the safe evacuation of the Egyptian troops trapped in eastern Sudan via Ethiopia. In return for this, the British, promised to ensure the return of Bogos to Ethiopia and make Massaw a free port for Ethiopia. Emperor Yohannis IV honored his words by allowing the encircled Egyptian troops to be evacuated by sending his general Ras Alula Engeda (Alula Aba Nega). The British on the contrary failed to keep their promises and rather allowed Italy to occupy Massawa.

The Dogali Incident

In 1885 Italy, with the help of the British, occupied Massawa and began to expand to the interior from the coast. The Italian attempt to control the Mereb Melash (Eritrea) was unacceptable both to Emperor Yohannis IV and his military commander, and to the governor of the Mereb Melash region, Ras Alula. Therefore, the Italians came into direct conflict with Emperor Yohannis and Ras Alula.

On 26 January 1887, Ras Alula, intercepted and destroyed an Italian army consisting of about 500 soldiers at a place called Dogali who were on their way to reinforce the Italian fortress at Saati. The Dogali incident was the first serious blow to the Italian colonial advance in Ethiopia. In other words, Dogali was the place where the Italians suffered their first defeat by the Ethiopian forces. The Italians condemned Alula's attack on their troops at Dogali as an unjust attack and demanded an official apology from Emperor Yohannis IV. They also demanded that Italy be allowed to occupy Keren and the Assaurta and the Habab regions, in addition to reoccupying Saati and Wia, which they had evacuated following their defeat at Dogali. The Dogali incident created great anxiety and provoked an Italian desire for revenge. It equally offended the British government.



Figure 3.5 Ras Alula Engeda (Alula Aba Negga)

However, while Italy wanted military revenge, Britain intervened as a peace broker, obviously in Italy's interest. A British envoy, Gerald Portal, met Emperor Yohannis IV in November 1887 and proposed an official Ethiopian apology for Ras Alula's attack on the Italians. This was totally unacceptable for Ethiopia. Yohannis declared his choice of war rather than accepting these proposed terms for "peace." Therefore, the Portal mission failed, and Ethiopia began preparations for the inevitable war. Shortly afterwards, Emperor Yohannis called his people to arms. In March 1888, Yohannis mobilized a large army of 80,000 soldiers and marched to Saati, which had been re-occupied by the Italians. However, Yohannis returned without fighting because the Italians refused to come out of their fort and engage in an open fight. Yohannis did so partly because he felt insecure about his rear owing to the Mahadist incursions into Gondar and the collusion of his disobedient vassals, Negus Menilek of Shewa and Negus Teklehaimanot of Gojjam, who were plotting against him. Returning from Saati, Yohannis waged a devastating punitive campaign against Gojjam. Then he went to Metemma to deal with the Mahadist threat.

Activity 3.9

1. Why did Khedive Ismael Pasha start wars of aggression against Ethiopia in the 1870s?

2. What were the consequences of the battles of Gundet and Gura?

The Battle of Metemma

Emperor Yohannis faced a triangular problem in the late 1880s. Mahadist soldiers advanced from the west, slaughtering people, demolishing churches and monasteries, and setting fire to the city of Gondar. The Italians had already occupied Massawa, Wia and Seati in the Mereb Melash region. King Menilek of Shewa and TekleHaymanot of Gojjam, his two vassals in the south, were also disobeying and bothering him. Yohannis postponed his war with the Italians and returned to Debre Tabor in July 1888. He then marched to Gojjam, where he conducted a devastating punitive campaign. Tekle Haimanot submitted to the emperor peacefully. Yohannis then moved to Shewa to punish Menilek. Menilek was ready to resist, and it seemed as if a major civil war was about to break out. But Yohannis realized that Menilek was being purposely encouraged and armed by the Italians to attack him.

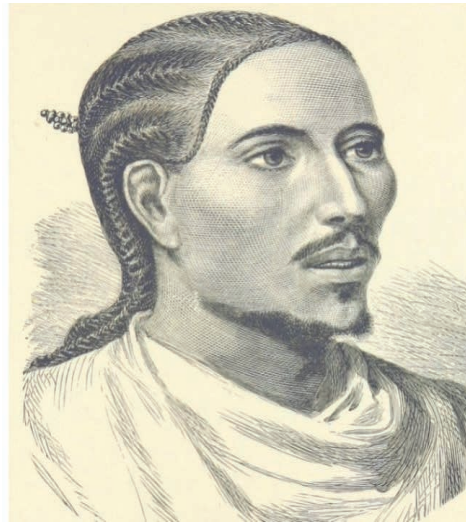


Figure 3.6 Emperor Yohannis IV

Emperor Yohannis IV rightly realized that war with Menilek, who is a fellow Ethiopian, would mean an advantage for Ethiopia's foreign enemies, particularly the Italians and the Mahadists who were threatening her independence from two directions. Menilek, who was preparing to fight against his overlord Yohannis, asked for reconciliation and promised to submit.

Yohannis was patient enough to postpone his campaign against Negus Menilek and

to strike the Mahaddists first. Accordingly, Emperor Yohannis turned towards the Mahadists and marched to Metemma. On 9 March 1889, the Ethiopian forces under Emperor Yohannis and the Mahadist troops, or the Ansars, fought at the battle of Metemma. Despite their initial success, the Ethiopian forces lost the battle because Emperor Yohannis was fatally wounded, and his army retreated. Yohannis died the next day. The corpse of Yohannis was beheaded by the Ansars. This brought a climax to the Mahadist revenge, and they seemed to be satisfied.

The battle of Metemma had far-reaching consequences. Internally, it resulted in a dynastic shift of power from the Tigrean house to Shewa. Although Emperor Yohannis IV had designated Ras Mengesha as his heir and successor, Negus Menilek of Shewa was crowned Emperor Menilek II, King of Kings of Ethiopia. Secondly, the absence of strong defense in the north created a golden opportunity for the Italians, who managed to easily advance further into the Mereb Melash region, which they proclaimed the Italian colony of Eritrea on the 1st of January 1890.

Religious Division and Doctrinal Debates

Most of the Ethiopian Christian monarchs believed that religious uniformity would bring about national unity. Emperor Yohannis IV, for instance, made an unsuccessful attempt to bring religious uniformity. He gave the Muslims two options at the Council of Borumeda in 1878: convert to Orthodox Christianity or lose their property and land. Some Wollo Muslims were baptized, while others decided to resist under their leaders like Sheikh Telha. Two of the rival Muslim chiefs of Wollo, Imam Mohammed Ali and Imam Amede Liben (Abba Watew) were offered the choice between immediate baptism and loss of their position in Wollo. Imam Mohammed Ali was baptized Mikael and Yohannis allowed him to rule western Wollo with the title of Ras. Imam Amede Liben became Dejazmach Haile Mariam and was allowed to rule the rest of Wollo from Dessie. Both chiefs, however, were to rule Wollo under the overall authority of Negus Menilek of Shewa.

Yohannis' religious policy was not only directed at the Muslims of Wollo but also influenced the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as well. Religious doctrinal controversies with regional orientation, such as Tewahedo (union), Qebat, (unction) and Yetsega Lej (grace), weakened the Orthodox Church during the Zemene Mesafint. Emperor Yohannis IV used the same council at Boru Meda to end religious doctrinal controversies within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The emperor himself ordered all the Orthodox Christians to follow only the Tewahedo doctrine. His decision brought an

end to the doctrinal controversies within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

The Battle of Adwa

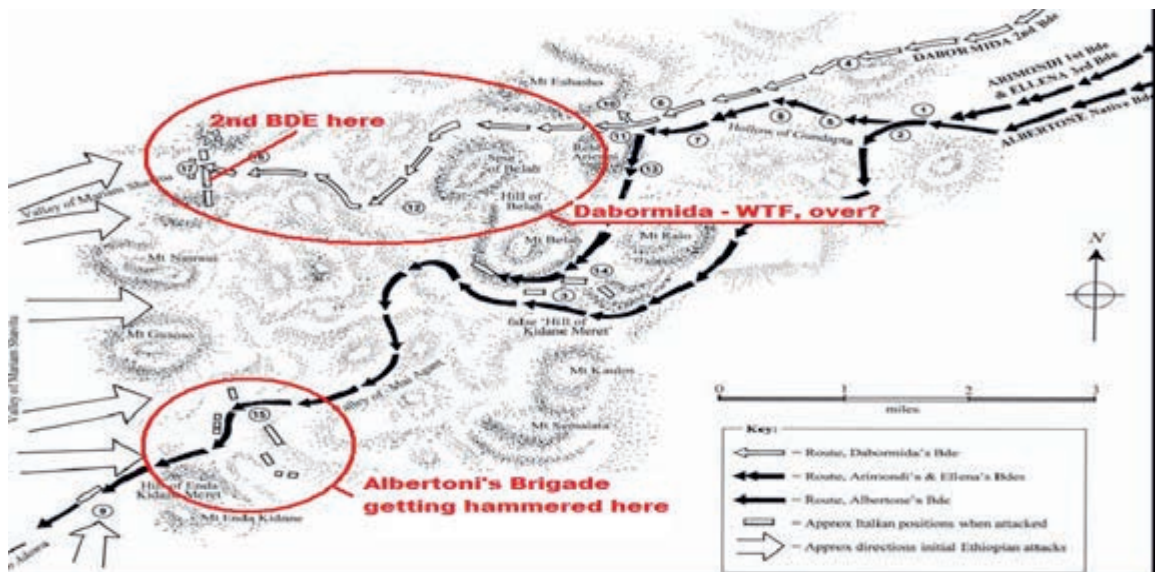
Menilek's relations with the Italians began in 1876 with the arrival of the Italian Geographical Society in Shewa, led by Marquis Orazio Antinori. Following his arrival Count Pietro Antonelli, signed a treaty with Menilek in 1883 providing for consular exchange as well as freedom of trade and religion. In 1887, the two parties also signed a convention of neutrality in the confrontation between Emperor Yohannis IV and the Italians. Finally, Menilek and the Italians signed the controversial Treaty of Wuchale on May 2, 1889. Article 3 and Article 17 of the Wuchale Treaty are worthy of mentioning. While article 3 gave legal basis for the Italian colonization of Eritrea, the Italian version of Article 17 led to the battle of Adwa.

Article 17 of the Wuchale Treaty had different meanings in its Italian and Amharic versions. According to the Amharic version, "Menilek may (if he so desired) use the services of the Italian government in his dealings with foreign powers." But the Italian version made it mandatory that "Menilek had to conduct all his foreign contacts via the Italian government." The Italian version reduced Ethiopia to the status of an Italian protectorate. When Menilek wrote letters to England and Germany, he was told that he should write to them only through his protector, Italy. Now Menilek has come to realize that he was cheated by the Italians. Therefore, Emperor Menilek wrote his famous circular in 1891 to the European governments, officially proclaiming Ethiopia's position. Italy tried to persuade Menilek to accept the Italian version of Article 17 of the Wuchale Treaty. Moreover, the Italian governors of Eritrea pursued a policy of subverting his authority in Tigray. The Tigrean princes under Ras Mengesha Yohannis expressed their solidarity with the Italians by swearing on 6 December 1891, an oath of alliance known as the Mereb Convention. In February 1893, Menilek unilaterally abrogated article 17 of the Wuchale Treaty. Empress Taytu had an instrumental role in the abrogation of this article. Nevertheless, the Italian subversion of policy could not last long. In June 1894, Ras Mengesha and his followers came to Addis Ababa and submitted to Menilek II. To make matters even worse for the Italians, a serious revolt broke out in Akale Guzay in 1894, led by Dejach Bahta Hagos. Disappointed by these setbacks, the Italians went ahead to realize their dream of conquering the whole of Ethiopia.

Adwa, in fact, is a collective name given to a campaign that began in 1895 and ended

with the main battle of March 1, 1896. The Adwa campaign had three phases: the battle of Ambalage (7 December 1895), the siege of Mekelle (7–21 January) and the final battle of Adwa (1 March 1896).

At Ambalage, the Ethiopian forces led by Fitawrari Gebeyehu routed the Italian troops. The Italians then fortified themselves at Mekelle, where Etege Taytu's forces laid siege. The Italians were eventually forced to surrender as the Ethiopian forces under Etege Taytu had control of the stream from which the Italians used to fetch water. Surprisingly enough, Menilek allowed the surrendered Italian soldiers to go north and rejoin their compatriots. Finally, at Adwa, a fierce battle was fought, and the Ethiopians scored a major victory over the Italians on March 1, 1896. In the Adwa campaign, Ethiopians from every corner of the country took part and fought the common enemy together, irrespective of their ethnic, religious, and political differences. Emperor Menelik II and his wife Etege Tayitu had personally participated in the campaign. Most of the distinguished military commanders of Ethiopia including those who had close ties and cooperation with the Italians, like Ras Mengesha Yohannes and Ras Alula Engda of Tigray and leaders of the newly incorporated territories had willingly and actively participated in the Adwa campaign. These included king Abba Jifar II of Jimma, Kawo Tona of Wolaita, Dejach Jote Tulu of Leqqa Qellem and and Dejach Gebre Egziabher of Leqqa Qellem who had mobilized their forces and accompanied Emperor Menelik as far as Woreilu. Nevertheless, they were eventually given a royal order from Emperor Menelik to return and guard the Ethiopian frontiers.



Map 3.2 Movements of Italian troops at the battle of Adwa, 1896

Among the prominent war leaders who took part in the Adwa campaign we can mention Ras Mekonnen, Fitawrari Gebeyehu, Ras Mikael, Negus Teklehaimanot, Ras Wolle Bitul, Ras Mengesha Atikem and Dejach Balcha the like. The defection from the Italian camp of their two Tigrian collaborators, Ras Sibhat Aregawi and Dajach Hagos Teferi in February 1896 enabled the Ethiopian side to acquire valuable information about the Italians. In contrast, the Italians were given wrong information about the Ethiopian forces.

The number of Ethiopian forces who took part in the Adwa campaign was about 100,000 of whom nearly three-quarters were armed with modern rifles. At the final battle of Adwa on 1 March 1896, the Ethiopian forces fought bravely and scored a resounding victory over the Italian troops. The Italians lost about 7,000 of their men; 2,500 were badly wounded, and 3,500 were captured as prisoners of war.

After losing the battle, General Baratieri, the Italian governor of Eritrea, ordered a general retreat. Of the three generals who led the Italian brigades at Adwa two of them i.e., General Arimondi and General Dabormida lost their lives while General Albertone was captured. The Italian dream of reducing Ethiopia to a colony ended in failure. Therefore, Italy was left only with control over Eritrea. Italy was forced to sign a peace treaty with Ethiopia on October 26, 1896 in Addis Ababa. The Addis Ababa Treaty declared the Treaty of Wuchale null and void. In this treaty, Emperor Menilek II formally recognized the Italian colony of Eritrea. Italy too, became the first European state to officially recognize the independence of Ethiopia minus Eritrea without any reservation.

Activity 3.10

1. What was the significance of the Ethiopian victory over the Italians at Adwa in 1896?
2. Why did Emperor Menilek II allow the Italians to retain Eritrea?
3. What were the factors that enabled Ethiopia to win a resounding victory at Adwa?

LESSON 5

3.5. The Victory of Adwa

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- analyse Adwa's victory and its national and international implications;
- explain how the battle of Adwa united the Ethiopian peoples' irrespective of ethnic and religious differences;
- appreciate the heroic deeds of Ethiopian patriots during the battle of Adwa.

Brainstorming Questions

» Why do we give strong emphasis to the boundary delimitation agreements signed between Ethiopia and the neighboring colonial powers? Had Ethiopia no boundary before 1897?

The Significance of the Victory of Adwa

The Ethiopian victory over the Italians at Adwa was a significant landmark in the history of modern Ethiopia. In Italy, the humiliating defeat at Adwa led to the resignation of the Italian Prime Minister, Crispi. The Ethiopian victory was crucial not only for Ethiopia, but also for the peoples of Africa and black peoples of African descent in other countries, such as the United States and South Africa.



Figure 3.7 Emperor Menilik and Empress Taytu

Regarding the external significance of the battle of Adwa, the Ethiopian victory over the white Italians restored black dignity and pride in places as far away as South Africa and the United States. Adwa's victory also taught Africans and people of Afri-

can descent a vital lesson: black people are not inferior to white people. Adwa also contributed to the birth and development of black movements like Pan-Africanism, Ethiopianism, Rastafarianism, etc. Adwa was taken by the entire black race in Africa and elsewhere as a source of pride and dignity. The Africans and peoples of African origin learned that the whites were not invincible and that they could defeat the white colonizers and achieve independence following the Ethiopian model. In general, Adwa gave a powerful impetus to the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle of peoples who were under the yoke of colonialism.

Internally, the victory of Adwa guaranteed the political independence of Ethiopia, although Eritrea remained under Italian control until 1941. Adwa enabled Ethiopia to be the sole independent African country whose independence was recognized by the colonial powers in the era of colonialism. Adwa forged Ethiopia's own destiny, free from the colonial rule. This had a far-reaching impact on the political economy of Ethiopia and the psychology of the people. The Adwa victory showed Ethiopians that if they are united, they would be strong and invincible, and nothing would be impossible if the Ethiopians remained united. The Ethiopian people, even those who had grievances against Emperor Menilek II, were not reluctant to die for Ethiopia. The Ethiopian victory at Adwa also enabled Ethiopia to have an internationally recognized boundary. Accordingly, Emperor Menilek II signed several boundary treaties with the neighboring colonial powers. Ethiopia signed boundary delimitation agreements in March 1897 with French Somaliland (now Djibouti), with the Italian colony of Eritrea in July 1900, 1902 and 1908, with the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in May 1902, with British East Africa or Kenya in December 1907, and with Italian Somaliland in May 1908. In fact, these treaties were not followed by boundary demarcation, and they are still sources of conflict.

LESSON 7

The Birth of Eritrea as an Italian Colony

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- discuss the process that led to the birth of Eritrea as an Italian Colony;
- identify the process of gaining control of Port Assab by the Italians;

- denounce the systematic occupation of Eritrea by the Italian colonizers.

Brainstorming Question

- » How did the Italians cheat *Ras Mekonnen*?

It is often claimed that the Treaty of Wuchale, signed between Menilek and the Italian envoy, Count Pietro Antonellion on May 2, 1889, particularly article 3, directly led to the creation of the Italian colony of Eritrea. But the Wuchale Treaty was preceded by long years of Italo-Shewan friendship.

As mentioned above, the first official contact between Negus of Shewas and Italy goes back to 1876 with the coming of the Antinori mission. In 1879, an Italian shipping company called Rubatino purchased Assab from the local Afar Sultan. In 1882, the Rubatino Shipping Company transferred Assab to the Italian government. While Menilek gave the Italian mission a resting place near Ankober called Let Marefya, the Italians assigned an agent to buy firearms for Menilek. This alliance was further strengthened by the Treaty of Commerce and Friendship, which was signed between Menilek and the Italian agent, Antonelli, in 1883. The next treaty between Menilek and Italians was signed in 1887. It was the Convention of Neutrality, in which Menilek agreed to remain neutral in the event of war between Emperor Yohannis IV and the Italians.

Menilek sought to establish friendly relations with Italy to realize his ambition of assuming the Ethiopian Imperial throne. The Italians, too, wanted to forge strong ties with Menilek to achieve their ambition of colonizing Ethiopia. Negus Menilek was not in favor of the Italian desire to colonize Ethiopia. The Treaty of Wuchale was an extension of the friendship between Menilek and the Italians.

Article III of the Wuchale Treaty delimited the boundary between Italian-occupied territories in the Mereb Melash region and the rest of Ethiopia. The villages of Ara-faili, Segeneity, Asmara, and Adi Yohannis served as boundary lines for the Italian possessions. The territorial cessions of Emperor Menilek to the Italians were not satisfactory for the Italian colonial dream. The Italians began to push beyond the borders defined in Article III of the Wuchale Treaty. Moreover, the Italians cheated Ras Mekonnen, the cousin of Emperor Menilek, who went to Rome to get ratification of the whole treaty. They persuaded Ras Mekonnen to sign an additional convention

on 1 October 1889. This was aimed at advancing further towards the Mereb River under the cover of delimiting the boundary based on effective occupation. Indeed, against the protest of Menilek, the Italians occupied the whole of the Mereb Melash region as far as the Mereb River, and on January 1, 1890 the Italians declared the creation of their colony of Eritrea.

LESSON 8

3.6. Power Struggle among Ruling Elites, 1906-1935

Problem of Succession

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- discuss the power struggle waged by the Ethiopian ruling elites from 1906 to the period of Italian invasion of Ethiopia;
- identify the strengthes and weaknesses of Lij Iyasu; and
- appreciate the merits of political dynamics prior to Italy's second aggression.

Brainstorming Question

» Discuss the power struggle that took place to depose *Lij Eyasu*.

The Problem of Succession

The year 1906 was an important landmark in the reign of Emperor Menilek II. In that year, Menilek suffered the first stroke that eventually claimed his life in 1913. It was also in that same year that the cousin and most probable successor of Emperor Menilek, Ras Mekonnen, passed away. Subsequently, the question of succession to the imperial throne became a very important issue. Again, it was in 1906 that Britain, France and Italy concluded the so-called Tripartite Treaty in an attempt to safeguard their territorial interests in the Horn of Africa in the case of succession strife in Ethiopia after the death of Menilek, who had no officially designated heir and successor.

Although the health condition of Emperor Menilek was deteriorating from time to time, he took some measures to avert the possible political chaos in Ethiopia following his death. In October 1907, Emperor Menilek II established the first Council of Ministers in the history of Ethiopia. The second very important measure taken by

Emperor Menilek to avert succession problem was to officially designate his grandson Lej Iyasu in May 1909 as his legal successor to the Imperial throne. As Lej Iyasu was by then only 12 years old, Ras Tesema Nadew, the governor of Illubabor, was promoted to the rank of Ras Bitwoded and made the regent of Lej Iyasu.

The designation of Lej Iyasu as the legal successor of the Emperor was not welcomed by Etege Taytu, the influential wife of Menilek. Employing a skillful policy of marriage alliances, Taytu managed to strengthen her power and influence in Ethiopian politics. The most significant political marriage arranged by Etege Taytu was that of her nephew Ras Gugsa and Emperor Menilek's daughter, Zewditu. Although Lej Iyasu was officially designated as the successor of Emperor Menilek in 1909, Etege Taytu continued to exercise supreme power. Taytu's action provoked opposition from the Shewan nobility headed by Ras Bitwoded Tesema Nadew and Fitawrari Habte Giorgis Dinegde. Ras Mikael of Wollo, the father of Lej Iyasu also strongly protested against the illegitimate acts of Taytu. The nobility, who were victims of Taytu's *shumsher* (appointment and dismissal) also, joined the opposition against Taytu. Fitawrari Habte Giorgis Dinegde who had a key role in inciting the army known as Mehal Sefari against Taytu led the coup of 1910, which effectively removed Taytu from the imperial court. In 1910, Taytu was forced to leave the palace and retire to Entoto, where she died in 1918.

Lej Iyasu

The removal of Etege Taytu from the palace in 1910 was followed by a reshuffling of political power in favor of the Shewan nobility. However, the regent of Lej Iyasu, Ras Bitwoded Tesema Nadew, died in April 1911. Unexpectedly, Lej Iyasu refused to accept a new regent. The sudden death of Ras Bitwoded Tesema gave the teenager Lej Iyasu the opportunity to exercise political authority on his own, although he was not officially crowned even after the death of Menelik in 1913. Anyway, Lej Iyasu exercised full political power from 1911 to 1916. The only serious challenge to Lej Iyasu's assumption of power came from Ras Abate Buayalew. Abate seems to have a plan to be the next regent following the death of Ras Bitwoded Tesema Nadew. Ras Abate reportedly made an unsuccessful attempt to break into the palace. Finally, the possible bloodshed was avoided by the intervention of the patriarch, Abune Mathewos.

Lej Iyasu was too young and without the required experience to rule a big empire like Ethiopia. But he had introduced significant social and economic reforms. Lej Iya-

su tried to give Ethiopian Muslims equal status by integrating them into his administrative hierarchy. He gave financial support for the establishment of mosques and, later, established marriage alliances with local Muslim notables.



Figure 3.8 Lij Iyasu

Lej Iyasu also introduced a system of auditing government property and formed a municipal police force known as Terenbule. He established a separate Department of Education. Iyasu also took measures against the Quragnna system, whereby the accused and the accuser were chained together until justice was served. He also tried to do away with the unfair traditional practice of thief detection, called Leba Shay.

Iyasu's period became very controversial because of his religious policy. His religious policy was eventually used by his internal and foreign adversaries to remove him from power. What Lej Iyasu tried to do regarding religion could be briefly explained as an attempt to introduce an equitable system whereby both Christians and Muslims would live as equal citizens. Iyasu was not providing special attention and favor to Islam over Christianity as his opponents were blaming him. He continued building churches and giving endowments to churches and monasteries as his predecessors were doing. Lej Iyasu also felt that similar encouragement should be given to Islam and Muslim religious institutions.

In fact, Lej Iyasu had built a polygamous family, continued his adultery, and showed disrespect and contempt for the old and apparently corrupt nobility. He was often absent from his capital, Addis Ababa, owing to his frequent wanderings to the provinces. All these were issues taken by his opponents to charge him with immorality and irresponsible leadership. Iyasu had developed a particularly close relationship with the Somali people and their leaders, who considered him a great national hero

and rose in anger when he was deposed in 1916.

In 1914, Iyasu crowned his father, Ras Mikael, Negus of Tigray and Wollo. Lej Iyasu is accused of promoting his relatives, friends, and those with whom he had matrimonial connections at the expense of the Shewan nobility. He took the governorship of Sidamo from the Adwa veteran, Dejach Balcha Safo (Balcha Aba Nefso) and gave it to a new ally, and brother-in-law, Negadras Haile Giorgis. Haile Giorgis was also given the rank of Chairman of the Council of Ministers, which had been held by Fitawrari Habte Giorgis Dinegde. Moreover, Lej Iyasu removed Dejach Teferi Mekonnen from his family fief, Harar and transferred him to Kafa. The combination of all these actions disappointed the Shewan nobility and encouraged them to unite to remove Lej Iyasu from power.

Lej Iyasu also antagonized the neighboring colonial powers of Italy, France and Britain by following a pro-German and pro-Turkish policy. This was viewed with great alarm by them because, at that time, they were engaged in the First World War, against Germany and Turkey. Iyasu was also providing material and moral support to the Somali nationalist leader, Sayyid Mohammed Abdullah Hassen who was fighting against British and Italian colonizers in Somalia. As a result the three colonial powers allied with the Ethiopian internal forces against Lej Iyasu. Britain, France and Italy sent a joint note to the Shewan nobility asking for the removal of Lej Iyasu in September 1916. The Mehal Sefari too, stood against Lej Iyasu.

While Lej Iyasu was on his usual tour of the Ogden, his opponents assembled in Addis Ababa and convinced Abune Mathewos, to excommunicate him. The coup against Iyasu was approved by both the Abun and the Echege. On September 27, 1916, Lej Iyasu was deposed. In his place, Zewditu Menilek was named Empress, and Dejach Teferi Mekonnen was named Ras and heir to the throne. Negus Mikael, Iyasu's father, attempted to alter the situation by leading a large army from Dessie to Shewa. Although the forces of Negus Mikael had scored an initial victory at the battle of Tora Mesk, the forces of Negus Mikael were completely defeated and Mikael himself was captured at the last decisive and bloody battle of Segele, near the town of Sheno, fought on October 27, 1916.



Figure 3.9 Nigus Mikael

Iyasu remained a fugitive until he was captured in Tigray in 1921. He was placed under the custody of Ras Kassa Hailu. In 1932, Iyasu escaped from prison with the help of Ras Hailu of Gojjam. He was again captured and confined to a prison in Garumuleta, Hararghe. He remained there until his death in 1936.

The Diarchy (1916-1930)

The battle of Segele restored the Shewan political supremacy. As mentioned above, the 1916 coup makers crowned the daughter of Emperor Menilek, Zewditu, as Empress and Ras Teferi Mekonnen as heir to the Imperial throne. Zewditu's selection as the Empress was unusual, as it was uncommon to select a woman as a head of state. From 1916 to 1930, Zewditu and Teferi theoretically ruled together. Practically, however, Teferi's power grew from year to year while Zewditu became increasingly powerless and passive. Teferi was more ambitious, enlightened and determined than Zewditu. Zewditu had the support of the Shewan nobility as she was the daughter of Menilek. She was very popular amongst the traditionalists, who were headed by Fitawrari Habte Giorgis Dinegde. The relations between Zewditu and Teferi deteriorated when Teferi's power started to grow progressively at the expense of Zewditu and the Council of Ministers. Ras Teferi began to exercise the role of a "regent". The political ascendancy of Ras Teferi worried the old traditional nobility and the members of the Council of Ministers, whose power began to diminish from time to time due to the maneuvers of Ras Teferi. In 1918, Ras Teferi removed all the old ministers except Fitawrari Habte Giorgis. The traditionalists had the support of the then patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Nature seemed in favour of Teferi. In 1926,

the major obstacles to his growing power, Abune Matewos and Fitawrari Habte Giorgis passed away.

In 1928, Teferi outmaneuvered Dejach Balcha Safo, who had rebelled against Teferi supporting Zewditu, and took over Balcha's rich province of Sidamo. In that same year, Dejach Aba Weqaw also rebelled against Teferi, but he was imprisoned. Finally, the Mehal Sefari pressed Zewditu to crown Teferi as king. Accordingly, in October 1928, Zewditu crowned Teferi Negus. Ras Teferi became king of Ethiopia and heir to the throne.



Figure 3.10 Empress Zewditu and her husband Ras Gugsa Wole

The last formidable foe to Negus Teferi was the husband of Zewditu, Ras Gugsa Wole. It is said that Ras Teferi had a key role in the separation of Zewditu from her husband, Ras Gugsa. The disagreement between Teferi and Gugsa led to the battle of Anchim on 31 March 1930. In this battle, where aircraft was used for the first time in Ethiopia for warfare, Ras Gugsa was defeated and killed. Two days later, Zewditu died, and Negus Teferi assumed the throne as Emperor Haile Selassie I.

Foreign Influences

Ras Teferi and his supporters had the appreciation and support of European legations. Europeans saw in the rise of Teferi a bright prospect for capitalist investment in Ethiopia. Teferi also enjoyed the support and sympathy of foreign powers, particularly after his European tour of 1924. He also enjoyed almost the full support of the

then Ethiopian intellectuals.

The Emergence of Autocracy (1930–1955)

On November 2, 1930, Negus Teferi was crowned Emperor Haile Selassie in a lavish ceremony attended by foreign dignitaries. Immediately after his coronation, Haile Selassie began to lay the groundwork for an absolutist state in Ethiopia. His first step was the promulgation of the 1931 constitution. The 1931 Constitution helped Emperor Haile Selassie to strengthen further his power by removing hereditary rulers. In 1932, the last hereditary ruler of Gojjam, Ras Hailu, was removed and imprisoned for helping Lej Iyasu to escape from his prison in Fiche. The following year, the kingdom of Jimma came under complete central government control.

In the military sphere too, in 1930, the Imperial Bodyguard was established with the help of Belgian advisors. In 1934, the Holeta Military Academy was set up. These developments were interrupted by the Italian Fascist Invasion of 1935.

LESSON 9

3.7. Italian Aggression and the Patriotic Resistance: Causes and Courses of the War

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- outline the responses of Ethiopia against foreign aggressions;
- sketch the map of Ethiopia during Italian Occupation;
- develop critical thinking skills in discussing the cause of the battle of Adwa; and
- appreciate the sacrifices paid by the Ethiopian people against Fascist Italian aggression.

Brainstorming Question

» Discuss the cause of the Battle of Adwa.

Causes and Courses of the war

To take revenge for her humiliating defeat at Adwa in 1896, Italy, launched a war of

aggression and invaded Ethiopia on October 3, 1935. Italian colonial interest in Ethiopia gathered a new momentum after the coming to power in Italy of Benito Mussolini and his Fascist Party in 1922. Above everything, the Italian Fascists and their supporters wanted to restore the former glory of the Ancient Roman empire by erasing this shameful scar on their history. On October 3, 1935, Italian troops crossed the Mereb River that separated Ethiopia and the Italian Colony of Eritrea. On 8 November, the Italians entered Mekelle. After an initial tactical retreat, the Ethiopian forces tried to check the Italian advance in January 1936. Ras Kassa Hailu was assigned by Emperor Haile Selassie as the overall commander of the northern front. Ethiopian forces in the north were commanded by Ras Emeru Haile Selassie, (Shire front), Ras Mulugeta Yegezu, (Enderta front), Ras Kassa Hailu and Ras Seyoum Mengesha (Tembien front). The major weakness of the Ethiopian side was a lack of coordination. The forces of Ras Kassa and Ras Seyoum fought two major battles in Tembien (the first in January and the second in February 1936). Although ultimately unable to check the advance of the Italians, the Ethiopian forces fought with zeal and dedication. The forces of Ras Emeru in the Shere front in the west had also registered some success, ambushing and destroying a force of Italian ascari (colonial troops) at a place called Endabaguna. The Ethiopian forces under the War Minister Ras Mulugeta were, however, routed by the Italian forces at the Battle of Amba Aradom, near Mekelle.

The final battle on the northern front was fought at Maychew on 31 March 1936. The Ethiopian forces in this battle were commanded by Emperor Haile Selassie I. The emperor mobilized what was left of the northern front and the Imperial Bodyguard. The Italians fought from well-fortified positions and had a marked superiority in the air. Despite some initial success, the Ethiopian forces were eventually defeated. The defeat was followed by merciless aerial bombardment of the retreating Ethiopian troops. Finally, on May 5, 1936, the Italian troops headed by Marshal Badoglio captured Addis Ababa.

Meanwhile, Ethiopian forces on the southern and southeastern fronts fought bravely against the Italians. Ras Desta Damtew, Dejach Nesibu Zamanuel and Dejach Mekonnen Endalkachew commanded Ethiopian forces against Italian forces led by Marshal Rodolfo Graziani. The Italians not only had complete control of the air, but they also had numerical superiority over Ethiopian forces on all fronts. As a result, a few days after Marshal Badoglio arrived in Addis Ababa, Marshal Rodolfo Graziani arrived in Harar.



Figure 3.11 Emperor Haile Sellase appealing to the League of Nations

Ethiopia had joined the League of Nations in 1923. Emperor Haile Selassie believed that the League of Nations might help Ethiopia to stop the Italian aggression. Therefore, the Emperor went to Geneva and called for the support of the League. But the response was not good for Ethiopia. It imposed sanctions on both the victim Ethiopia and the aggressor, Italy.

Activity 3.11

1. Why did the Italians have easy success in 1936 when they so miserably failed in 1896?
2. How do you see Emperor Haile Selassie's flight abroad in 1936? Was it an act of betrayal of his country or a wise decision? Explain why?

The Italian Occupation

The Italian forces under Marshal Badoglio entered Addis Ababa against a background of total anarchy following the flight of Emperor Haile Selassie I. Badoglio was assigned as the first Italian viceroy of Ethiopia. But soon, Marshal Badoglio was replaced by Marshal Rodolfo Graziani, who served as viceroy until an assassination attempt was made by Moges Asgedom and Abraha Deboch to kill him on 19 February 1937. Tens of thousands of innocent civilians in and around Addis Ababa were mercilessly massacred by the forces of Graziani. Soon after the Addis Ababa massacre, Graziani was replaced by the more liberal minded viceroy, the Duke of Aosta, who remained in that position until the final defeat and expulsion of the Italians in 1941.

The Italian fascist occupation which lasted for five years, was largely confined to the major towns because of the nationwide patriotic resistance. It was only in the towns that the Italians left behind traces of their occupation. These towns include Addis Ababa, Gondar, Dessie, Harar and Jimma. Addis Ababa, which was also the capital of Italian East Africa, got a new urban settlement pattern, electricity, piped water and many factories.

Ethiopia was ruled by fascists for five years. The name Ethiopia was abandoned during this time, and Ethiopia became part of the Italian East African Empire, which included the Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland in addition to Ethiopia. The Italian East African was divided into six administrative regions, each with its own capital, listed below.

No	Region	Capital
1	Eritrea (including Tigray)	Asmara
2	Amhara (Begemder, Wollo, Gojjam and North Shewa)	Gondar
3	Oromo-Sidama	Jimma
4	Addis Ababa (later renamed Shewa)	Addis Ababa
5	Harar	Harar
6	Italian Somaliland (including the Ogaden)	Mogadishu

The five-year Fascist occupation of Ethiopia was marked by large scale road building and the expansion of motor transport. Roads were very crucial for the success of the fascist military campaigns. Despite the fascist principle of racial purity, Italian occupation was marked by inter-racial marriages and the expansion of prostitution. The Italians also controlled the import-export trade in Ethiopia.

The Patriotic Resistance and the War of Liberation

Although the Italians defeated the Ethiopian forces in conventional warfare and occupied Addis Ababa on 5 May 1936, they faced a nationwide patriotic resistance. The resistance could be divided into two phases. The first could be described as a continuation of the 1935–36 Italo-Ethiopian War. This phase was characterized by conventional fighting. The February massacre of 1937 marked the beginning of the second phase which was characterized by guerilla warfare.



Figure 3.12 Some of the Ethiopian patriots

Among the highlights of the first phase was the resistance waged by three commanders of the southern front, Ras Desta Damtew, Dejach Beyene Merid, and Dejach Gebre Mariam Gari. This phase ended with the capture and execution of Ras Desta Damtew in February 1937. The ill coordinated and unsuccessful assault on the Italians in Addis Ababa in the summer of 1936 is another example of the first phase of the patriotic struggle. The attempt to attack the Italains in Addis Ababa from several directions was made by two sons of Ras Kassa i.e., Asfawosen and Abera, Dejach Balcha Safo, Balambaras (later Ras) Abebe Aregay and Dejach Fekre Mariam Yennadu. Abune Petros, who was the spirit behind the offensive, was executed and became a martyr of the resistance. The Italians persuaded Asfawosen Kassa and Abera Kassa to surrender through Ras Hailu Teklehaimanot, who was an Italian collaborator. But they were executed by the Italians after their surrender.



Figure 3.13 Abue Petros

The second phase of the patriotic struggle, which was largely guerrilla warfare, began soon after the Italians entered Addis Ababa, and became very strong after the Graziani massacre of 1937. The February 1937 massacre was a signal for a reign of terror unleashed by the Fascist Black Shirts. Special targets of the Fascist terror were educated Ethiopians. The Ethiopian Orthodox clergy also became one of the major victims of the fascist aggression. Many churches and monasteries were burned by the Italians. Mussolini had ordered the execution of all monks without distinction. Numerous monks in the ancient monastery of Debre Libanos were murdered by Fascist forces during the February massacre.

Activity 3.12

1. Do you support or oppose the attempt of Abrha Debotch and MogesAsgedom to kill Graziani? Are they heroes or troublemakers? Why?

Although the patriotic resistance was particularly strong in Gojjam, Begemder and Shewa, there was no part of Ethiopia where the Italians ruled without problems. The guerilla struggle included almost all provinces in Ethiopia. Ethiopians, irrespective of ethnic and religious differences, fought the invading forces until 1941. In fact, there were also Ethiopians who were willing to assist the Italians against their motherland, Ethiopia. Those Ethiopians who did the dirty work for the Italians were known as banda. The bandas created more problems for the patriots than the Italians themselves. The Italians were able to identify nobles who had discontents against Emperor Haile Selassie I and attracted them to their side and made them become banda. The main collaborator of the Italians was Ras Hailu Teklehaiamanot of Gojjam. Others who joined the Italian camp, at least for a while, included Ras Seyoum Mengesha of Tigray, Ras Getachew Abate of Shewa, Dejach Ayalew Birru of Semen and Aba Jobir of Jimma. Dejach Haile Selassie Gugsu of Tigray had already deserted to the Italian at the beginning of the Italian invasion and provided them with vital intelligence about Ethiopian military positions.

Despite such collaborations, the patriotic resistance gradually weakened the Italian occupation. The outbreak of the Second World War and Italy's entry into World War II on the side of Germany in June 1940 ended Ethiopia's international isolation. Now the British have decided to provide military help to Emperor Haile Selassie and the Ethiopian patriots. That was mainly because the British colonies of Kenya, Sudan and British Somaliland were threatened by the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. There-

fore, the British launched three major offensives against the Italians in Ethiopia: two from Sudan, and one from Kenya, against Mussolini's East African Empire. Emperor Haile Selassie was brought from England to the Sudan. He was accompanied by Brigadier General Dan Sandford and Major Orde Wingate who led the Gedeon force. They crossed the Ethiopian boundary at Omedla, in Gojjam. Another British force led by William Platt defeated the Italian forces in Eritrea and entered Asmara in April 1941. Finally, the British forces from Kenya, led by General Allen Cunningham, defeated the Italians, and liberated Addis Ababa on April 6, 1941. On May 5, 1941, Emperor Haile Selassie returned to Addis Ababa.

Women Patriots

Although most of the patriot leaders were men, there were also women who became the rallying point of the resistance movement. In this regard, we can mention two female figures: Kebedech Seyoum, daughter of Ras Seyoum and wife of the late Abera Kassa, Shewanesh Abrha, wife of the beheaded Dejach Hailu Kebede of Wag, Lekyesh Beyan, and Senedu Gebru. Women played a key role in the resistance struggle of 1936 - 41. They collected wood, fetched water, prepared food for the combatants, and took care of the wounded. They also encouraged brave fighters and insulted those who were reluctant to fight. Some women directly took part in fighting and were engaged in actual combat. Some Ethiopian women also worked as Inner Patriots (West Arbegnoch). The Inner Patriots were officially within the Italian camp but helped the patriots secretly by providing them with information, provisions, arms, ammunition, and medicine. Among the outstanding female Inner Patriots, we can mention Woyzero Shewareged Gedle of Shewa and Woyzero Shewanesh Abebe of Gondar. Shewareged played an important role in the patriotic attack on the Italian garrison in Addis Alem, 60 kilometers west of Addis Ababa. Woyzero Shewanesh Abebe, who had a good command of the Italian language, used to provide valuable information about the Italians.



Figure 3.14 Women Patriots of Italo-Ethiopian war

Unit Summary

Empire building and the struggle for the survival of Ethiopian independence were two of the major events of the second half of the nineteenth century. Emperor Tewodros' attempts to reunify Ethiopia were not successful. After the death of Tewodros, there were three contenders to assume the throne, namely: Dejazmach Kassa Mircha of Tigray, Wagshum Gobezie Gebre Medhin of Lasta and Menelik Haile Melekot of Shewa. Tewodros' unsuccessful attempt to reunify Ethiopia was resumed by his successors, particularly under Emperor Yohannis IV and Emperor Menelik II.

Emperor Menelik II conducted a large-scale territorial expansion and incorporated many areas. Emperor Yohannis IV and Emperor Menelik II, fought against foreign invaders. At the battle of Adwa, the Ethiopian people under Menelik II defeated the Italian army in 1896 and maintained Ethiopia's independence.

The death of Emperor Menelik was followed by a power vacuum which Taytu, Iyasu, Zewditu and Teferi attempted to fill. The question of royal succession to Menelik's throne was finally and conclusively settled only with the accession to power of Teferi Mekonnen as Emperor Haile Selassie I in 1930.

In 1935 Italy launched a war of aggression against Ethiopia to satisfy its desire for colonial possessions and to avenge the humiliating defeat it suffered at Adwa. Although the Ethiopian forces were defeated in conventional warfare, they conducted a nationwide struggle which confined the Italian rule only to the major urban centers. Following Italy's declaration of war against Britain and France in June 1940, the British intervened in the war of liberation against the Italians. The combined troops of the British and the Ethiopian patriots eventually defeated the Italians and expelled them from Ethiopia.

Unit Review Exercises

Instruction I- Write "True" if the statement is correct and "False" if it is incorrect.

1. The 1931 Constitution brought about complete democracy in Ethiopia.
2. Lij Iyasu was overthrown largely because he proved to be a danger to the Shoan nobility.
3. The Battle of Adwa was won by the sacrifices made Ethiopians from all corners.
4. In 1941, Ethiopia was liberated by the struggle of British forces alone.
5. Fascist Italian rule made no positive contributions to Ethiopia.

Instruction II-Fill in the Blank Space.

1. In May 1936, Emperor Haile Selassie left Ethiopia for _____.
2. _____ was the commander of British forces that came from Kenya in 1941.
3. The first Viceroy of the Italian East African Empire was _____.
4. _____ was an Ethiopian who fought against Italian troops in Italy during World War II.
5. In 1937, _____ and _____ tried to assassinate Graziani in Addis Ababa.

UNIT FOUR

SOCIETY AND POLITICS IN THE AGE OF WORLD WARS, 1914 - 1945

Introduction

In this unit, you will learn about World War I and its immediate aftermath. The alliance systems of World War I, the causes, course, and effects of the war, and the peace settlement will be discussed in detail. You will also learn about the Russian Revolution of 1917. Another important lesson is the inter-war period, which is the period between World War I and World War II. This period witnessed the Great Depression and the rise of dictators, who eventually led the world again into another major war, i.e., World War II. In this unit, you will learn about the rise of Fascism and Nazism in Italy and Germany. Finally, you will learn about the origin and outbreak of World War II. In this unit the alliance systems of World War II, the course and consequences of the war will be discussed in detail.

Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- analyze the society of Europe under Capitalism and in the age of the major wars;
- explain global socio-economic conditions during the interwar period;
- analyze the nature and consequences of the Russian Revolution;
- dramatize the speeches of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini;
- denounce the human and material costs of the two world wars; and
- sympathize peaceful resolution of conflicts.

Lessons:

- ◆ World War I
- ◆ The Inter-War Period
- ◆ The 1917 Russian Revolution
- ◆ World War II

Key words and concepts

- The Triple Alliance
- The Triple Entente
- The “Big Four”
- The Schlieffen plan
- Fascism
- “Operation Barbarossa”
- The New Deal
- “V-E Day”
- Nazism
- “Blitzkrieg” lightning War
- The Great Depression
- The “New Economic System”

LESSON 1

4.1. World War I and Its Settlement

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- discuss the alliance systems of the World War I;
- explain the main and immediate causes of the World War I;
- point out the consequences of the war;
- list down the terms of the Versailles and other peace treaties signed soon after the end of the War; and
- discuss the peace settlement in the Middle East briefly.

Brainstorming Questions

- » What are the various names given to World War I?
- » What were the main and immediate causes of World War I?

World War I, also known as the First World War, the Great War, the War of the Nations, and the War to End All Wars, was a world conflict from 1914 to 1918. No previous conflict had mobilized so many soldiers or involved so many in the field of battle. Chemical weapons were used for the first time. The first mass bombardment of civilians from the sky was carried out, and some of the century’s first large-scale civilian massacres took place.

The Alliance Systems of World War I

Despite Germany's power, its geographical position at the center of Europe was precarious, and Germany had to live with the permanent hostility of France. Bismarck wanted security for his country and demanded alliances to isolate France and tie other powers with Germany. In 1879, therefore, Bismarck made a Dual Alliance between Germany and Austro-Hungary. The Alliance committed each partner to support the other if attacked by Russia. This Dual Alliance became the cornerstone of German foreign policy up to World War I. In 1882, the Dual Alliance was expanded into a Triple Alliance, uniting Germany, Austro-Hungary, and Italy.



Map 4.1 Europe and the Alliance systems, 1914

In 1890, after Bismarck's departure, Germany refused to renew the 1887 treaty between Russia and herself, though Russia wanted to renew it. Russia therefore believed that German policy had taken a new anti-Russian orientation. Thus, Russia turned to France to escape isolation, and the Franco-Russian alliance was established between 1891 and 1894. Moreover, in 1902, Britain made an alliance with Japan, which strengthened Britain's position in East Asia and allowed Britain to concentrate more on Europe. In 1904, Britain and France also resolved their colonial differences in an Entente, i.e., an agreement which established good relations on the basis that France now accepted the British occupation of Egypt and Britain supported France's interest in Morocco.

France also encouraged Britain and Russia to resolve their differences. Both Britain and Russia wanted an agreement because an agreement would strengthen them against German power. In 1907, Britain and Russia made an agreement called the Anglo-Russian Entente. Therefore, Britain was now definitely in the Franco-Russian camp, and the “two armed camps’ into which the European powers were divided had been completed. These were: the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy; and the Triple Entente, or the Entente of France, Russia and Britain.

The Crises that Led to World War I

In October 1908, Austro-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina. The annexation set off an international crisis because Russia and Serbia were unwilling to accept the annexation. However, Austro-Hungary, backed by Germany, threatened Serbia with war if it did not publicly accept the annexation. On the other hand, Russia was unable to fight in support of Serbia because Russia had not yet recovered from the defeat in Russo-Japanese and the 1905 Revolution. Russia and Serbia were therefore forced to accept the annexation.

However, Serbia did not forget its loss. Antagonism between Austro-Hungary and Serbia increased. Moreover, terrorist actions were carried out by individual Serbs. From 1911 on, terrorist activities against Austro-Hungary were planned by the Death Secrete Society in Serbia, popularly known as the Black Hand. This terrorist activity eventually led to the assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Franz Ferdinand, and his wife Sophie Chotek, in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, during their visit on June 28, 1914. The assassination was carried out by the Bosnian Serb, Gavrilo Princip.

The Sarajevo assassination convinced Austro-Hungary to make war on Serbia. Germany soon secretly gave a promise of unconditional support for Austro-Hungary. Germany even urged Austro-Hungary to attack Serbia as quickly as possible. Having gained German support for action against Serbia, Austro-Hungary then sent a harsh ultimatum to Serbia on 23 July 1914 demanding unconditional acceptance of all the demands within 48 hours. Some of the demands endangered Serbia’s sovereignty as independent state. When Serbia rejected the demands, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914.

Activity 4.1

1. Why did Italy join the Triple Entente?

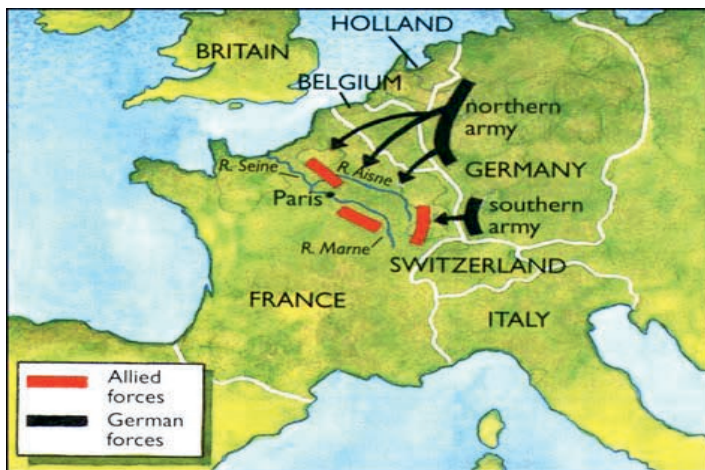
2. What was the “Death Secret Society” or the “Black Hand”?

Course of the War

Soon after the declaration of war by Austro-Hungary on Serbia, Russia decided to support Serbia, even at the risk of war with Austro-Hungary and Germany. This action caused Japan to declare war against the Allied Powers. Therefore, World War I broke out between the two armed camps, i.e., the Triple Alliance (Central Powers) and the Triple Entente (Allied Powers).

The main theater of World War I was Europe. The theaters of the war were also fought far from Europe, including Africa and the Pacific Ocean. In Europe, the war was fought on two major fronts: the Western Front (Germany against the Allied Powers) and the Eastern Front (Germany against Russia).

Of the two fronts, the most important was the Western Front, where Germany put into practice the Schlieffen Plan. This war plan was designed by Von Schlieffen, who had been Chief of Staff of the German Army. The Schlieffen plan required an attack on France first by sweeping through Belgium. In the east, the Germans planned to stand on the defensive against Russia until France had been crushed, a task Germany planned to complete in six weeks. Thus, the Germans invaded Luxemburg on August 1 and Belgium on August 3. The latter invasion violated the treaty of 1839, in which the British had guaranteed Belgian neutrality. This factor caused Britain to abandon neutrality and to join the war against Germany. Germany then invaded France, and on August 4, 1914, Britain declared war on Germany.



Map 4.2 WWI and the Schlieffen Plan

As both camps were in full-scale war, they sought new allies. Turkey and Bulgaria joined the central powers. The first was because of its hostility to Russia, whereas the latter was the enemy of Serbia. In 1915, Italy joined the Triple Entente because the land that Italy wanted was still occupied by Austria. Romania joined the allies in 1916 but was quickly defeated. In the Far East, Japan honored its alliance with Britain and entered the war. The Japanese quickly overran the German colonies in China and the Pacific.

Much of the First World War's combat involved trench warfare, where hundreds often died for each meter of land gained. Many of the deadliest battles in history occurred during the First World War. Such battles include Mons (Belgium), Tannenberg (Germany), Marne (France), Ypres (Belgium), Gallipoli (Turkey), Verdun (France), Jutland (Denmark), Somme (France), and Amiens (France). Artillery was responsible for the largest number of casualties during the war. The First World War also saw the use of chemical warfare and aerial bombardment, both of which had been outlawed by the 1907 Hague Convention. U-boats, or submarines, were first used in combat shortly after the war began. Tanks were developed and used for the first time during this war.



Figure 4.1 Images of trench warfare

Two events proved decisive in the course of the war. First, the withdrawal of Russia from WWI was made because of the outbreak of the October 1917 Revolution. In December, the Central Powers signed an armistice with Russia, followed by the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty on March 3, 1918. Second, the US joined the war on the side of the Allies. In December 1916, President Woodrow Wilson of the USA attempted to negotiate with the two camps, but neither of them accepted him. When the German government continued the unrestricted submarine warfare against US com-

mercial ships, USA declared war on the Central Powers on April 6, 1917. The Allied Powers then launched an offensive on the Central Powers, which resulted in the disintegration of the Central Powers.

Activity 4.2

1. Why did different countries join WWI ?

The End of the War

Bulgaria was the first of the Central Powers to sign an armistice on September 29, 1918. On October 30, the Ottoman Empire capitulated. On November 3, Austria-Hungary sent demanded an armistice and terms of peace. The Armistice with Austria was granted on November 4. Austria and Hungary had signed separate armistices following the overthrow of the Habsburg monarchy. The outbreak of the German Revolution forced Emperor Wilhelm II to abdicate. A Republic was proclaimed on November 9, marking the end of the German Empire. The Kaiser fled the next day to the Netherlands, which granted him political asylum. On November 11, Germany signed an armistice with the Allies. On the eleventh day of the eleventh month, at the eleventh hour, it was official, the war was over.

Activity 4.3

1. Discuss Germany's spring offensive of 1918 briefly.

Effects of the War

No part of the world was unaffected by the war. About 8 million soldiers died, and nearly three times as many were wounded. The war was costing \$10 million an hour. By November 1918, the total cost was about \$186 billion.

The direct consequences of WWI brought the collapse of old empires, such as the Russian, German Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman empires. The war also ignited the Russian Revolution, which would inspire later China and Cuba. and would lay the basis for the Cold War standoff between the Soviet Union and the United States. It also brought the end of the Ottoman Empire in the east and laid the basis for a modern democratic Islamic state, Turkey. The defeat of Germany in the war and the failure to resolve the unsettled issues that had caused the Great War would lay the basis for the rise of National Socialism and the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

Activity 4.4

1. Point out the social and technological impacts of World War I.

The Peace Settlement

Soon after the end of the First World War, the following peace treaties were signed: the Versailles Treaty (signed between the Allies and Germany in June 1919); the St. Germany Treaty (between the Allies and Austria in September 1919); the Trianon Treaty (between the Allies and Hungary in June 1920); the Neville Treaty (between the Allies and Bulgaria in November 1919); and the Sevres Treaty (between the Allies and Turkey in August 1920). The peace negotiations were held in Paris in the period between 1919 and 1920, and the final treaties were signed at different palaces near Paris. It is from these palaces that the treaties took their names.

The peace settlement, particularly in Europe, was determined by the “big four”: President Wilson (USA), Prime Minister Clemenceau (France), Prime Minister Lloyd George (United Kingdom) and Orlando (Italy). In fact, the peace conference was really dominated by the “Big Three”: Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George. The Middle East settlement, however, was largely determined by Britain and France because Wilson returned to the USA and fell sick.

The Treaty of Versailles

Of these peace treaties, the most important one that formally ended the war between the two sides was the Treaty of Versailles, signed on June 28, 1919, in the Hall of Mirrors at the Palace of Versailles near Paris. The United States did not ratify the agreement but signed a separate Treaty of Berlin with Germany on July 2, 1921.

The Versailles Peace Treaty made the following territorial arrangements in Europe: Germany ceded Alsace and Lorraine to France; the border districts of Eupen, Malmédy, and Moresnet were ceded by Germany to Belgium. After Plebiscite, Northern Schleswig was restored to Denmark (it had been annexed in 1866 by Prussia); and Germany lost territory in the East to Poland. As a result, the German province of East Prussia was divided from the rest of Germany by the so-called “Polish Corridor,” Poland’s access to the sea. Moreover, the small districts of Hultschin (Hlucín) were ceded by Germany to Czechoslovakia, as its inhabitants were Slav, not German; the entirely German city of Danzig was made a “free city” under the League of Nations and detached from Germany; the port and district of Memel were detached from Germany.

Similarly, the Saar coal and iron province in Western Germany was detached from Germany and put under the League of Nations for 15 years. During this time, its coal production was to go to France. In spite of the wishes of the majority of its people, the new German republic of Austria was forbidden to unite with Germany. In general, Germany lost 13% of its territory, 48% of its iron ore, 10% of its coal, and 15% of its agricultural production. In addition, a colonial redivision was made mainly in the interests of Britain and France, in which Germany's Colonial Empire and Ottoman Turkey's Middle East Empire were divided between them. Hence, Germany lost all her colonies, which were shared among the Allies. Germany's pacific and far eastern colonies, namely the Caroline, Marshall, and Marianas Islands, were given to Japan.

Germany's regular army was limited to 100,000 men, and conscription was forbidden. Her navy was severely limited in its numbers and size of ships. Germany was not allowed to possess military aircraft, tanks, heavy artillery, or submarines. Allied commissions were to carry out inspections to ensure that these provisions were carried out. The Rhineland, German territory on the West bank of the Rhine and 50 km inwards along the East bank, was demilitarized. Germany should pay reparations. Germany accepted a responsibility to pay financial compensation (reparation) for the loss and damage caused by German military during the war on Allied civilian property. The total bill was finally fixed by an Allied Reparations Commission in 1921 at 132 billion gold marks, or \$6,600 million.

To conclude, the Versailles Treaty was not negotiated between the Allies and Germany but was drafted by the Allies and imposed on the German government with little opportunity to make objections. The Germans called Versailles the "Diktat" (the dictated peace) and the "Slave Treaty." The Treaty of Versailles made excellent propaganda for Hitler and the Nazis to exploit in their rise to power in Germany.

Activity 4.5

1. Do you agree with the above argument that more lenient peace terms might prevent the Nazis from coming to power? Argue for or against this statement.

The League of Nations

Brainstorming Question

- » What were the main purposes of the League of Nations?

The first section of the Versailles Treaty included the Covenant of the League of Nations. The League of Nations was formally established in January 1920 as the world's first international organization with the responsibility of keeping world peace. Its primary goal was to prevent wars through collective security and disarmament, as well as to serve as a forum in which nations could settle their disputes through peaceful means such as conciliation, arbitration, and judicial procedures.

The US President Woodrow Wilson was the leading architect of the foundation of the League of Nations. But Wilson was unable to get the approval of the US Senate on America's membership in the League. As a result, USA was not a member state of the League. Germany was also not allowed to join the League until 1926. Russia was also not a member of the League until 1934. In 1935, the League's membership rose to 58 states. The League's headquarter was in Geneva, Switzerland. The League was dominated by the victorious allies of WWI, namely Britain, France and Italy.

The League ultimately proved incapable of preventing aggression by the Axis Powers in the 1930s. The League's powers were limited to persuasion and various levels of moral and economic sanctions that the members were free to carry out as they saw fit. This was mainly because the League lacked its own armed forces to enforce its resolutions. The credibility of the organization was seriously weakened after it failed to stop Japanese aggression in Manchuria in 1931 and the Fascist Italian aggression in Ethiopia in 1935. The League lasted for 26 years until it was replaced by the United Nations (UN) in 1946.

Activity 4.6

1. Was the League of Nations successful regarding achieving its mission?

LESSON 2

4.2. The Russian Revolution of 1917

Competencies

At the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- Discuss the February Revolution and the Transitional Government;
- Outline the evolution of the Bolsheviks party;

- Identify the major programs of the Bolsheviks party; and
- List down the causes and results of the October Revolution.

The Russian Revolution

Brainstorming Question

» What do you know about the Russian Revolution?

The Russian Revolution of 1917 was a political movement in Russia that climaxed in 1917 with the overthrow of the Provisional Government that had replaced the Russian monarchy. The Revolution had two distinct phases. The first one was the February Revolution of 1917, which ended the autocracy of Tsar Nicholas II, the last Tsar of Russia. The second phase was the October Revolution, in which the Soviets, led by Vladimir Lenin's Bolshevik party, seized power from the Provisional Government.

Causes of the Russian Revolution

The causes of the Russian revolution were Russia's political, social, and economic problems. Politically, the people of Russia resented the dictatorship of Tsar Nicholas II. The losses that the Russians suffered during World War I further undermined the monarchy. Socially, the despotic Tsarist regime had oppressed the peasant class for centuries. This caused unrest in rural areas. Economically, widespread inflation and famine in Russia contributed to the revolution. All these led to the Russian Revolution.

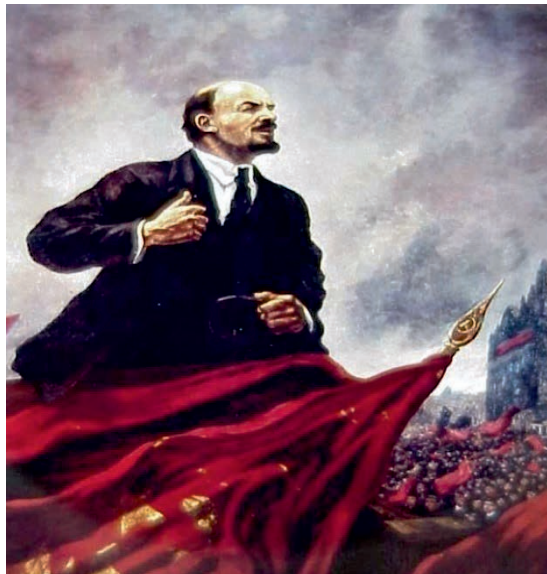


Figure 4.2 Vladimir Lenin

The Bolsheviks

The Bolsheviks (a Russian word for “majority”) were members of a faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP). Following the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks led by Vladimir Lenin seized power in Russia in 1917. The other faction of the RSDLP included the Mensheviks, (a term which means “minority”). After taking power the Bolsheviks changed their name to the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1918.

The Bolsheviks organized the party in a strongly centralized hierarchy. In contrast, the Mensheviks favored open party membership and wanted cooperation with other socialist and non-socialist groups in Russia. The Bolsheviks generally refused to cooperate with liberal (which they labeled “bourgeois”) or even eventually other socialist organizations.

Activity 4.7

1. Identify the following terms: Bolsheviks and Mensheviks
2. What were the two distinct phases of the Russian Revolution?

Leon Trotsky was initially a Menshevik in 1903 but soon withdrew from the party. In 1917, he joined Lenin and became a Bolshevik.

Activity 4.8.

1. Who was Leon Trotsky?

The February 1917 Revolution

In February 1917, strikes and demonstrations by the workers of Petrograd escalated into a revolution. The Petrograd garrison joined the people, and the Tsar government collapsed. The February Revolution was a bourgeois revolution. It overthrew Tsarism and made Russia for a time more democratic.

Activity 4.9

1. State the immediate causes of the February 1917 Revolution.

The October 1917 Revolution

After the February Revolution, Lenin, the leader of the Bolsheviks party, returned to Russia from Switzerland, where he spent most of the war in exile. As soon as he

arrived in Petrograd, Lenin persuaded the Bolshevik party to adopt his political line, which he put forward as what became known as Lenin's "April Thesis". He believed that there should be no support for the provisional government and the war and Russia should prepare for a socialist revolution. Lenin raised the slogan, "All powers to the soviet!"

From April to October 1917, the situation in Russia was favorable for revolution. The Bolsheviks party gained increasing support from the masses. The Bolshevik slogan "Peace! Bread! Land! "All power to the Soviets!" gained strong support. In October 1917, in a secret party meeting Lenin called for an insurrection to take power. On October 25, 1917, Lenin led the Bolsheviks in a nearly bloodless revolt against the ineffective Provisional Government. The October Revolution was based upon the ideas of Karl Marx. It marked the beginning of the spread of communism in the twentieth century. The Bolsheviks established a government called the Soviet Council of People's Commissars headed by Lenin and Trotsky as commissars of the Red Army and Minister of Foreign Affairs, with other Bolsheviks taking the other positions in the new Socialist government.

The Bolsheviks knew that Russia and the Russian army wanted peace very quickly. Therefore, immediately after the October Revolution, the new Bolshevik government proposed peace. In the treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918, Russia made a separate peace with the central powers. Germany dictated the terms of this treaty. In fact, Soviet Russia only got peace by ceding enormous areas of land, including the whole of Ukraine.

The Russian Revolution was one of the most important events in modern world history. Through Communism, Russia served as a model for third world countries seeking to modernize their governments. In addition, the fear of Communism spreading to eastern Europe during the Cold War also shows the global impact of the Russian Revolution.

Activity 4.10

1. What was the April Thesis?
2. Mention any three measures taken after the October 1917 Revolution.

LESSON 3

4.3. The Interwar Period: Capitalist Economy, Fascism and Nazism

Interwar Capitalist Economy and the Great Depression

Competencies

At the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- discuss the causes and effects of the Great Depression;
- point out the factors that led to the rise of Fascism and Nazism; and
- outline the historical developments of the USA between the wars.

Brainstorming Questions

- » What were the factors that turned the interwar capitalist economy into the Great Depression?
- » What were the results of the Great Depression?

The major issue of the interwar capitalist economy was the Great Depression. The Great Depression was a massive global economic recession (or “depression”) between 1929 and 1933. It led to massive bank failures, high unemployment, inflation, as well as dramatic drops in GDP, industrial production, and stock market share prices.

The cause of the Great Depression was mainly due to the collapse of international trade as a result of restrictive trade practices globally. Many nations experienced a decline, though the severity and timing differed from country to country.

Activity 4.11

1. Which view on the causes of the Great Depression? Discuss it with your friends.

The world depression of 1929–33 was the worst depression recorded in history. The depression hit non-industrial countries more harshly in one way than industrialized countries since the price of raw materials and food stuffs failed more sharply than the price of manufactured goods. The World Depression was an economic and political turning point in the inter-war period. The political effects of the depression were disastrous internationally. The depression helped the militarists to take power in Japan and was a major factor in enabling Hitler and the Nazis to take power in Germany in January 1933. The world was then again on the road to war.

Activity 4.12

1. Mention the main causes of the “Great Depression.”
2. List down some of the mechanisms by which the Depression spread from the USA to the rest of the capitalist world.
3. Explain the political and economic effects of the Great Depression.

During the inter-war period, the USA tried to escape from the Depression with the New Deal, which lasted from 1933 to 1938. The New Deal, which had a diversified program, was the work of F.D. Roosevelt, the American president. Its programs sought to stimulate the economy by creating regulations which would raise the wages of ordinary workers and by redistributing wealth so that more people could purchase products.

Fascism**Brainstorming Questions**

- » What are the main characteristics of Fascism?
- » How did the Fascists take power in Italy and Germany?

The name “fascism” comes from the Latin word “fasces.” The fasces were the rods and axes bound together, which were carried in front of the consuls of the ancient Roman Republic as a symbol of authority. Mussolini adopted the symbol of the fasces and the name fascism, with the power and glory of ancient Rome. Moreover, the fasces were symbols of authority, and Fascism was an authoritarian movement.

Initially, Fascism attracted the petty-bourgeois groups such as shopkeepers, entrepreneurs, and low-salaried employees. According to some writers, the First World War was the catalyst for the rise of Fascism. The war produced a climate of post-war dissatisfaction and unrest of social and economic dislocation full of fears and uncertainties with the old system. Post-war social, psychological and economic difficulties gave rise to Fascism. There were many unemployed people who were particularly open to the appeal of Fascism. At any rate, Hitler called his party National Socialist because he aimed to attract the masses. But the Nazi party was not Socialist in any way, but Hitler states in his book, “Mein Kampf” (My Struggle) that he aimed to attract “workers.”

Fascism also appealed to the youth. In the crisis-ridden economy of post-war Eu-

rope, many of the young were unemployed. Post-war politics seemed disillusioning, but Fascism generated excitement, emotion, and commitment. Another special group whom Fascism appealed to were ex-soldiers and ex-officers, many of whom had never known any other occupation and who did not know what to do after the war. They sometimes felt, too, that the government in power had betrayed them in the peace settlement. Also, in Fascism, the ex-soldiers found the sense of comradeship and solidarity they had known in the war. Fascism also appealed to some intellectuals, especially young intellectuals, who were dissatisfied with the post-war situation. The post-war crisis led many young intellectuals to join either Marxism or Fascism. Finally, Fascism attracted gangsters who found its ideology easier to assimilate than Marxism. Fascism was aggressive and violent, and what drew its supporters together were, to a large extent, their fears and hatred.

Fascism stood for extreme, aggressive nationalism. "If the nation is strong, it can and will take what it needs at the expense of others. This is the "law of nature," said Fascists. The Fascists therefore glorified strength and the military virtues. They believed that natural law entails the survival of the fittest among nations. Sometimes Fascists glorified war for its own sake, not just as a means of attaining concrete national objectives. Fascism stressed the supreme importance of great men and the role of the national leader. But once in power, his authority is supreme. The leader was elected but had to enjoy unconditional authority. All means of communication also come under state control: the press, film, the theatre, books, and radio. They were effectively used for propaganda by both Mussolini and Hitler. Fascism tends towards racism, the belief that certain ethnic groups are superior in intelligence, creativity, moral will, power, etc. Race is the key to Hitler's entire political philosophy. He believed that the highest race of all is the Aryan race. The Fascists say that the Aryan blood of the Germans is threatened by racial mixture with lower races. For Hitler, the most degenerate race of all was that of the Jewish people. Hitler said that the Jews in Germany must be driven out or liquidated.

The Rise of Fascism in Italy

A person who is very much associated with Italian Fascism is Benito Mussolini. Mussolini had first been a socialist journalist who advocated the overthrow of capitalism. When World War I began, he urged Italy to join the war on the side of the Allies. After the war, his socialist views began to change, and he wrote about Italy's need to become a great nation. In 1919, he organized the Fascist party. As the symbol of their

party, the Fascists chose an ancient Roman emblem of power, a battle-axe wrapped in reeds and was known as “fasces.” The party called for the glorification of the state, a single-party system with a strong ruler, and aggressive nationalism. The Fascists soon got the support of the majority because they promised jobs to the unemployed, land to the peasants and protection from communism to business owners. In October 1922, the Fascists wearing their usual black shirts began a march on Rome. King Victor Emmanuel III feared using armed force to stop the march. So, he appointed Mussolini as Prime Minister. With this, the Fascists took power in Italy.

The Nazi Took Power in Germany

The aftermath of World War I created the conditions for the success of the Nazi party in Germany. Some of them were: German national pride had been severely harmed. The Versailles Treaty was unpopular in Germany. The allies imposed a restriction on Germany’s military force. Germany was in severe economic distress. Inflation made life very difficult in Germany in 1920, which was later followed by the Great Depression. There was political discontent against the existing government of the Weimar Republic. The government was unpopular and accused of betrayal after it had signed the hated Versailles treaty. The above-mentioned situation helped the National Socialist Party, commonly known in its short form as “Nazis,” and its leader, Adolf Hitler, come to power in 1933.



Figure 4.3 Adolph Hitler and Benito Mussolini

In 1923, the Nazi party attempted to overthrow the Weimar Republic. This event caused the imprisonment of Hitler. When he was in prison, Hitler wrote a book entitled *Mein Kampf* (meaning “My Struggle”), which clearly expresses some of his ideas,

like his ambition to create strong German nationalism, his hatred of the Jews, and his ideas about the Germans as a super race. He won support from people who feared communism, workers who wanted jobs, ex-soldiers, and office workers who wanted promotion.

Activity 4.13.

1. Did Italian Fascism and German Nazism have more differences than similarities?

Franco's Spain and Japan in the 1930s

Was Franco a fascist and was his regime the triumph of fascism in Spain?

After overthrowing the Spanish Republic in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939, General Francisco Franco established a right-wing authoritarian regime in Spain. There was indeed a Spanish fascist party that was founded in 1932. In the civil war, Franco received support from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. However, Franco was not a fascist. He had no Fascist ideology. He had a mass popular movement behind him like the movements in Italy and Germany, but Franco's regime cannot be defined as Fascist.

The Japanese regime of the 1930s is sometimes described as "Fascist." There are some similarities between Japan and European Fascism: authoritarianism, racism (the Japanese militarists, like the Nazis, believed that they were a "master race" with the right to dominate "inferior" races). Militarism, aggressive nationalism, hatred of Marxism and social revolution all characterized the Japanese military regime. Nevertheless, Japan's militarist regime of 1933-1945 appeared in a different social and political context to European Fascism and was not Fascist in the European sense.

Activity 4.14.

1. Which parts of society welcomed Fascism in Germany and Italy?
2. List down the main features of Fascism.
3. Were the Japanese military leaders of the 1930s and Franco of Spain fascists? Discuss.

LESSON 4**4.4. World War II****Competencies**

At the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- List down the resolutions of the Locarno Treaty of 1925;
- Discuss the alliance systems of World War II;
- Explain the main and immediate causes of World War II;
- Point out the social, political, and economic consequences of the war.

The Alliance Systems of World War II**Brainstorming Question**

What were the two alliance systems of World War II?

After World War I, European governments tried to maintain peace through negotiations. In the 1930s, however, such attempts failed because of the rise of dictators. In 1934, Germany started to rearm in violation of the Versailles Treaty. A year later, Japan began to rebuild its naval force in violation of the Washington Agreement of 1922. In 1936, Hitler and Mussolini made an axis, or an alliance. In an alliance known as the Rome-Berlin Axis, they agreed to help one another in their drive for power and conquest. The Tripartite Pact was signed between Germany, Italy, and Japan (the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis) on 27 September 1940, formalizing their alignment as the “Axis Powers.”

Activity 4.15.

1. Why Germany, Italy and Japan formed a united military front?

In 1931, Japan took over Manchuria. The League of Nations took no other action than condemnation. Japan didn't accept and left the League in 1933. Having observed the failure of the League, Hitler began to violate international law. In October 1933, he withdrew Germany from the League of Nations. In 1936, he militarized the Rhineland, which was supposed to be a buffer zone between Germany and France. In 1938, Hitler sent his troops into Austria. This was in violation of the Versailles Peace Treaty. Fascist Italy also felt that it should control new territory as soon as possible. In 1935, Mussolini invaded Ethiopia. The League of Nations failed to stop Mussolini's aggression.

Appeasement

Brainstorming Question

» What was the policy of appeasement?

Between 1933 and September 1939, Britain and France failed to oppose German expansion and rearmament. They didn't resist Hitler's action. The policy of making political and territorial concessions to Hitler in the hope of satisfying him instead of resisting him was the policy that became known as appeasement. Britain and France followed an appeasement policy until September 1939. They followed this policy because they were not ready for war and did not want to go to war. Their economic crisis due to the Depression also discouraged entry into another war. The USA also turned its back on Europe's political problems to avoid being involved in another war.

Soon after he occupied the Rhineland and Austria, Hitler announced that he demanded the Sudetenland which was part of Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia began to prepare itself for war. In 1935, Britain, France, and the USSR had agreed by treaty to help Czechoslovakia. In 1938, Prime-Minister Neville Chamberlain of Britain, Premier Edward Daladier of France, Mussolini of Italy, and Hitler of Germany met in Munich. At this conference Hitler's demand was supported, and he was allowed to annex the Sudetenland. In 1938, the Sudetenland became part of Germany. In the same year, Hitler broke his promise and took most of the rest of Czechoslovakia. Similarly, Italy occupied Albania in April 1939. Then, Britain and France realized that the interests of dictators were unlimited and they wanted an alliance with the USSR.

Finally, World War II broke out on September 1, 1939, when Hitler invaded Poland. He believed that England and France would not resist him, but he was wrong. On September 3, 1939, England and France declared war on Germany. It was a long and costly war to defeat dictators.

Activity 4.16

1. Explain the policy of appeasement briefly?

The Course and End of World War II

Brainstorming Question

» Why did the Axis powers take the upper hand at the beginning of World War II?

The German invasion of Poland started the war in Europe on September 1, 1939. France and the United Kingdom honored their defensive alliance of March 1939 by declaring war on Germany on September 3. In their invasion of Poland, the Germans employed a new and effective war method of fighting known as “blitzkrieg”, meaning “lightning war”. The key principle in this war strategy was to win a quick and decisive victory through the coordinated attacks of the German air force and fast-moving ground forces. Finally, the last Polish Army unit was defeated on October 6. At first, Germany and its allies took the upper hand in the course of the war. This was because of their long preparation and their war strategy of blitzkrieg. Hence, Germany and its allies quickly conquered most of Europe.

At that same time, the Soviets advanced quickly into eastern Poland and took control of much territory. In June 1940, the Soviet Union occupied the Baltic States (Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia) and annexed Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina from Romania. Moreover, the Soviet Union invaded Finland on November 30, 1939, beginning the Winter War, which lasted until March 1940, with Finland ceding territory to the Soviet Union.

As Poland fell, the British and French remained largely inactive in what was called “the Phony War,” also called the “Sitzkrieg” or Sitting War, lasting until May 1940. During this time, there was no real fighting on the Western Front. Eventually, the phony war period came to an end when Germany invaded Denmark and Norway on April 9, 1940, to counter the threat of an Allied invasion from the region. Heavy fighting ensued on land and at sea in Norway. British, French, and Polish forces landed to support the Norwegians. By early June, all Allied forces were evacuated, and the Norwegian Army surrendered.

On the Western Front, Germany invaded the Netherlands, Belgium, and France on May 10, 1940. The Allies had expected a WWI-style of trench warfare and were not prepared for this sudden invasion. German forces then invaded France in Operation Red, advancing behind the Maginot Line and near the coast. The rapid success of the Germans on the Western Front prompted Mussolini to declare war on Britain and France on June 10, 1940. Mussolini mistakenly calculated that the war was closer to its end and wanted to be on the winning side. On June 14, Paris surrendered to the Germans. An armistice was declared on June 22, 1940. According to the terms of the armistice, Germany occupied northern France, including the territory along the Atlantic coast to the Spanish border. In southern France, the Vichy France puppet

government was set up under Marshal Henri Petain in the town of Vichy.

After the fall of France, Hitler gave orders to launch an attack on Britain. The offensive was to be launched from the air. Fighter aircraft fought overhead for months as the Luftwaffe (the German Air Force) and Royal Air Force fought for control of Britain's skies before a full-scale invasion of Britain. The Luftwaffe initially targeted the British Royal Air Force (RAF) but turned to terror bombing of London. Nevertheless, the British invented and used a new detection instrument, "Radar" (then called RDF—Radio Direction Finding), to locate the attackers beforehand. Indeed, the RAF considerably reduced the number of German bombers and fighter planes in air battles. Similar efforts were made, though at sea, in the Battle of the Atlantic. In a long-running campaign, German U-Boats attempted to deprive the British Isles of necessary cargo from the United States. Shipments were reduced considerably by the U-Boats. However, Winston Churchill, who had replaced Neville Chamberlain as Prime Minister of Britain in May 1940, refused to seek peace, stating that "We shall never surrender!"

After Germany's failure in the Battle of Britain, "Operation Barbarossa", the German invasion of the Soviet Union, commenced on June 22, 1941. The "Great Patriotic War" had begun with surprise attacks by German panzer armies, which encircled and destroyed much of the Soviet Union's western military, capturing or killing hundreds of thousands of men. As Soviet forces came to fight a war of scorched earth, the German army withdrew into the steppes of Russia to gain time and stretch the German army. Industries were dismantled and withdrawn to the Ural Mountains for reassembly. German armies pursued a three-pronged advance against Leningrad (modern-day St. Petersburg), Moscow, and Stalingrad (now Volgograd). Having pushed to occupy Moscow before winter, German forces were delayed into the Soviet winter. A rout was narrowly avoided when Soviet counterattacks defeated them within sight of Moscow. Some historians identify this as the "turning point" in the Allies' war against Germany. Hitler's "blitzkrieg" failed to bring the desired results in Russia.

Since the conquest of Manchuria in 1931, the Japanese have been engaged in the task of achieving their goal of expansion in Asia and the Pacific. In 1937, they launched a full-scale invasion of China, and the establishment of a Japanese-dominated government in part of China in March, 1940. In fact, the Japanese aim was to replace Western imperialism with Japanese imperialism. In response, the United States extended a loan to China and stopped the export of scrap iron to Japan. This prompt-

ed Japan to sign a Tripartite Treaty with Germany and Italy, widely known as the “Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Triangle”. In the treaty, the three powers pledged to assist one another in the event of an attack on any one of them.

On December 7, 1941, Japanese bombers launched a surprise attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbor, in Hawaii. Through this attack, the Japanese sank 19 American ships and destroyed 188 planes. The attack also killed more than 2,400 people and wounded another 1,100 or more. On the following day, the United States declared war on Japan. The incident gave President Franklin D. Roosevelt the pretext to join the war in Europe. On their part, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States on December 11, 1941. Hitler made the declaration in the hopes that Japan would support him by attacking the Soviet Union.

The Pearl Harbor incident made the war fully a world war. The entry of USA into the war upset the balance of power in the ongoing war. Until then, Japan’s expansion had gone virtually unopposed. In August 1942, the war was being fought in several fronts situated in Eastern Europe, North Africa and the Mediterranean, Burma and China, and the Atlantic and the Pacific. Elsewhere, fierce battles were still raging. In North Africa, the German forces commanded by General Erwin Rommel had dominated the desert war since 1941. In 1942, the Germans nearly took Egypt. In late October 1942, British and Commonwealth troops under General Bernard Montgomery launched a major attack against Rommel’s troops. Allied forces landed in Algeria and Morocco in November 1942. Fierce battles continued in the desert and in Tunisia, which came to an end with the victory of Allied troops. In May 1943, the Axis forces in North Africa surrendered to the Allies. Then followed, in July 1943, the invasion of Italy. Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy, deposed Mussolini and appointed Marshal Pietro Badoglio as Prime Minister of Italy. Although Marshal Badoglio promised Hitler that Italy would continue the the war on the Axis side, he signed a secret act of surrender to the Allies. Suspecting this, Hitler sent German forces into Italy, which occupied Rome and rescued Mussolini, who was put in control of northern Italy. Heavy fighting went on in Italy until the end of the war, but on June 4, 1944, Allied troops occupied Rome. At the end of the war, Mussolini was captured by Italian communists and shot by them.

The End of the War

The landing of US, British and Canadian forces at Normandy (North France), on June 6, 1944 was a major breakthrough in the Allied reconquest of Europe. This invasion was named Operation Overlord. The commander of the Allied troops, the American General Dwight Eisenhower, organized around 150,000 troops, 5,300 ships, and 12,000 planes for the invasion. In preparation for the attack, Allied forces and their war machines and supplies had assembled in southern England. Allied troops launched the attack along a 96-kilometer stretch of the Normandy coast. Within a month and a half, they had liberated almost all of France. In the meantime, General Charles de Gaulle, the leader of Free France, triumphantly entered Paris on August 25, 1944. Meanwhile, on the Eastern Front, the Soviets made rapid advances. They liberated the Soviet cities and territories one after the other. By early 1944, the Soviet Red Army had reached the border of Poland. On June 22, “Operation Bagration,” a Soviet offensive involving 2.5 million men and 6,000 tanks, was launched, destroying the German Army and taking 350,000 prisoners. Between August and October 1944, the major parts of Eastern and Central Europe were under Soviet control. In the Pacific, US forces were in a life-or-death struggle against the Japanese. The battle of Midway Island in 1942, fought entirely by carrier-borne aircraft, was a decisive defeat for the Japanese navy. From then on, the US forces were pushing the Japanese back in the Pacific, and by 1944, they were getting ready to invade mainland Japan.

At the end of 1944, Allied troops, advancing from the west, invaded western Germany. On the other hand, the Red Army under the command of Marshal Zhukov began its final assault on Berlin on 16 April. Hitler and his staff moved into an underground bunker, where on April 30, 1945, he committed suicide. The Western Allies celebrated “V-E Day” on 8 May and the Soviet Union’s “Victory Day” on 9 May.

After the Soviets had reached the eastern borders of pre-war Germany in February 1945, Winston Churchill, Franklin, D. Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin met at Yalta (now located in Ukraine) to make plans to end the war and to discuss the future of Eastern Europe. Germany itself was to be divided into American, British, and French military zones.



Figure 4.4 Yalta Conference: Left to right, Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin

At Potsdam (Germany), in July 1945, they agreed on a peace settlement with Germany and drew up plans for Japan's surrender and occupation. An important result of this series of meetings between the victorious leaders was the establishment of the UN. In April 1945, in San Francisco, many nations signed the charter. They agreed to set up a new international organization that would be strong enough to prevent war. Most wars in history have ended with the signing of peace treaties. But no general treaty was signed at the end of World War II. The nations that had been able to unite for war were not able to unite for peace. Soon after the war had been over, the Allies could not agree among themselves.

Despite Germany's surrender, the Second World War was not yet over. The Allies had to fight the Japanese in Asia and the Pacific, who continued fighting after "V-E Day". The Japanese government was forced to surrender due to the use of the newly invented atomic bomb. On August 6, 1945, the American B-52 bomber dropped the first atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. On August 9, the second bomb was dropped on another Japanese city, Nagasaki. The bombs caused immense human and material destruction. On the days of the bombing, 80,000 people in Hiroshima and 40,000 people in Nagasaki lost their lives. Long after the bombing, victims continued to suffer and die from radiation sickness. As a result, the death toll rose to about 200,000.

According to the US President, Harry S. Truman, the atomic bombs were used to hasten the Japanese surrender. However, Soviet historians argue that in terms of military strategy, the use of the bombs was not required. Since Japan was the only Axis power still in the war, its surrender could have been forced without those bombs.

Therefore, they concluded that in using the bombs, the US intended to demonstrate its power to the Soviets, which would have an impact on post-war international relations. In any case, on August 15, 1945, the Japanese Emperor, Hirohito, signed the unconditional surrender putting an official end to the Second World War.

Activity 4.17

1. How did Germany get the upper hand at the beginning of the war?

Unit Summary

World War I, also known as the First World War, the Great War, was a global conflict that lasted from 1914 to 1918. One of the distinguishing features of the war was its totality. The peace settlement of World War I and its failure to resolve the unsettled issues that had caused the Great War would lay the basis for the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 was a political movement in Russia that climaxed in 1917 with the overthrow of the Provisional Government that had replaced the Russian monarchy and led to the establishment of the Soviet Union. The two distinct phases of the revolution were: the February Revolution of 1917, which displaced the autocracy of Tsar Nicholas II of Russia; and the October Revolution, in which Lenin's Bolshevik party seized power from the Provisional Government.

The inter-war period is the period between World War I and World War II. This period witnessed the Great Depression and the rise of dictators. The Great Depression (1929-1933) was a massive global economic recession (or "depression"). The political effects of the depression were disastrous internationally. The depression helped the militarists to take power in Japan and was a major factor in enabling Mussolini and Hitler to take power in Italy and Germany. Fascism was aggressive and violent, which glorified war and violence.

World War II was a conflict that involved much of the globe and is generally accepted as the largest and deadliest war in human history. The conflict began on September 1, 1939, with the German invasion of Poland and lasted in mid-1945, involving many of the world's countries. The war was fought between the Axis Powers and the Allies. The Axis initially consisted of an alliance between Germany, Italy, and Japan. The

Allies were initially the United Kingdom, including the Commonwealth, France, and Poland, later joined by the USSR, the United States of America, and China. World War II battles were fought across the Atlantic Ocean, in Western and Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean Sea, north Africa, the Middle East, the Pacific and Southeast Asia, and China. In Europe, the war ended with the surrender of Germany on May 8, 1945.

Unit Review Exercises

Instruction I-Fill in the Blank Spaces

1. Francis Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie Chotek, were assassinated by _____.
2. In July 1914, Germany supported Austria-Hungary to attack _____.
3. Germany's war strategy to attack France via Belgium was called _____.
4. The economic crisis that occurred between 1929 and 1933 was known as _____.
5. Mussolini came to power in Italy in _____.
6. When Hitler was in prison, he wrote a book entitled _____.
7. On September 1, 1939, World War II started when Hitler invaded _____.
9. On December 7, 1941, Japan bombed a US naval base in the Pacific named _____.
10. On August 6 and 9, 1945, America dropped atomic bombs on two Japanese cities named _____ and _____.

Instruction II: Give short and precise answers to the following questions

1. What were the major theatres of World War I?
2. What were the four empires that collapsed as a result of World War I?
3. Mention the treaties that were signed soon after the end of the First World War.
4. List down at least four decisions that were made at the Versailles Peace Treaty.
5. What were the main causes of the Russian Revolution?
6. Mention the measures taken by the Bolsheviks soon after the October 1917 Revolution.

7. List down the main features of Fascism.
8. Explain the policy of appeasement briefly.
9. Mention the two military blocs of World War II.
10. Identify the major fronts of World War II.

UNIT FIVE

GLOBAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1945

Introduction

In this unit, you will learn about the consequences of World War II and major developments of that happened soon after the end of the war. You are also going to study about the United Nations Organization. You will also discuss the post-war global socio-economic recovery and developments. You will also study the Cold War realities and the relations between the capitalist and communist blocs, the main characteristic features of the Cold War and military blocs, as well as economic groupings. In this unit, you are also going to learn the Middle East. The Arabo-Israeli conflict will be dealt with in detail. The unit also deals with the causes that brought the Communist Bloc to an end and the consequences of the dissolution of the Soviet Union on global political development. Finally, the opportunities and problems resulting from the fall of Communism and major developments after the collapse of Communism will be the major points to be dealt with in this lesson.

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- evaluate the Socio-economic features of the world in the post WWII;
- examine the political condition of the world during the cold war;
- assess the sweeping changes that took place in the contemporary world; and
- assess the political and socio-economic developments in the Middle East.

Lessons:

- ◆ The Aftermath and Consequences of WW II
- ◆ The United Nations Organization (the UN)

- ◆ The Post-War Global Socio- Economic Recovery and Developments
- ◆ The Cold War Realities: The Relation between the Capitalist and Communist blocs
- ◆ Situations in Asia during the Cold War: Japan, Indo-china (Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia),

India, China, and Korea

5.6. The Middle East

5.7. The Dissolution of the Communist Bloc and the Aftermath

Key Words and Concepts

- Cold War
- Communism
- NATO
- glasnost and perestroika
- Feminism
- Globalization
- Détente
- Warsaw Pact
- Gang of Four
- Information Technology
- Human security
- Environmental security
- Chernobyl accident
- The Autumn of Nations
- Terrorism

LESSON 1

5.1. The Aftermath and Consequences of WW II

Competencies

After successful completion of this lesson, you will be able to:

- state the major political, economic and social consequences of World War II;
- describe the factors that led to the establishment of the UN;
- explain the organizational structure of the UN;
- denounce war crimes committed during World War II; and
- discuss the procedures and major decisions of war crime trials

Brainstorming Question

- » What were the major political, economic and social consequences of World War II?

World War II had manifold, long-lasting consequences. The war claimed the lives of approximately 55 - 62 million soldiers and civilians. It also left millions of homeless refugees. At the end of the World War II, the European economy had collapsed, and 70% of the European industrial infrastructure was destroyed.

World War II was never formally terminated. As in 1919, no peace treaty ratified the defeat of Germany. In contrast to World War I, the Western victors in the Second World War did not demand compensation from the defeated nations. On the contrary, a plan created by U. S. Secretary of State George Marshall, the “European Recovery Program”, better known as the Marshall Plan, called for the U.S. Congress to allocate billions of dollars for the reconstruction of Europe.

The war served as a catalyst for major changes such as the redrawing of European borders, the communist takeover of China and Eastern Europe, the creation of Israel, and the divisions of Germany and Korea. It was also because of this war that, for the first time in modern history, geopolitical power shifted away from western and central Europe. That multi-polar world was replaced by a bipolar one dominated by the two most powerful victors, the United States and the Soviet Union. The war increased the strength of independence movements in African, Asian, and American colonies, and most of them became independent in the following twenty years. A new international order was constructed since the League of Nations had obviously failed to prevent the war. In 1945, the United Nations was founded. Moreover, the following global organizations came into being: the World Bank, the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

In the areas occupied by Western Allied troops, democratic governments were created; in the areas occupied by Soviet troops, communist governments were created. Germany was partitioned into four zones of occupation, with the American, British, and French zones grouped as West Germany and the Soviet zone as East Germany. The Cold War had begun, and soon NATO and the Warsaw Pact were formed.

Activity 5.1

1. Compare and contrast the destruction of World War II with those of World War I.
2. What effects did the war have on the Cold War?

Peace Agreements

Brainstorming Question

» What were the major decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences?

From January 1943 to July 1945, the Allies held conferences in Casablanca, Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam to fortify their wartime alliances and devise strategies for defeating the Axis powers. In February 1945, Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin met at Yalta to make plans to end the war and to discuss the future of Eastern Europe. According to the Yalta Conference, Germany itself was to be divided into American, British, and French, as well as Russian military zones, and to bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment. Moreover, the Allied powers met at Potsdam in July 1945. They agreed on a peace settlement with Germany and drew up plans for Japan's surrender and occupation. An important result of this series of meetings between the victorious leaders was the establishment of the United Nations Organization (UN). In April 1945, in San Francisco, 50 nations signed the charter in which they agreed to set up a new international organization that would be strong enough to prevent war.

War Crime Trials

Brainstorming Question

» What do you know about war crimes trials?

Acts of genocide or mass killing of civilian population occurred in the territories and/or occupied territories of most great powers during the war, including Germany, Japan, the United States, and the Soviet Union. The worst massacres were carried out in Nazi concentration camps. Most camps specialized into forced labor camps, starvation camps, and, later, extermination camps, though Auschwitz, the largest and most infamous, had a separate camp for each purpose. In the Holocaust "death camps," large numbers of people were killed using gas. Jews were the largest group of people killed, numbering approximately 6 million.



Figure 5.1 Holocaust survivors

War Crimes Trials are trials of persons charged with criminal violations of the laws and customs of war and related principles of international law. The first war crimes trials in modern times were held after World War II by the victorious Allied nations to prosecute German and Japanese war criminals. The most important war crimes trials were held in Nuremberg (in Germany) and Tokyo (in Japan).

The Nuremberg Trial

The most well known of all war crimes trials was conducted at Nuremberg in 1946. Nuremberg was the former site of Nazi propaganda triumphs. Under the London Agreement of 1945, the crimes charged against defendants fell into three general categories: Crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.

Brainstorming Question

» Who were the top Nazi officials brought in Nuremberg Trial?

On October 18, 1945, the chief prosecutors lodged an indictment with the tribunal charging 24 individuals with a variety of crimes and atrocities, including the deliberate instigation of aggressive wars, the extermination of racial and religious groups, the murder and mistreatment of prisoners of war, and the murder, mistreatment, and deportation to slave labor of hundreds of thousands of inhabitants of countries occupied by Germany during the war. Among the accused were the top Nazi officials.



Figure 5.2 Nuremberg Trial

After a long trial in which many documents from the German archives were read into the record, the sentence was announced on October 1, 1946. Three of the defendants were freed; seven were given terms from ten years to life; twelve were sentenced to death. Goring committed suicide in prison a few hours before he was to be executed. Those who had been condemned to death were executed in October 1946.

The Tokyo and Other Trials

The Tokyo trial was another war crimes trial that was held under international authority. The Tokyo Trial was convened to try the leaders of the Empire of Japan for the same three types of crimes. The Tokyo trial opened on May 3, 1946, and held its final session on November 12, 1948. Twenty-five Japanese military and political leaders were charged with crimes against peace, and more than 300,000 Japanese nationals were charged with war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Activity 5.2.

1. How do you see the war crime trials?
2. How should the Holocaust be memorialized? 'Discuss.

LESSON 2

5.2. The United Nations Organization (the UN)**Competencies**

After successful completion of this lesson, you will be able to:

- explain the organizational structures of the United Nations;
- align the main organs of the UN with their responsibilities; and
- value the role of the UN in peace keeping tasks.

Brainstorming Questions

- » What do you know about the UN?
- » What are the six principal UN organs?

The United Nations (UN) is an international organization of nation-states based on the sovereign equality of its members. The UN is forbidden to intervene in the internal affairs of states. It was established with the major aims of maintaining international peace and security; developing friendly relations among nations; and achieving international cooperation in solving economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian problems. All member states are pledged to fulfill the obligations they have assumed, to settle international disputes by peaceful means, to refrain from the threat or use of force.

On December 10, 1945, the United States Congress invited the UN to establish its headquarters in New York, in US. The General Assembly of the UN meets annually in New York.

The Organizational Structure of the United Nations

The six principal organs of the United Nations are: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat. The General Assembly is the main organ of the UN. It represents all member states. But it has less power than the Security Council. The General Assembly appoints many standing as well as temporary ad hoc committees to carry out its recommendations. To mention some of the most important ones: the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

The second principal organ of the United Nations is the Security Council. This organ is primarily responsible for maintaining international peace and security. The council has fifteen members, of which five are permanent members (the US, Russia, Great Britain and France, and China). Each of the countries that has a permanent seat in the Security Council has the right to veto any decision.

Activity 5.3

1. How do you feel regarding the special privileges that the five great powers enjoyed in the Security Council?

The third principal organ of the United Nations is the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Today, the problems of developing nations are its major concern. ECOSOC coordinates the economic and social activities of the UN and its specialized agencies, such as the World Health Organization (WHO); the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO); and the International Labor Organization (ILO).

The Trusteeship Council is the fourth principal organ of the United Nations. It was responsible for the supervision of territories that were under the international trusteeship system, which included former colonies of Germany, Italy, and Japan, and League of Nations mandates that had not gained independence by the end of World War II in 1945. It was charged with helping these areas to achieve independence.

The fifth principal organ of the United Nations is the International Court of Justice. Situated in The Hague, the Netherlands, it is the judicial body of the UN. The court hears cases referred to it by UN members. Fifteen judges sit as members of the court; they are elected for nine-year terms by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The last, but not least, principal organ of the United Nations is the Secretariat. According to the United Nations Charter, it is the administrative organ of the UN and is composed of a secretary general. The secretary general, appointed for a five-year term by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council, is the chief administrative official of the UN.

Brainstorming Question

» Who were secretaries-general of the UN since its establishment?

Activity 5.4.

1. Who succeeded Kofi Annan as secretary-general of the UN?

LESSON 3**5.3. The Post-War Global Socio- Economic Recovery and Developments****Competencies**

After successful completion of this lesson, you will be able to:

- summarize trends of the changing global economy;
- discuss the roles of the Marshall Plan and the COMECON for European economic recovery;
- analyze the post-war classification of countries as Third World, the North and the South.

Brainstorming Question

» What do you know about European nations in the post-war period?

In the post-war period, Europe would be divided into two major spheres: the “West,” mainly influenced by the USA, and the “Eastern Bloc,” dominated by the Soviet Union. Western Europe was composed by all the countries liberated by the Western Allies (USA, Canada, UK, France, etc) from German occupation, the European western allies themselves, plus Italy (a former Axis Power) and the Federal Republic of Germany (informally known as West Germany) formed by the three of the four Allied Occupation Zones in Germany, namely the zones of the USA, UK, and France. Almost all countries of Western Europe received economical assistance from the United States through the Marshall Plan.

Economic Recovery

The economic recovery of Western European nations after the end of World War II, was at first very slowly. The USA wanted to withdraw from European affairs soon after the end of the war. But it soon realized that to do so would leave Europe completely at the mercy of the Soviet Union and that American security would be endangered. As a result, the United States entered into active participation in European affairs. This policy in turn led to a rivalry with the Soviet Union for influence which is referred to as the “bipolarization” of political power. A divided Europe began to play

a secondary role in the rivalry between the two super powers.

Brainstorming Question

» What saved Western Europe from possible ruin?

In 1948, alarmed by the establishment of Communist governments in Eastern Europe and by the vulnerability of a Western Europe that lay in economic ruin, US Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed a program of aid designed to speed European recovery. This program of financial assistance was known as European Recovery Program (ERP) or the Marshall Plan, named after U.S. Secretary of State. Rejected by the Soviet-dominated governments to the East, the Marshall Plan made possible a miraculous economic recovery in the West. There are many suggested reasons behind America's decision to aid West European nations. Firstly, Europe had been a great market for American goods; without a prosperous Europe, the United States might have suffered a severe economic depression. Secondly, Western Europe would be open to influence by the Soviet Union. Finally, Germany should be integrated into a larger Europe and it should be used as a buffer against Soviet expansion.

On April 3, 1948, the law providing for the European Recovery Program (ERP, Marshall Plan) was signed by President Truman. The European countries which participated in this program established a permanent organization known as the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), with headquarters in Paris. The largest amounts of money went to Britain, France, Italy, and West Germany, in that order. The US Congress granted more than \$13 billion in aid.

As Cold War tensions rose in 1949, the funds increasingly went into military expenditures rather than industrial rebuilding. However, the Marshall Plan did much to set the European economy back on its feet after the war and to foster economic co-operation. Moreover, the program achieved both its immediate and long-term aims: When the aid ended in 1952, Communist control of Western Europe had been averted, the region's industrial production stood 35 percent above pre-war levels, and West Germany was independent, rearming, and economically booming. The Marshall Plan also increased the co-operation of European states among themselves.

Eastern Europe

Brainstorming Question

» How did the Soviets establish communist regimes in Eastern Europe?

During World War II, the Eastern European countries either fell under Nazi occupation or allied themselves with the Nazi regime. Towards the end of the war, Soviet troops occupied all but Yugoslavia and Albania, freeing them from German control. Soon after the end of the war, Stalin imposed communist governments in the Soviet-occupied countries of Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and Czechoslovakia. As a result, as the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill said in 1946, “an iron curtain has descended across the continent,” separating Eastern and Western Europe. The phrase “iron curtain” came to describe a policy of isolation that prevented travel and communication between the two regions.

The Soviet Union created the Molotov Plan (named after Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov) in 1947 to provide aid to rebuild the countries in Eastern Europe that were politically and economically aligned with the Soviet Union. This plan was the Soviet Union’s version of the Marshall Plan. The Molotov Plan was a system of bilateral trade agreements that also established the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON or CMEA) in January 1949 to create an economic alliance of socialist countries. The original members were Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union. Later, Albania, East Germany, the Republic of Mongolia, Cuba, Vietnam, Yugoslavia, Angola, and Ethiopia (with observer status) also joined it. In 1973, Finland was the first non-Communist country to sign a cooperation agreement with COMECON.

Classifying Countries into the Third World and the North-South Division

Countries were classified as Third World, North, and South, in addition to the postwar East and West divisions. The term “Third World” arose during the Cold War to define countries that remained non-aligned with either NATO or the Warsaw Pact. According to this political and economic division, the USA, Canada, Japan, South Korea, and Western European nations and their allies represented the “First World,” while the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Vietnam, and their allies represented the “Second World.” The Third World is normally seen to include many countries with colonial pasts in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. It is being replaced with terms such as developing countries, least developed countries or the Global South.

Activity 5.5

1. Organize a classroom debate on the contribution of industrial countries to the environment.

LESSON 4

5.4. The Cold War Realities: The Relation between the Capitalist and Communist Blocs

Competencies

After successful completion of this lesson, you will be able to:

- explain the origin and the causes of the Cold War;
- discuss the major characteristic features of the Cold War;
- identify the different military blocs which existed during the Cold War;
- describe the NATO and Warsaw military blocs;
- mention the economic groupings of the Cold War; and
- evaluate main principles of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Brainstorming Questions

- » What do you know about the origin of the term “Cold War”?
- » Why was it called the Cold War? When did the war begin?

The origin of the term “Cold War” is a matter of debate among scholars. It first came into general use in September 1947, when journalist Walter Lippmann published a series of newspaper columns (and books) on US-Soviet tensions entitled “The Cold War”. Historians differ regarding the beginning date of the Cold War, but 1947 is usually pointed out as the starting year for the Cold War.

The prolonged global contest led by the two superpowers, the USA and the USSR, was popularly termed “The Cold War.” The two superpowers did not directly engage each other, but both sought to extend their influence and win territorial advantages in adjacent parts of the world. The Cold War took the form of an arms race involving

nuclear and conventional weapons, networks of military alliances, economic warfare and trade embargoes, propaganda, espionage, and proxy wars. The major civil wars polarized along Cold War lines were the Greek Civil War, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and the Soviet-Afghan War, along with more peripheral conflicts in Angola, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. It should be noted that the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 was the most important direct confrontation, together with a series of confrontations over the Berlin Blockade and the Berlin Wall.

The Major Characteristic Features of the Cold War

A major characteristic feature of the Cold War was the arms race between the member states of the NATO and those of Warsaw Pact. This resulted in substantial scientific discoveries in many technological and military fields. Some particularly revolutionary advances were made in the field of nuclear weapons and rockets, which led to the space race. Many of the rockets used to launch humans and satellites into space were originally based on military designs formulated during this period. Other fields in which arms races occurred include: jet fighters, bombers, chemical weapons, biological weapons, anti-aircraft warfare, surface-to-surface missiles, inter-continental ballistic missiles, anti-tank weapons, submarines, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, electronic intelligence, signals intelligence, reconnaissance aircraft and spy satellites. The Cold War was primarily fought by intelligence agencies like the CIA (United States), MI6 (United Kingdom), BND (West Germany), Stasi (East Germany) and the KGB (Soviet Union).

Cold War hostilities reached peak in the period between the changes in leadership for both superpowers in 1953 to the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. Major events took place in this period included the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961, the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 and the Prague Spring in 1968 (a movement to reform the Communist system in Czechoslovakia). During the Cuban Missile Crisis the world was closest to a third (nuclear) world war.

The period between the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the rise of Mikhail Gorbachev as Soviet leader in 1985 was characterized by a marked “freeze” in relations between the superpowers after the Detente period of the 1970s. The election of Margaret Thatcher as UK Prime Minister in 1979, followed by that of Ronald Reagan to the American Presidency in 1980, saw the elevation of two hard-line Cold Warriors to the leadership of the Western World.

When did the Cold War come to an end?

This period began with the rise of Mikhail Gorbachev as Soviet leader in 1985 and continued until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Events included the Chernobyl Accident in 1986, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the Soviet coup attempt of 1991 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Through his policy of Perestroika (reconstruction) and Glasnost (openness), Gorbachev provided new momentum for political and economic liberalization and the impetus for cultivating warmer relations and trade with the West.

Activity 5.6

1. Why did the Chernobyl accident happen in 1986?

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was a regional defense alliance created in April, 1949. NATO has its headquarters in Brussels, Belgium. It was an association of twelve states (Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States). It declared that an armed attack on any one of them in Europe or North America would be regarded as an attack on all of them. Greece and Turkey joined the alliance in 1952, the German Federal Republic (West Germany) in 1955 and Spain in 1982. It was a defensive gesture by the principal western powers based on fear of Russian aggression.

The dissolution of the Communist bloc and the breakup of the Soviet Union drastically reduced the military threat to NATO. However, NATO continued after the end of the Cold War, even expanding to include nations once in the Soviet bloc.

Warsaw Pact

Brainstorming Question

» What were the factors that led to the establishment of the Warsaw Pact?

The Warsaw Pact was a military alliance of eight European Communist nations (Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the USSR) established by the treaty which was signed in Warsaw, Poland, on May 14, 1955. The rearmament of West Germany and its admission to NATO prompted the establishment of the Warsaw Pact. The alliance was dominated by the USSR, which kept strict control over the other countries in the pact. In 1961, Albania broke off

diplomatic relations with the USSR because of ideological differences, and in 1968, it withdrew from the pact.

The Warsaw Pact was profoundly affected by the political transformation of Eastern Europe at the end of the 1980s. The USSR began withdrawing its troops from other Warsaw Pact countries, and East Germany pulled out to join West Germany as the reunified nation of Germany in October 1990. All joint military functions ceased at the end of March 1991, and in July, the leaders of the remaining six member nations agreed to dissolve the alliance



Map 5.1 NATO, Warsaw Pact and Non-aligned Nations during the Cold War

The Nonaligned Movement (NAM)

The Nonaligned Movement (NAM) was a loose association of countries that had no formal commitment to either of the two power blocs of the Cold War. In other words, it was an association of nations that resisted supporting either the United States or the USSR during the Cold War. An important milestone in the process of the establishment of the Nonaligned Movement was reached at the Bandung (Indonesia) Conference (in April 1955), where representatives from 22 Asian and 7 African countries participated. The conference demonstrated the determination of those 29 nations, which had recently freed themselves from colonialism, to have an independent voice in international affairs and rejected renewed ties to any big power.

However, the Nonaligned Movement was formally formed in September 1961 by a conference of 25 heads of state in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. The movement grew to in-

clude more than 110 countries, mostly from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. A large majority of NAM nations opposed the United States during the Vietnam War (1957–1955) and the USSR after its 1979 invasion of Afghanistan. In practice, however, many NAM nations leaned heavily toward one power bloc or the other.

Activity 5.7

1. List down member states of the Nonaligned Movement.

LESSON 5

5.5. Situations in Asia during the Cold War: Japan, Indo-china (Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia), India, China, and Korea

Competencies

After successful completion of this lesson, you will be able to:

- list down the factors for Japan's rapid economic growth;
- discuss the Indians struggle for independence;
- mention the major socio-economic reforms introduced by the new Communist government of China;
- state the causes, course and consequences of the Vietnam War; and
- discuss the causes, course and effects of the Korean War.

Post- War Japan

Brainstorming Question

» What were the major occupation reforms introduced to Japan?

On August 15, 1945, the Japanese emperor announced Japan's surrendered. General Douglas MacArthur was the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in Japan. The soldiers that occupied Japan were almost entirely Americans. The chief concerns of the first phase of the occupation were demilitarization and democratization. The military was demobilized. Ultranationalist organizations were dissolved. Political prisoners were released. An education program along democratic lines was organized. Women were given the franchise in the first general election in April 1946. A new constitution became effective in May 1947.

Brainstorming Question

» What kind of measures have been taken to revive Japan's war-ravaged economy?

By the end of 1947, most of the planned reforms had been carried out. The scarcity of food had to be offset by imports from the Allied powers, and from the United States in particular. Severe bombing during the war had almost abolished Japanese industrial capacity. To revive the Japanese economy, the USA encouraged the Japanese government to curb inflation and cracked down on Communist unions that used strikes for political ends. The United States also gave Japan \$2 billion in economic aid.

Brainstorming Question

» When was the period of US occupation ended? How?

The question of rearmament was widely debated throughout 1952. The government was reluctant to commit itself in favor of rebuilding the country's defenses, mainly because of economic difficulties and legal obstacles (in the Japanese constitution of 1947 war is renounced "forever").

Activity 5.8

1. What do you characterize the Japanese economy after 1945?

In October 1956, the Soviet Union and Japan agreed to end the technical state of war that had existed between the two countries since August 1945. In December 1945, the UN General Assembly voted unanimously to admit Japan to the United Nations. While maintaining close relations with the United States, Japan sought to expand trade with the USSR and China as a means of reducing unemployment.

Brainstorming Questions

- » What do you know about Japan's rapid economic growth in the post-war period?
- » What were the factors behind Japan's rapid economic growth?

Japanese productivity in 1945 was about the same as it had been in 1918. It took a decade to recover to pre-war levels. In the 1960s, Japan surpassed every nation in Western Europe in terms of gross national product and ranked next to the United States as a world industrial power.

Economists attribute Japan's extraordinary growth to a number of combined factors.

An infrastructure of banking, marketing, and manufacturing skills had carried over from pre-war Japan. The international situation was also favorable: oil was cheap, access to raw materials and export markets was easy, and American sponsorship gained Japan early entry into the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other international organizations. Japan's high rate of savings also contributed to reinvestment. New technology and education also stimulated growth. In the postwar period, an increasing number of people gained access to universities. Another factor was the abundance of high-quality, cheap labor. Government economic policy also played a crucial role in Japanese success. Governmental measures helped accelerate savings and investment, the absorption of new technologies, and the shift to modern industries and high-value exports.

The Indian Independence Movement

India was the most important colony of the British. It was exploited by European colonial powers from 1605 to 1947.

Brainstorming Question

» What was Mahatma Gandhi's method of struggle against British colonial rule?

The Indian independence movement was a series of historic events with the aim of ending British rule in India. The movement spanned from 1857 to 1947. The Indian National Congress, which was founded in 1885, played a leading role in the struggle for national independence. Initially, the Indian elite sought only more economic rights under British rule, but later on, in the early 20th century, the movement saw a more radical approach towards political self-rule. On their part, the British worked to sow differences between Muslims and Hindus. That was aimed at weakening the struggle of Indians for self-rule. In 1906, the Muslim League split away from the Indian National Congress to stand for the rights of Indian Muslims. And the League became a rallying point for Muslims, while the Indian National Congress was identified with Hindus.

During the inter-war period, Congress adopted Mahatma Gandhi's policy of non-violence and civil disobedience as forms of struggle against British colonial rule. The period of World War II saw the peak of the campaigns by the Quit India Movement, led by Congress, and the Indian National Army movement, led by Subhas Chandra

Bose with the help of Japan.

Under 1946 agreement, Indians were allowed to establish a Provisional Government and a Legislative Assembly, though still under British colonial control. Nerhu was appointed head of the Provisional Government. At that time, the Muslim League was calling for a separate Muslim state, which later became Pakistan. The British government agreed to give independence to two separate states in the Indian sub-continent, namely Pakistan (Muslim) and India (predominantly Hindu) in 1947. Finally, on January 26, 1947, India became an independent state, with Jawaharlal Nehru as its first Prime Minister. Pakistan gained independence as well, with Mohammed Ali Jinnah as its first President. Moreover, in 1971, East Pakistan declared independence as the People's Republic of Bangladesh. While India and Bangladesh have been good neighbors, relations between Pakistan and India have been characterized by tension, accompanied by intermittent armed clashes. Both have now become nuclear powers.

Activity 5.9

1. What was the role of Mahtma Gandhi in the independence struggle of India?

The People's Republic of China (PRC)

Brainstorming Questions

- » What was the major event in China soon after the end of World War II?
- » What were the major steps introduced by the new Communist government?

The end of the Second World War and Japan's surrender in 1945 marked the resumption of civil war between the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The CCP, with a better disciplined Red Army and widespread peasant support, completely defeated the KMT forces in just four years. In October 1949, the Chinese Communist Party won the civil war and established the People's Republic of China (PRC) on the mainland, led by Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong). The Kuomintang, which was led by Chiang Kai-shek, fled to the island province of Taiwan, and established a Nationalist government.

The first step taken by the Communist government was military consolidation. It also brought an end to the long period of Western domination of China. Regions within the country's historic boundaries that had fallen away were reclaimed. Tibet, for example, was seized in 1950. As China established alliances with the Socialist

bloc, in 1950, the Sino-Soviet Alliance was formed. The decade that followed is often called the “Soviet Period” because the Soviet model was adopted for the government, the army, the economy, and higher education. During the Korean War (1950–1953), Chinese troops aided the Communist regime of North Korea against South Korean and United Nations forces. China also aided the Communist insurgents fighting the French in Vietnam.

Starting in the second half of the 1950s, Sino-Soviet relations deteriorated, partly because of border disputes and Chinese dissatisfaction with the level of Soviet aid, and partly because the Chinese restored non-Soviet methods to accelerate the pace of their revolution.

Brainstorming Question

» What were the major socio-economic reforms introduced by the CCP?

To revive the economy, which had been disrupted by decades of warfare, the CCP adopted a new policy for economic development. A major achievement of the new regime was to curtail famine. The CCP also made fundamental changes to society. Women also received equal rights with respect to divorce, employment, and ownership of property. The CCP assumed strict control over religion, forcing foreign missionaries to leave the country. The land of landlords was redistributed among the landless.

Brainstorming Question

» What do you know about the Hundred Flowers? What do you know about the Great Leap Forward?

By 1956, Mao felt that even intellectuals should be adequately indoctrinated. Thus, Mao launched a campaign to expose the party to the criticism of Chinese intellectuals under the slogan “Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom.” Although most intellectuals were cautious at first, Mao repeatedly urged people to speak up. In 1957, Mao changed course and launched the so-called “anti-rightist” campaign against the critics for harboring rightist ideology. About half a million educated people lost their jobs and often their freedom, usually because something they had said during the Hundred Flowers period had been interpreted as anti-Communist.

In 1958, Mao took ideology a step further and abandoned the Soviet model in favor

of a mass spiritual mobilization for economic development. He called it the Great Leap Forward.

Within a couple of years, the Great Leap had proved an economic disaster. Industrial production dropped by as much as 50 percent between 1959 and 1962. Grain was taken from the countryside based on wildly exaggerated production reports, contributing, along with environmental calamities, to a massive famine from 1960 to 1962 in which more than 20 million people died. The utter failure of the Great Leap Forward and the consequent widespread hunger and malnutrition led China to turn toward a more moderate economic policy. Mao retained his position as the head of the party but gave up his post as head of state to another veteran Communist official.

The Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution, 1965-1976

Brainstorming Question

» What do you know about the Chinese Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution?

In mid-1966, Mao launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, known simply as the Cultural Revolution. The announced goals of the revolution were to eradicate the remains of so-called bourgeois ideas and customs and to recapture the revolutionary zeal of early Chinese Communism. Mao also wanted to increase his power over the government by discrediting or removing party leaders who had challenged his authority or disagreed with his policies. He called for a new revolution to create a truly egalitarian culture, urging students and teenaged youth to form bands of Red Guards and attack the party bureaucracy.

In June 1966, nearly all Chinese schools and universities were closed as students devoted themselves full-time to Red Guard activities. Joined by groups of workers, peasants, and demobilized soldiers, the Red Guards took to the streets in pro-Maoist, sometimes violent, demonstrations. They made intellectuals, bureaucrats, party officials, and urban workers their chief targets. The central party structure was destroyed as many high officials were removed from their positions. During the early stages of the Cultural Revolution, college professors, middle-school teachers, newspaper journalists, musicians, party cadres, factory managers, and others who could be categorized as educated suffered a wide variety of brutal treatments. Men and women were tortured, imprisoned, starved, denied medical treatment, and forced to leave their children unsupervised when they were sent to labor camps in the coun-

tryside. Tens of thousands were killed or committed suicide.

Eventually, even Mao grew tired of the violence and near anarchy. In 1968 and 1969, he called in the army to take over the revolutionary committees. In 1969, a new Central Committee, composed largely of military men, was established, and General Lin Biao was named as Mao's successor.

The second phase of the Cultural Revolution, during the years between 1969 and 1976, was moderate only in comparison with what had gone before. On farms and in factories, ideology was still seen as an adequate substitute for economic incentives. Universities reopened but students were admitted not by examinations but by their class background. In 1971, Lin Biao, who was regularly referred to as Mao's closest comrade in arms and best student, turned against Mao. Lin plotted unsuccessfully to assassinate Mao, but he was killed in an airplane crash while attempting to flee to the USSR. Lin's place was taken by the so-called Gang of Four.

China after Mao

Mao died in 1976. In that same year, the Gang of Four and other prominent radical officials were arrested. The Gang of Four was charged with the crimes of the Cultural Revolution. This event came to mark the official end of the campaign.

Greater tolerance on the part of the government soon resulted in a much better press and media in China. This, in turn, fueled calls for greater liberty and political democracy. Student protests occurred in several cities during the 1980s. The most massive one occurred in Beijing in 1989. In April and May of 1989, hundreds of thousands of students, workers, and people from all walks of life demonstrated for democracy in Tiananmen Square in Peking and in dozens of other cities. As a symbol of their protest, demonstrators erected a 10-m (33-ft) statue called the Goddess of Democracy. The protesters occupied Beijing's Tiananmen Square until the morning of June 4. The government sent tanks and troops. Hundreds of students were killed, and the leaders who did not escape abroad were jailed.

Activity 5.10

1. Why did Communism remain in China?

Vietnam: Decolonization and War

Brainstorming Question

» Which country colonized Vietnam? How did Vietnam start anti-colonial struggle?

France completed its conquest of Vietnam and Cambodia by 1883, formed the Indochinese Union in 1887, and added Laos to the Union in 1893. This union was known as the Indochinese Union or French Indochina.

In the early 20th century, as Vietnamese nationalism rose, political exiles in China, Japan, and France formed nationalist parties. But when they tried to organize within Vietnam, their leaders were jailed or executed. Under the French, only clandestine parties survived. The most skilled organizer of such parties was Ho Chi Minh. Ho founded the Indochinese Communist Party in 1930. In 1940–41, however, the Japanese occupied Vietnam. Ho organized the broad Vietminh Front and prepared to launch an uprising. Therefore, Ho led the Vietnamese against French and Japanese forces for control of their homeland.

At the end of World War II, Ho Chi Minh proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with Ho as president. However, France was unwilling to cede its former colony. For more than a year, the French and Vietnamese sought a negotiated solution. But the talks failed to resolve differences, chiefly because of the French determination to reoccupy Vietnam. The war between the two lasted from 1946 to 1954. In late 1946, France drove the Vietnamese out of southern Vietnam. The French tried to legitimize their rule by setting up a puppet government. In 1954, after eight years of guerrilla attacks by the Vietnamese and a major defeat at the battle of Dien Bien Phu, the French government agreed to negotiations to end the war. At a conference held in Geneva, the two sides accepted an interim compromise to end the war. They divided the country at the 17th parallel, with the Vietnamese in the north and the French and their Vietnamese supporters in the south. Thus, the country was divided into a Communist north and a non-Communist south.

The Vietnam War

After Geneva, the Vietnamese in Hanoi began to build a Communist society. In the southern capital, Saigon, the non-Communist regime was toppled by an anti-Communist president Ngo Dinh Diem (1901–1963), who declared the Republic of Southern Vietnam. With diplomatic support from the United States, Diem refused to hold elections and attempted to destroy Communist influence in the South. By 1959, fighting had started with guerrilla warfare in the south. The struggle grew into a full-scale

war between the north and the south. The north was aided by the USSR and China. The South was aided by the USA, which sent soldiers to Vietnam numbering up to half a million.

Brainstorming Question

» What factors induced the USA to send its troops to Vietnam?

In the fall of 1963, Diem was overthrown and killed in a coup launched by his own generals. In the political confusion that followed, the security situation in South Vietnam continued to deteriorate, putting the Communists within reach of victory. In early 1965, to prevent the total collapse of the Saigon regime, US President Lyndon Johnson approved the regular intensive bombing of North Vietnam and the dispatch of US combat troops into the South, marking the overt entry of the United States into the Vietnam War. Eventually, however, the resistance of the South Vietnamese forces collapsed, and on April 30, 1975, the Communists seized power in Saigon. Therefore, despite massive support, South Vietnam and the United States lost the war. The Vietnam War had left more than 15 per cent of the Vietnamese population killed or wounded. In 1976, the South was reunited with the North in a new Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and Saigon was renamed Ho Chi Minh City.

Brainstorming Question

» What were the reasons behind the defeat of South Vietnam and the United States?

There are several reasons for the defeat of South Vietnam and the United States by the North during the Vietnam War. The South Vietnamese government was corrupt and unpopular; Ho Chi Minh was a national hero not only for the northerners but also for South Vietnamese; even anti-Communists viewed the USA as the successor to France and supported Communist guerrillas; both the Communist guerrillas in the south and the North Vietnamese troops fought better than the South Vietnamese troops; the jungle terrain of Vietnam made the US's military technology ineffective; and strong opposition against US involvement in Vietnam at home forced the US to withdraw its troops.

Korea: Partition and War

Brainstorming Question

» How was Korea partitioned?

Korea was a colony of Japan between 1910 and 1945. The USA and the USSR divided Korea along the thirty-eighth parallel into American and Soviet zones of liberation after World War II. Both the USA and the USSR used their presence to promote friendly governments. The USSR gave its support to Kim Il Sung, a Communist who had led anti-Japanese guerrillas. In the South, the United States supported Syngman Rhee, a nationalist who had opposed the Japanese and had lived in exile in the United States. Both Kim Il Sung and Syngman Rhee strongly favored reunification, but each under their own rules, of course. In 1947, both the US and the USSR began arranging separate governments. Subsequently, US-sponsored elections in 1948 led to the founding of the Republic of Korea (south) in August 1948. The north followed in September 1948 by establishing the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The War

Brainstorming Question

» What was the immediate cause of the Korean War?

The Korean War was a military struggle fought between 1950 and 1953. Considerable civil strife in South Korea and growing opposition to President Syngman Rhee persuaded Kim Il Sung that he would be welcomed by many South Koreans as a liberator to overthrow the Rhee government and reunite the two Koreas. Hence, the North Korean army, substantially equipped by the Soviet Union, invaded South Korea on June 23, 1950. The Cold War had already begun in Europe, and the invasion, was seen in the United States as an act of aggression by world Communism. Thus, the conflict swiftly developed into a limited international war involving the United States and 19 other nations.

The United States immediately responded by sending troops from Japan to South Korea. On June 27, the UN Security Council, with the Soviet Union voluntarily absent, passed a US-sponsored resolution calling for military sanctions against North Korea. 19 UN member states including Ethiopia sent soldiers to support South Korea against the North. The UN force was placed under an American officer, General Douglas MacArthur. The action was unique because neither the UN nor its predecessor, the League of Nations, had ever used military measures to repel an aggressor.

The Communist offensive was halted in January 1951. Finally, the war became stalemated in 1951 and ended with an armistice on July 27, 1953. The Korean War was one of the most destructive conflicts of the twentieth century. The Korean War re-

sulted in an estimated four million casualties. South Korea suffered 1,312,836 casualties, North Korea sustained around two million casualties, the United States suffered 157,530 casualties, casualties among other UN allies totaled 16,532, and China's estimated losses in action were 900,000. The economic and social damage to Korea was incalculable.

LESSON 6

5.6. The Middle East

Competencies

After successful completion of this unit, you will be able to:

- mention the major conflict that occurred in the Middle East since 1945;
- outline the major events in the Arab-Israeli war;
- suggest your own peaceful solutions to Arab-Israeli conflicts;
- list down the objectives, activities and member states of the Arab League; and
- explain the causes behind the establishment of the OPEC and the measures taken by it.

Geographical Setting of the Middle East

Brainstorming Question

» Which states were included in the Middle East?

The term "Middle East" came into common use in the early twentieth century, but remains loosely defined. Defining the Middle East through ethnicity, religion, or national identity is problematic. Therefore, for our purpose, the Middle East will include the states of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, and Palestine.



Map 5.2 Map of the Middle East

Arab Nationalism: The Struggle for Independence, the End of the Mandates and Pan-

Arabism

Brainstorming Questions

- » Which powers controlled the Middle East until the end of World War II?
- » How did the Middle East states achieve their independence from the rule of the West?

Much of the Middle East had been under the control of the Ottoman Turks until the end of World War I. Soon after the end of World War I, the Ottoman Empire was partitioned between the British and the French. Five new mandate states were created: Britain took over Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan (now Jordan), while France took Syria and Lebanon. The Middle East was more united under the Turks than under the West. Nationalism has been a powerful force shaping the destiny of the region.

In their mandated territories Britain and France encountered demands from Arab nationalists and others for greater independence. The French rule was eliminated by the British when the French authorities in Syria and Lebanon declared for Vichy. But British rule, was maintained. The British were therefore the sole surviving target of Arab nationalism.

Soon after World War II, British control over the Middle East came to an end. In 1946, the mandate was replaced by a treaty of alliance, and Transjordan was made independent. In 1947, Britain referred the future of Palestine to the United Nations (UN). The UN adopted the decision that partitioned Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state. Although Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Egypt obtained sovereign-state status after World War I, and Lebanon and Syria were officially given their freedom during World War II, these states only became truly independent after World War II.

Since World War II, the Middle East has been encountered with two main types of conflict: internal and interstate. It should be noted that the two conflicts also overlapped in some Middle East countries. In major conflicts included the civil war in Lebanon from 1975 to 1989; the civil war in Yemen, the long Kurdish insurgency in Turkey (1989 to 2000), the persistent Arab-Israeli dispute; and the Suez Crisis of 1956; the Iran-Iraq War of 1980-1988, the Gulf War of 1990-1991 and the War on Iraq of 2003.

Activity 5.11

1. What were the reasons behind these conflicts?

Zionism and the Creation of the State of Israel

Brainstorming Question

» What were the causes of the Arab-Israeli dispute?

The Jewish people were expelled from the land of Palestine by the Romans in 70 AD. This episode is known in history as “Diaspora” (Greek for “dispersion”). But the Jews had long maintained the idea of regaining control of the area, which they considered home. In 1897, Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), a Jewish journalist living in Austria, founded the Zionist Movement that advocated re-establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. This idea became the foundation of a movement known as Zionism. Zionism is both a religious and political movement among the Jewish people with the aim of creating a Jewish state in the territory defined as the historic Land of Israel in Palestine, then an area controlled by the Ottoman Empire.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Zionist movement gained strength in Europe, and large numbers of Jews migrated to Palestine. The movement focused on self-reliance through agriculture, and many immigrants settled in the countryside. To do so, Jews had to buy land from local Arab holders of small tracts

and from absentee Arab landlords of large areas. As a result, Jews and Arabs came into increasing contact; at times, Jewish purchases led to the displacement of Arab peasants from the land. Although the Ottoman government sought to slow the Zionist movement, Jews established a significant and expanded presence.

During World War I, Britain was fighting against Ottoman Turkey. In return for their help in the war, Britain had promised autonomy to both Zionists and Arabs. Thus, in 1917, the British issued the Balfour Declaration, which favored the establishment of a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine. The interwar period witnessed increasing Jewish settlement and growing communal conflict that was poorly mediated by the British. Terrorist attacks and intermittent low-level warfare were carried out by both Jews and Arabs.

After World War II, the world became aware of the murder of millions of Jews in the Holocaust, and opinion began to favor creating an independent Jewish state. Arabs in Palestine and elsewhere continued to resist the idea, but on November 29, 1947, the United Nations (UN) passed a resolution which called for the partition of Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states. The Arab states refused to accept the U.N. resolution, but the Jewish leaders in Palestine proclaimed the independent state of Israel in 1948.

The Arab-Israeli Wars and the Peacemaking Efforts

The declaration of the state of Israel led to the Israeli-Arab War of 1948, in which Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia attacked Israel. This was the first of a major series of conflicts between the Jews and the Arabs. In the war, Arab forces had expected an easy victory over the small and isolated Jewish state. Despite heavy casualties, Israel became victorious. Israel not only repulsed the Arab nations but also expanded beyond the U.N. partition line, creating an even larger Jewish nation for the Arabs to deal with. For the surrounding Arab countries, Israel has been a bitter problem ever since. The war had created a large population of Palestinian Arab refugees who fled Israel for camps maintained by the UN in neighboring Arab states. The Arab world was unwilling to accept the Israeli victory, and shortly after the war, the Arabs began to regroup for more fighting.

After the 1948 war, the most serious military confrontations between the Jews and the Arabs were the Suez Crisis of 1956, when Israel, with France and Britain, invaded the Sinai after Egyptian provocations. In July, 1956, Egypt nationalized the Suez

Canal Company and closed the canal to Israeli shipping. Israel responded by invading the Sinai Peninsula with British and French military support. During the Suez Crisis, Israel captured the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula. The United States and the United Nations soon pressured it into a ceasefire. Israel agreed to withdraw from Egyptian territory. Egypt agreed to freedom of navigation in the region and the demilitarization of the Sinai.

In 1967, Egypt, Syria, and Jordan massed their armies on Israel's borders, and several Arab states called for war. Assuming the Arabs would attack, Israel struck first, in June 1967. In the Six-Day War that followed, Israel demolished the armies and air forces of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. It also gained control of the West Bank, the Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights of Syria, and all of the previously partitioned city of Jerusalem. In late November, the UN Security Council passed a resolution which called for an exchange of territory for peace and for the resettling of Palestinian refugees. Nevertheless, both Arabs and Israelis rejected the resolution. The Arab states continued to call for the destruction of Israel, while Israel, for its part, refused to withdraw from the territories it occupied.

After the 1967 war, the leading role in the struggle against Israel was taken over by Palestinian refugee guerrilla organizations. Under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the Palestinians stepped up border raids and terrorist attacks inside Israel. Israeli counterterrorist activities and harsh treatment of Arabs living within Israel's borders cost Israel some international support from this time on.

In October 1973, the Arabs attacked Israel on the Jewish holiday known as Yom Kippur, and caught Israel by surprise. Egypt and Syria pushed across the armistice lines established after the Six-Day War, which had kept Egyptian troops west of the Suez Canal and Syrian troops north-east of the Golan Heights. Israel, however, quickly recovered from the surprise and again pushed into Arab territory, surrounding, or destroying the bulk of the Egyptian and Syrian forces.

In the late 1970s, peace initiatives by Egypt's new leader, Anwar Sadat, were coupled with mediation by U.S. President Jimmy Carter. Egypt entered direct negotiations with Israel's Prime Minister, Menachem Begin. The two countries reached an agreement known as the Camp David Accords in 1978 and, in 1979, signed a formal peace treaty. Under the peace treaty signed in March 1979, Egypt regained the Sinai

Peninsula, which was partially demilitarized, and Israel and Egypt began normal diplomatic relations. For these reasons, the Arab League expelled Egypt, and the rest of the Arab world widely condemned the accords. In 1981, President Anwar Sadat of Egypt was assassinated by Egyptian Muslim extremists.

In 1982, Israel waged its second invasion (the first in 1978) of Lebanon in the context of the Lebanese-Syrian conflict to attack terrorist refuges of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). The assault on the PLO, which Israel called Operation Peace for Galilee, quickly escalated into ground battles in Lebanon and full-scale engagements between the Israeli and Syrian air forces. The invasion finally resulted in defeats for both Syria and the PLO. But Israel's effort to establish a strong client regime in Beirut failed, and the Israelis eventually withdrew from Lebanon with little but a puppet Christian army in southern Lebanon.

In the 1980s and 1990s, bloodshed has become commonplace. In the late 1980s, Palestinians began the intifada (Arabic, "uprising"), a widespread campaign against the continuing Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip and West Bank. The campaign combined elements of mass demonstrations, civil disobedience, riots, and terrorism. The revolutionary impetus of the intifada encouraged the emergence of the radical Islamist Palestinian group called Hamas. Thus, the cycle of violence continues. Even after the historic peace agreement of September 1993 between the PLO and Israel, not all Arab states, particularly Syria, have been willing to sit at the negotiation table with Israel, and Israel has remained unchanged in its determination to expand West Bank settlements, publicly announcing its determination to retain all of Jerusalem and parts of the occupied territories.

Activity 5.12

1. If you get an opportunity to advise the Arab and Israeli governments, what will you advise them to resolve their dispute peacefully?

LESSON 7

5.7. The Dissolution of the Communist Bloc and the Aftermath

Competencies

At the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- outline major developments of 1980s that greatly reduced the friction between

the two blocs;

- discuss Gorbachev's reforms of perestroika and glasnost and their consequences;
- analyze factors for the collapse of the Communist Bloc; and
- point out the major developments after the collapse of Communism.

Brainstorming Questions

- » What were the major developments of the 1980s that greatly reduced the friction between the two blocs?
- » What were the major reforms introduced by Gorbachev?

The early 1980s witnessed a final period of friction between the United States and the USSR, resulting mainly from the Soviets' invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 to support a Communist regime and from the firm line adopted by U.S. President Ronald Reagan (1981–1985). Reagan believed that rather than appeasement, the Soviets should be challenged. He expanded American military capabilities to levels not seen since the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. Regan's declaration that the Soviets were "an Evil Empire" started a western world policy of an enhanced and updated military build-up and a threat to develop a Strategic Defense Initiative (also known as "Star Wars") that the Soviets would never be able to compete with financially. Although reform in the Soviet Union slowed down between 1969 and 1982, a generational shift gave new momentum for reform with the coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985. The Chernobyl Accident in 1986 also added impetus for reform.

The Chernobyl Accident of 1986 was a nuclear power plant disaster at Chernobyl, in the Ukrainian Republic of the USSR. The accident produced a spiral of radioactive debris that drifted over parts of the western USSR, Eastern Europe, and Scandinavia. It was the worst nuclear power accident in history. Large areas of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, and Russian republics of the USSR were contaminated, resulting in the evacuation and resettlement of 200,000 people. The accident raised concerns about the safety of the Soviet nuclear power industry while forcing the Soviet government to become less secretive.

Gorbachev and his supporters challenged the way the party and bureaucracy had traditionally managed the Soviet government and economy. Under the program of perestroika, or restructuring, Gorbachev proposed major economic and political

reforms. Gorbachev and his advisors considered policies to liberalize the economy and move it rapidly toward a free market. The government also relaxed restrictions on foreign trade and investment. Despite these organizational changes, the Soviet economy stagnated and even declined. The shortage of food, consumer goods, and housing has become chronic.

In addition, Gorbachev soon launched ambitious political and social reforms. The most dramatic change was adopting glasnost, or openness about public affairs. This reform allowed an exceptionally broad public discussion and criticism of Soviet history and Soviet Communist Party policy. In quick succession, the Soviet authorities released political prisoners, relaxed censorship in the mass media, encouraged debate over the sins of the Soviet past. Gorbachev accompanied these measures with a shift in foreign policy, pledging to curb Soviet military spending and negotiate an end to the Cold War with the West. It should be noted that Gorbachev and Reagan held a series of summit talks between 1985, and 1987 the two leaders agreed to eliminate their countries' nuclear missiles, those capable of striking Europe and Asia from the USSR and vice versa. The Soviet government began to reduce its forces in Eastern Europe, and in 1989 it pulled its troops out of Afghanistan.



Figure 5.3 R. Reagan and M. Gorbachev

Activity 5.13

1. What do you feel about Gorbachev's reforms?

In 1989, Soviet domination and Communist rule in Eastern Europe came to an end. The wall that had divided East and West Germany since 1961 was torn down, and in 1990, Germany once again became a unified country. By 1991, the communist gov-

ernments of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania were brought down as revolution swept Eastern Europe. The liberation of East Europe inspired many Soviet Union republics to struggle harder for liberation from Moscow. Gorbachev resisted the dissolution of the Union. He threatened military force against any republic that attempted secession. Liberation movements simply grew stronger. Finally, Gorbachev attempted to restructure the Soviet Union into a less centralized state by offering the republics autonomy within a union.

The Soviet republics accelerated their process of independence, declaring their sovereignty one by one. On September 6, 1991, the Soviet government recognized the independence of the three Baltic States. Then, on December 1, 1991, Ukraine reaffirmed its independence after a popular referendum in which 90% of voters opted for independence. On December 8, 1991, the leaders of the Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian republics met and signed the Belavezha Accords, declaring the Soviet Union dissolved and replaced by the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

Consequences of the Collapse of the Communist Bloc

The fall of Communism and the collapse of the Soviet Union meant the end of the Cold War. Hence, the world began to see different domestic politics, economic policies, and international relations.

The problems in the new political and economic situation are enormous. Unemployment was widespread throughout the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. As a result, hundreds of thousands of people began migrating from Eastern to Western Europe to look for work. Economic problems in some East European countries helped former communists to regain power. For example, in Poland former Communists gained in the elections of 1993.

Activity 5.14

1. Did the fall of Communism bring conflicts to an end in Europe?

The collapse of Communism also caused very serious political challenges, particularly in different parts of Eastern Europe. Economic strains reinforced ethnic and religious conflicts. A civil war led to the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The potential for ethnic violence threatened the former Soviet Union. The Czechs and the Slovaks, unable to establish a stable and unified state, hence divided Czechoslovakia into two separate nations in 1993.

Brainstorming Questions

- » What are the major issues in the contemporary world?
- » What is the major source of conflict in the period after the collapse of Communism?

In his book “Clash of Civilizations,” Samuel Huntington argues that post-Cold War conflict would be most frequent and violent along cultural lines rather than ideological ones. Huntington believes that this cultural organization better describes the world than the classical notion of multicultural sovereign states. He stated that to understand conflict in the period after the collapse of Communism, cultural rifts must be understood, and culture must be accepted as the locus of war.

Activity 5.15

1. Argue for or against the views of Samuel Huntington? Please substantiate your argument with evidence.

Unit Summary

The following global organizations, events, and technologies are to various degrees rooted in the Second World War: Organizations: the United Nations, World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO), and International Monetary Fund (IMF); Events: The Cold War, the retreat of European colonialism, and the transition from Great Depression to “policeman of the World”; Technologies: Nuclear fission, the computer and the jet engine. Moreover, the war can be identified to varying degrees as the catalyst for the communist takeover of China and Eastern Europe, the creation of Israel, and the divisions of Germany and Korea. It also resulted in a shift from a multi-polar world to a bipolar one dominated by the two most powerful victors, the United States and Soviet Union. The United Nations (UN), which grew out of the ant-Fascist war coalition, is an international organization of nation-states, based on the sovereign equality of its members. It was officially established on June 26, 1945 with the major aims of maintaining international peace and security; developing friendly relations among nations; and achieving international cooperation in solving economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian problems and in encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms.

In 1948, the USA launched a far-reaching program of aid designed to speed Europe's recovery known as the Marshall Plan. The Marshall Plan did much to set the European economy back on its feet after the war and to avert Communist control of Western Europe. On the other hand, Eastern European countries essentially became Soviet satellites. The Cold War is a phrase used to describe the post-World War II struggle between the United States and its allies, on one side, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and its allies, on the other.

Much of the Middle East had been under the control of the Ottoman Turks until the end of World War I. Then, afterward, the Ottoman Empire was partitioned between the British and the French. Arab nationalism and the weakened conditions of France and Britain at the end of the Second World War forced the West to evacuate from the Middle East. Since World War II, the Middle East has been encountered with two main types of conflict: internal and interstate. Chief among these is the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Gorbachev introduced the programs of reform named "perestroika," or restructuring, and "glasnost," or openness. Subsequently, Communist regimes began to topple in the countries of Eastern Europe and the wall that had divided East and West Germany since 1961 was torn down. Finally, on December 26, 1991, the Congress of People's Deputies dissolved the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The fall of Communism and the collapse of the Soviet Union meant the end of the Cold War.

Unit Review Exercises

Instruction I- Fill in the Blank Spaces with Appropriate Names

1. The permanent headquarters of the United Nations Organization is found in _____.
2. The judicial body of the UN, the International Court of Justice, is situated in _____.
3. _____ was the founder of the Zionist Movement.
4. In 1917 the British issued a decree that favored the establishment of a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine is known as _____.
5. _____ was the first of major series conflicts between the Jews and the Arabs.

6. After 1979, Israel and Egypt entered normal diplomatic relations by the _____ treaty.
7. Gorbachev proposed major economic and political reforms known as _____.
8. Gorbachev's reform that allowed an extra-ordinarily broad public discussion and criticism of Soviet history and Soviet Communist Party policy was called _____.

Instruction II: Give Short and Precise Answers to the Following Questions

1. What were the two legal instruments that became basis for the Nuremberg trial?
2. List the founding member states of NATO.
3. Explain the reasons why NAM could not be developed into an independent "force."
4. Mention the three major themes that characterized US post-war history.
5. Mention some of the major conflicts that happened in the post-war Middle East.
6. List down the long-term significance of the Suez Crisis.
7. Point out the motives of the OPEC countries in forcing up the price of oil.
8. Mention the names given to the period that followed the end of the Cold War.
9. State the phenomena that were responsible for the degeneration of the illusion of harmony at the end of the Cold War.

UNIT SIX

ETHIOPIA: INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS AND EXTERNAL INFLUENCES FROM 1941 TO 1991

Introduction

This unit begins with the restoration of imperial rule and the impact of the international context on the historical development of Ethiopia in the post-liberation period. The first lesson discusses the Re-establishment of the Imperial Rule, external influence, and the territorial issues of the Ogaden and Eritrea. In the second lesson, you will learn about the socio-economic conditions from 1941 to the 1974 Revolution. The role of the agricultural sector, the different land tenure systems, the issue of land reform, and the role of trade and industry in the national economy would be dealt with extensively. In the third lesson, you will learn about the Emperor's absolutist state and decades of various forms of oppositions, which eventually led to the down fall of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974. In the fourth lesson, you will learn about the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution and the coming to power of the Derg. The fifth lesson treats the various socio-economic and political measures taken by the military regime after it had asserted its authority through bloody measures. The last lesson deals with internal and external factors for the decline and downfall of the Derg regime.

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- recognize the social, economic and political achievements of the Ethiopian people;
- describe the internal opposition movements to the Imperial regime;
- outline the role of foreign influences on internal developments;
- understand the character of the 1974 Ethiopian revolution;
- analyze the consequences and the aftermath of the 1974 Revolution;
- recognize main internal and external factors for the decline and fall of the Derg-

gime;

- sketch maps that show the change of administrative territories of Ethiopia in the period; and
- denounce crimes against humanity

Lessons:

- ◆ The Restoration of the Imperial Rule and External Influences
- ◆ Socio-economic Conditions and Social Organizations
- ◆ Consolidation of Autocracy and Oppositions to the Monarchical Regime
- ◆ The 1974 Revolution: The Downfall of the Emperor and the Coming to Power of the Derg
- ◆ Socio-economic and Political Reforms of the Military Regime
- ◆ The Decline and Downfall of the Derg Regime: Internal and External Threats

Key Words and Concepts

- | | | |
|---------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| • Restoration | • Land Tenure System | • “Land to the Tiller!” |
| • Derg | • Five-Year Plan | • Revolution |
| • Socialism | • “Ethiopia Tikdem” | • Zemecha |

LESSON 1

6.1. The Restoration of the Imperial Rule and External Influences

Competencies

After successful completion of this lesson, you will be able to:

- list down the terms of the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreements of 1942 and 1944;
- state the reaction of the emperor to British ascendancy in the immediate years of the post-liberation period;
- discuss the British plan to partition Ethiopia;
- point out the reasons that Ethiopia presented when it claimed over Eritrea

and Ogaden;

- describe the demands of the Eritreans in the 1940s;
- explain the suggestions of the UN Commission on the fate of Eritrea; and
- discuss the bases of Ethio-American partnership.

Brainstorming Questions

- » What were the roles of the British in the immediate years of the post-liberation period?
- » What were the two contradictory views, on the destiny of Ethiopia, held by the Ethiopian and British governments?

In unit three, you studied that the liberation of Ethiopia from the Italian forces involved the British. With the help of the British, Emperor Haile Selassie was restored to his throne in May 1941. Nevertheless, the British, who had entered the country as liberators, had in fact replaced the Italians as the occupying power. They assumed a position of ascendancy in the country in the immediate years following the liberation period.

Once the emperor was restored to the throne, he was largely preoccupied with relations with the British. Indeed, there was considerable tension between Ethiopia and Britain. The two governments differed greatly in their views on Ethiopia's future. The Ethiopian government expected to assume full sovereignty without delay, whereas the British government considered Ethiopia's independence only a long objective. A first clash on this question occurred as early as 11 May 1941, when the Emperor appointed his first post-war cabinet. After some ups and downs, the British accepted the appointment of the ministers and regarded them as merely advisers to the British military administration of the country.

The Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of 1942 and 1944

Brainstorming Questions

- » What were the terms of the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of 1942?
- » What was the reaction of the emperor to this British domination?

In January 1942, Ethiopia and Britain signed an agreement. The terms of the agreement confirmed Ethiopia's status as a sovereign state. However, almost every article

of the treaty underlined Ethiopia's dependency and the dominant role of the British. Accordingly, under the Anglo-Ethiopian agreement of 1942, the British minister in Ethiopia would enjoy primacy over all other diplomatic representatives in the country. The military convention provided for British assistance in the organization of a new Ethiopian army that was to be trained by a British military mission.

Moreover, British citizens occupied key posts as civil and military advisers. They also trained and led the Ethiopian police force. They also controlled the financial system. It was agreed that all acts relating to the war effort, domestic or international, required British approval. The Emperor even had to get permission from British officials to declare war against any state if necessary, and the Ogaden and certain strategic areas, such as the French Somaliland border, the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railroad, and the Haud, remained under British administration. In short, by the 1942 Anglo-Ethiopian agreement, Ethiopia was firmly under British economic as well as political control. Hence, the Emperor could not exercise real power.

Brainstorming Question

- » What were the terms of the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of 1944?

The second Anglo-Ethiopian agreement was signed in December, 1944. This agreement restored some of the sovereign rights of the Ethiopian government that had been denied by the first agreement. To mention some: the precedence enjoyed by the British minister in Ethiopia over all other diplomatic representatives in the country was lifted. The right to the British government in respect to the appointment of advisers and officials was also lifted. The British agreed to restore parts of the Ethio-Djibouti railway to Ethiopian control and the Ethiopian army was no longer controlled by British military officials. The responsibility of commanding the army was given to the newly established Ethiopian Ministry of War.

Territorial Administration Issues: The Ogaden and Eritrea

Brainstorming Questions

- » What was the British plan for partition of Ethiopia? What was the reaction of the Ethiopian government to the British plan?
- » What were the grounds for Ethiopia's claim over Eritrea?

Although the British restored the sovereign rights of Ethiopia, they still retained sub-

stantial influence. They wanted to separate Eritrea and the Ogaden from Ethiopia. In the north, there were plans to unite parts of Tigray with the highlands of Eritrea to form a separate state of the Tigregna speakers under British protection. In the south-east, the British government proposed the incorporation of the Ogaden with British Somaliland and the former Italian Somaliland to create Greater Somalia. This new creation was to be placed under British trusteeship. British officials also envisaged the partition of Eritrea, with the western lowlands of Eritrea to be given to the then Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Hence, the plan became a source of fear, suspicion, mistrust, and even anger on the part of Ethiopia.

Ethiopia became a founding member of the United Nations (UN) in 1945 and immediately made strong demands for both the Ogaden and Eritrea. Historically, the Ogaden had been an integral part of the Ethiopian Empire before the Italian invasion. Ethiopia brought the matter to the 1945 London Conference of the Allied Powers, but the conference didn't respond to Ethiopia's claims. Nevertheless, after a long period of diplomatic struggle, the British withdrew from parts of Ogaden in 1948. But the Haud, and what the British called the Reserved Area, remained under British administration until 1954. Finally, that same year, the British restored the entire Ogaden region to Ethiopia.

After the Italian surrender, Eritrea remained under British military administration from 1941 to 1951. Ethiopia waged a long diplomatic struggle to regain Eritrea. Ethiopia had a strong case on the grounds of history, national defense, and access to the sea. Historically, the entire part of Eritrea or simply the Mereb Melash, had been an integral part of the Ethiopian Empire before the Italians established themselves over the area in 1890s. Regarding national defense, Ethiopia cited evidence that Eritrea served as a base both in 1895 and 1935 when Italy invaded the country. The restoration of Eritrea is also believed to have answered Ethiopia's quest for access to the sea.

Under British administration, various competing local groups emerged in Eritrea, such as the Unionist Party, the Muslim League, the Liberal Progressive Party, and a pro-Italian group consisting of Italian settlers, ex-askaris, and people of mixed races. The demands of these local groups are broadly divided into two. These were: union with Ethiopia and independence for Eritrea. The demand for a union was organized by the Unionist Party, which was the largest political group in Eritrea. The demand for independence was organized by a collection of different groups, including: the

Muslim League, the Liberal Progressive Party, and the pro-Italian group, which wanted to ensure the continuation of Italian domination.

The issue of Eritrea went through several stages before being resolved. First, a Four Powers Commission was established by the Allies of World War II (Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States) to resolve the Eritrean question. Nevertheless, unable to resolve the Eritrean question, the Four Powers referred the matter to the United Nations in 1948. The United Nations appointed a new commission for Eritrea, consisting of Burma, Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan, and South Africa. The task of the commission was to find out the wishes of the Eritrean people. The UN commission arrived in Eritrea in February 1950. Nevertheless, the commission was divided and could not reach a unanimous decision. Guatemala and Pakistan recommended granting independence to Eritrea. South Africa and Burma recommended federation with Ethiopia. Norway recommended Eritria's union with Ethiopia. Of these three varied recommendations, the UN General Assembly voted for federation. Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia on 2 December 1950 and the federation was put into effect in 1952.

The American Era

Brainstorming Question

» How was the Ethio-American partnership established?

Following the departure of the British, a United States economic mission arrived, thereby laying the groundwork for an alliance. It should be noted that the initiative for a closer relationship between Ethiopia and America came from the former. The Emperor, who was distressed by British domination during the first decade of the post-liberation period, sought the Americans as a counterweight.

After Eritrea federated with Ethiopia, the United States and Ethiopia concluded an agreement that gave the United States a twenty-five-year lease on the Kagnaw communications station in Asmera on May 22, 1953. At that time, Kagnaw was one of the largest radio relay and communications monitoring stations in the world. It was of paramount importance to the Americans to monitor Soviet radio communications throughout the region. The radio station was named Kagnaw to commemorate the first Ethiopian Battalion, which fought in the Korean war as part of the United Nations forces on the American side. In return for its use of Kagnaw, the USA pledged to

provide \$5 million to equip and train the Ethiopian armed forces. The USA also made further commitments to military assistance in subsequent years. By the 1970s, Ethiopia came to absorb some 60% of the total of American military aid to the African continent. Therefore, the air force, the navy, and the ground forces were equipped with American weapons. By 1974, Ethiopia's armed forces had become totally dependent on the United States for military hardware and spare parts.

The Americans were also involved in improving and extending the communication and education sectors. The Americans assisted in the establishment of the Ethiopian Air Lines in 1945. The Americans also assisted in the improvement of surface transport in the country. The Imperial Highway Authority (IHA) came into existence in 1951 with the task of maintaining and developing the country's road network. The Authority was directed by Americans until it got its first Ethiopian manager in 1962. The Imperial Board of Telecommunications, which was set up in 1952, also got substantial help from the Americans. The Americans also had considerable influence in shaping the country's education system. The Ethiopian education system was modeled after the American system of education. The system continued up to the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution. America became the main destination for young Ethiopians who sought higher education. Americans played a tremendous role in the administration of the Haile Selassie I University (now Addis Ababa University). The Peace Corps Program of the 1960s greatly contributed to the education system of Ethiopian secondary schools.

To conclude, the period following the departure of the British up to the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution might be described as the American era. It should be noted that this American ascendancy in every aspect of Ethiopian life was disliked by many Ethiopians. In particular, students viewed the situation as being within the global framework of American imperialism. Anti-Americanism in Ethiopia was particularly strong in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

LESSON 2

6.2. Socio-economic Conditions and Social Organizations

Competencies

After successful completion of this lesson, you will be able to:

- discuss the role of agricultural sector in Ethiopian economy until 1974;
- mention the different land tenure systems of Ethiopia before the 1974 Revolution;
- identify the negative impact of the feudal land tenure system on the Ethiopian peasantry;
- list down the factors that hindered agricultural development during the Imperial period;
- discuss the role of trade and industry in Ethiopian economy until 1974;
- analyze major development plans designed by the imperial government to improve the Ethiopian economy.

Agriculture, Land Tenure and Issues of Land Reform

Brainstorming Questions

- » What was the role of agricultural sector in Ethiopian economy?
- » What do you know about Ethiopia's land tenure system before the 1974 Revolution?
- » What were the negative impacts of this feudal land tenure system on the peasantry?

Accounting for over 60 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and 80 percent of the labor force, agriculture remained the economy's most important sector in the post liberation period. Coffee and other agricultural commodities comprised more than 90 percent of Ethiopia's exports. Ethiopia has great agricultural potential because of its vast areas of fertile land, diverse climate, adequate rainfall, and large labor pool. Nevertheless, despite this potential, the country's agriculture has remained underdeveloped. Several factors can be mentioned for the little advance in Ethiopia's agriculture. Because of drought, which has persistently affected the country to this day, a poor economic base (low productivity, weak infrastructure, and low level of technology), and government policies (governments' neglect of the agricultural sector), the Ethiopian agricultural sector has performed poorly.

Activity 6.1

1. What are the factors that hinder the development of Ethiopian agriculture?

Until the 1974 revolution, Ethiopia had a complex land tenure system. There were different kinds of land tenure systems in the country. However, the land tenure system can be understood in a rudimentary way if one examines it in the context of the basic distinction between landownership patterns in the north and those in the south. Historically, Ethiopia was divided into the northern highlands, which constituted the core of the old Christian kingdom, and the southern highlands, most of which were brought under imperial territorial expansion. This north-south dichotomy was reflected in land tenure systems. In the Northern provinces, particularly Gojjam, Begemidir, Tigray, Wello, and northern Shewa, the major form of ownership was a type of communal system known as rist. Most peasants in the northern highlands held at least some rist land, but there were some members of minority ethnic groups who were tenant farmers.

The other major form of tenure was gult. It was a right acquired from the monarch or from provincial rulers who were empowered to make land grants. Gult owners collected tribute from the peasantry and exacted labor service as payment in kind from the peasants. Until the government instituted salaries in the twentieth century, gult rights were the typical form of compensation for an official. Other forms of tenure included samon, mengist, and maderia land. Samon was land which the government had granted to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in perpetuity. The state owned large tracts of land known as mengist and maderia. Mengist was land registered as government property, and maderia was land granted mainly to government officials, war veterans, and other patriots in the form of a pension or salary.

This feudal land tenure system continued to play a negative role in the economic life of the peasantry in the post-liberation period. Particularly in this period, there was an acceleration of the process of privatization of land. The landless tenants were few in the northern provinces where the rist system was able to resist the pervasive influence of privatization. However, in the southern provinces, because of the ongoing process of privatization, few farmers owned the land on which they worked. The southern landownership patterns developed as a result of land measurement and land grants following the incorporation of the region into the Ethiopian Empire in the late nineteenth century. The gabbar system, in which northern settlers were given tributary rights over southern peasants, enabled the settlers to take over much of the land of the south for themselves through purchase from the impoverished gabbar or through forcible seizure. Thus, to a large extent, the southern peasants were

reduced to tenants who paid rent for the use of land which had been their own. To make matters worse, peasants had no security of tenure because landowners had the right to evict peasants from their land at any time they wanted.

In the post-liberation period, side by side with this privatization process, the central government issued a series of land-tax decrees. The first decree on land tax that fixed the rate of land tax based on the classification of rural land according to its productivity as cultivated land (lam), semi-cultivated land (lam-taf), and uncultivated land (taf) was issued in 1942. It should be noted that the gasha (equivalent to forty hectares) was used as a rate of land measurement. The decrees on land tax raised the tax on measured land from time to time. The new tax laws faced stiff resistance from the rist-holding regions of northern Ethiopia.

Brainstorming Question

» How do you describe agricultural development during the Imperial period?

During the imperial period, the development of the agricultural sector was retarded. Agriculture received less than 2 percent of budget allocations even though most of the population depended on it. As a result, agriculture continued to grow below the population growth rate of the country. According to the World Bank, agricultural production increased at an average annual rate of 2.1 percent between 1965 and 1973, while population increased at an average annual rate of 2.6 percent during the same period.

Later, the imperial government began to give attention to the agricultural sector. Commercial agriculture expanded with foreign concessions and government involvement. The Tendaho Cotton Plantations and Setiti Humara were good examples of the expansion of commercial farming. Government policy permitting investors to import fertilizers, pesticides, tractors and combiners, and (until 1973) fuel free of import duties encouraged the rapid expansion of large-scale commercial farming.

Although the issue of land reform was not addressed until the 1974 Revolution, the imperial government made no successful attempts to improve the condition of farmers. In 1971, the Ministry of Agriculture introduced a Minimum Package Program (MPP) sponsored by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) aimed at bringing about economic and social changes. The MPP included credit for the purchase of inputs such as fertilizers, improved seeds, and pesticides; innovative exten-

sion services; the establishment of cooperatives; and the provision of infrastructure, mainly water supply and all-weather roads. The program, designed for rural development, was first introduced through a project called the Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit (CADU). This program later facilitated the establishment of similar internationally financed projects in the Ada and Wolaita areas.

Brainstorming Question

- » What was the response of the imperial regime to the increasing demand for land reform?

Chiefly because of pressures from external sponsors, the imperial regime began to consider 'land reform' in the early 1960s. In 1961 a committee on land reform was first set up which developed into the Land Reform and Development Authority in 1965, and then to Ministry of Land Reform and Administration in 1966. Nevertheless, no meaningful land reform was made. A tenancy bill was first presented to parliament in 1964. However, the parliament could not introduce reforms since it represented the interests of the landlords.

The suffering of the peasantry from drought, locust invasion and famine forced many sectors of Ethiopian society to favor land reform in the mid-1960s. Since 1965, university students, who were known for their famous slogan 'Land to the Tiller', led the land reform movement. During the 1972-74 drought and famine the imperial government did not work hard to assist rural Ethiopians and tried to cover up the crisis. As a result, hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians lost their lives. By 1974 it was clear that the archaic land tenure system was one of the major factors responsible for the backward condition of Ethiopia's agriculture and the onset of the revolution.

Modernization: Trade and Industry

Brainstorming Questions

- » What were the roles of trade and industry in Ethiopia's economy?
- » What major development plans were designed to improve the Ethiopian economy?

Trade and industry played a significant role in the national economy. Since the late nineteenth century, coffee has become Ethiopia's leading cash crop. Despite its many riches and a long history of trading contacts with the outside world, Ethiopia never became a great trading nation. Most Ethiopians despised traders and instead glori-

fied warriors and priests. In the 1960s, trade constituted only 7 percent of the Gross Domestic Products (GDP) whereas the industrial sector represented a very small part of the total economy. For example, in 1975 the industrial sector accounted for less than 5 percent of the GDP and employed only about 60,000 people.

Nevertheless, the changes brought by the Italians were limited. In the post-liberation period, a small proportion of the population participated in the money economy, and there was a low rate of circulation of goods. Wage labor was also limited, economic units were largely self-sufficient, foreign trade was negligible, and the market for manufactured goods was extremely small. Much of the economy remained unchanged during the late 1940s and 1950s.

Agricultural products constituted the bulk of the country's exports. The major export items were: coffee, which accounted 50 - 65 percent of the total exports of the country. Next to coffee, there were also hides and skins, as well as pulses and oil-seeds. On the other hand, the major Ethiopian imports were textiles, machinery, and chemicals. Ethiopia's foreign trade partners were the USA, which was the major importer of the country's coffee (about 70%), Italy, and Japan. In more broad terms, from 1953 to 1974, the balance of trade registered annual deficits. To improve the trade balance, the government attempted to restrict imports and replace them with locally produced industrial goods to improve the trade balance. Despite these efforts, however, the unfavorable trade balance continued. As a result, foreign grants and loans financed much of the balance of payments deficit.

The post-independence period witnessed some continuity and change regarding the country's domestic trade. Addis Ababa continued as the commercial centre of the country. But inside Addis, the pre-war commercial center of the city, Arada (renamed by the Italians as Piazza) was replaced by Mercato. In this period, the role of the Greek, Armenian, and Arab traders as economic intermediaries between Ethiopia and the outside world faced a serious challenge from an emerging class of national traders. Even then, a small number of Ethiopians were involved in import and export trade.

Since the early 1950s, the Ethiopian government has renewed its call for a transition from a subsistence economy to an agro-industrial economy. A key element of the emperor's new economic policy was the adoption of centrally administered development plans. In the period between 1945 and 1957, several technical missions, from

the United States, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), Yugoslavia, and other countries, prepared a series of development plans. However, these plans failed to achieve any meaningful results.

In 1954/55, the government created the National Economic Council to coordinate the state's development plans. This Council, a policy-making body chaired by the emperor, devoted its attention to improving agricultural and industrial productivity, eradicating illiteracy and diseases, and improving living standards for all Ethiopians. The National Economic Council helped prepare Ethiopia's first and second five-year plans.

Lesson 3

6.3. Consolidation of Autocracy and Oppositions to the Monarchy

Competencies

After successful completion of this lesson, you will be able to:

- list down the measures taken to strengthen the apparatus of coercion;
- discuss how and why the administrative divisions of the country revised;
- mention the factors that led to the revision of the constitution in 1955.
- analyze the general political situation of Ethiopia in the immediate post-liberation era;
- examine the 1960 attempted coup;
- list down the common causes of the major peasant rebellions;
- mention the different armed groups fought to secede Eritrea from Ethiopia;
- outline the different phases of the Ethiopian student movement; and
- mention the major national and international issues raised by the Ethiopian students.

The Emperor: His Absolutist Rule

Brainstorming Questions

» What do you know about the nature of the Ethiopian state after 1941?

Emperor Haile Selassie constructed and maintained an absolutist state until his

downfall in 1974. Indeed, it was in this period that the state attained the height of its power to that point in Ethiopian history. This was noticeable in the spheres of provincial administration, military organization and fiscal control. The imperial state constructed by Haile Selassie was also tenuously held together by a top-heavy, secularized bureaucracy and an imperial myth. The architect and symbol of the absolutist order was Emperor Haile Selassie I, who dominated the political life of the Ethiopians from 1930 to 1974. In the period when the emperor continued to exercise absolute power, his words were final on important appointments and decisions.

After the restoration of Haile Selassie to the throne in 1941, the Emperor continued the work of creating the bureaucratic machinery of a centralized modern state. He completed the process of destroying the independent political and military power of the feudal aristocracy, which he had started before the Italian invasion. The emperor built a bureaucracy that served only his interests. The emperor exerted all his energy on the maintenance of his power and the elimination of actual and potential political opposition. Although oppressive measures and institutions could not salvage the emperor from downfall, the emperor gave priority for security apparatus and military organization.

Activity 6.2

1. Why did the military eventually turn against the regime and bring its downfall?

Military Organizations

Brainstorming Questions

- » What were the measures taken to strengthen the apparatus of coercion? How were the administrative divisions of the country revised? Why?

The military was composed mainly of the army, the Imperial Bodyguard, and the police. The military was used mainly to put down opposition against the regime. The work of reorganizing the military was started soon after Emperor Haile Selassie was restored to the throne. The Imperial Bodyguard was reorganized with Swedish assistance. It was designed to control other army units. It remained as the elite force of the regime until it was dishonored due to its involvement in the aborted coup of 1960.

The Police Force was set up in 1942. It was first organized largely along British lines but later it was assisted and trained by the Germans and the Israelis. The Depart-

ment of Public Security was also set up under the Ministry of the Interior. It was an elaborate intelligence network that spied on the nation and fed the emperor with information. The Department played a vital role in eliminating political oppositions to the regime.

The Army, at first trained and armed by the British and later by the Americans, was the pillar of state power. Even though the Army was principally organized with the objective of defending the country from external invasion, it was excessively used for the repression of internal political opposition. The Ministry of Defence and the Department of Public Security consistently got the highest budgetary allocations.

The Administrative Divisions

The emperor revised the administrative divisions and established political and administrative offices corresponding to them. This was designed to gain some control over local government by placing it in the hands of the central administration in Addis Ababa. The largest of these administrative units were the provinces (teklay-gizats), of which there were fourteen in the mid-1960s, each under a governor general appointed directly by the emperor. Each province was subdivided into sub-provinces (awrajas), districts (weredas), and sub-districts (mikiti-weredas). The structure outwardly resembled a modern state apparatus. In fact high-ranking landed nobles held all the important offices. Younger and better-educated officials were little more than providing an aide to the governor-generals in the form of advice.

Educational System

Brainstorming Question

» How was the education system of the country designed?

The country's education system was primarily designed to produce the necessary trained manpower for the expanding bureaucracy of the absolutist state. After 1941 secondary schools were opened for the first time. The Haile Selassie I Secondary School and the General Wingate School were opened in 1943 and 1946, respectively. Most of the educated elites of the 1950s were products of these two secondary schools. The University College of Addis Ababa was established in 1950. Subsequently, the Engineering College and the Building College in Addis Ababa, the Alamaya College of Agriculture and the Gondar Public Health College were opened. These colleges were brought together to form the Haile Selassie I University in 1961. Gradu-

ates of the University filled the various governmental posts and served the system.

The education system, particularly at its early stage, and the media played a crucial role in promoting Emperor Haile Selassie's cult of personality. These two institutions elevated the emperor to a superhuman height. Moreover, almost all major landmarks in Addis Ababa bore the name of the emperor. To mention a few: the university, the stadium, the main avenue and square of the city, two schools and a hospital were named after the emperor. Similarly, many institutions in the other parts of the country bore his name. The emperor's birth and coronation days were celebrated as national holidays. In short, not only was the political order dominated by the emperor, but also the country came to be identified with him.

The Revised Constitution of 1955

Brainstorming Questions

» Why was the constitution revised in 1955? What were the major differences between the revised constitution and the 1931 constitution?

In 1955, on the occasion of the silver jubilee of the coronation of Emperor Haile Selassie, the 1931 constitution was revised and promulgated. The incorporation of Eritrea, which had a more advanced constitution, necessitated the revision of the 1931 constitution. The 1955 revised constitution mainly differed from the 1931 constitution in its provision of universal adult suffrage and the provision for an elected Chamber of Deputies. Ethiopia came to have a bicameral parliament, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The Senate remained appointive, but the Chamber of Deputies was, at least nominally, elected. But popular participation in the election remained very low.

The 1955 revised constitution consolidated the absolute powers of the emperor. The major concern and content of the revised constitution was the issue of imperial succession and the power of the emperor. The constitution made the person of the emperor sacred and his power unquestionable. To quote the constitution: "By virtue of His Imperial Blood, as well as of the anointing which he has received, the person of the Emperor is sacred, his dignity is inviolable, and his power is indisputable." Although the constitution contained some elements of human rights, such as personal freedoms and liberties, including freedoms of assembly, movement, speech, and of the press, they were accompanied by invalidating phrases like "in accordance with the law" or "with the limits of the law".

Oppositions to the Imperial Rule

Plots and Conspiracies

Brainstorming Question

» How was the general political situation of Ethiopia in the immediate post-liberation era?

The politics of Ethiopia in the immediate post-liberation era were further complicated by the emergence of three groups. These were: the Returnees, who had been in exile with the Emperor or on their own; the Collaborators, who had worked with the Italians and held in disrespect among patriotic circles; and the patriots, who had played a major role in the liberation struggle but were in many cases unfamiliar with modern administration. All three groups expected, and to some extent received, posts in government service, as a reward for past services, or in recognition of their influence, or loyalty to the monarch. But it should be noted that the emperor was unwilling or unable to satisfy the interests of the patriots as compared to the other two groups. Indeed, some patriot leaders opposed the restoration of the emperor to the throne after his period of exile. They even viewed the emperor as traitor who deserted the country at the time of its adversity. Dajjach Belay Zeleke, Bitwodded Negash Bezabih, and Blatta Takele Wolde-Hawaryat were patriot leaders who plotted against Emperor Haile Selassie at different times.

Dajjach Belay Zeleke

Brainstorming Question

» Who was *Dajjach* Belay Zeleke?

Belay Zeleke was a prominent patriotic leader in Gojjam. Upon the Emperor's return to Ethiopia in 1941, Belay was made governor of a small district in Gojjam with the rank of Dajjach while some patriot leaders who had lesser contribution to the resistance struggle were appointed above him and given higher ranks. But Belay remained popular among the people of the area. Hence, the suspicious emperor once tried to remove Belay from his power base by appointing him as governor of one of the provinces in southern Ethiopia with the title of Ras. Nevertheless, Belay was unwilling to serve under an emperor, whom he openly criticized as a deserter in the

hour of need for his country and rejected the appointment. Moreover, he expressed his disappointment by rejecting orders coming from the governor of Gojjam as well as from the central government.

The plot of Dajjach Belay Zeleke developed into an armed confrontation when Belay moved to his stronghold in the Somma valley in early 1943. Bitwoddé Mengesha Jembre, Ras Hailu Belew, Bitwoddé Negash Bezabih and other former patriot leaders attacked Belay's stronghold. After Belay lost most of his followers in three months of fighting, Belay surrendered. It should be noted that his surrender was the result of several weeks of negotiations where Belay surrendered in return for a pardon for himself and his followers. But Belay was soon betrayed. He was taken to Addis Ababa and imprisoned, accused of being a threat to the monarchy. But after a few months, he broke out of jail. But he was caught on his way to Gojjam and then was executed by hanging. This heartbreaking capital punishment on Belay has been remembered as a grave injustice by the imperial government.

Bitwoddé Negash Bezabih

Brainstorming Question

» Who was *Bitwoddé* Negash Bezabih?

Bitwoddé Negash Bezabih was another famous patriot leader in Gojjam. He was also a grandson of Negus Tekle-Haimanot of Gojjam. In the post-liberation decade, Negash served as vice-minister in the Prime Minister's office and President of the Senate. In 1951, Negash led a conspiracy aimed at assassinating Haile Selassie and establishing a republic under the leadership of Ras Emiru. But Ras Emiru was not involved in the plot. The conspirators chose Ras Emiru because he was a progressive governor before the war and was remembered for his sense of justice.

The conspirators were able to approach many governmental officials and some military officers. But the main mistake that the conspirators made was attempting to enlist the support of a patriot leader named Dajjach Geressu Duki. Geressu betrayed the conspirators, and reported their plot. With the approval of the emperor, he began to play a double game until more was known about the conspiracy. Finally, Bitwoddé Negash Bezabih and many others were arrested during one of their clandestine meetings in Dajjach Geressu's house by a force commanded by Mengistu Neway. The conspirators were tried at the Emperor's special court and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

Blatta Takele Wolde-Hawaryat

Blatta Takele Wolde-Hawaryat was a patriot leader in Shewa. He put up the longest opposition against the emperor. He started his opposition to the regime when the emperor decided to go into exile in 1936. After 1941, Takele continued to oppose the return of the exiled Emperor and made several attempts to overthrow him. For three decades, Takele passed through several of the emperor's *shum-shir* (appointment and demotion). Finally, after several plots and imprisonments, his final attempt to assassinate the emperor was uncovered, and Takele was killed in a shoot-out with the police in his house in November 1969.

The Attempted Coup of 1960

Brainstorming Questions

- » Who were the leaders of the *coup d'état* of 1960?
- » Who was Germame? What were the major events of the *coup*?
- » What were the proclaimed aims of the *coup* makers?

Open opposition to the imperial regime surfaced in December 1960 when radical intellectuals and some sections of the armed force, who didn't see the emperor as a leader of reforms but an obstacle for the progress attempted to overthrow him through a *coup d'état*. The 1960 attempted coup was organized by two brothers, known in Ethiopian history as the "Neway brothers." The attempted coup was led by Brigadier General Mengistu Neway, the commander of the Imperial Bodyguard, and his brother Germame Neway. Besides a handful of radical intellectuals, a few top military officials, including the commander of the Security Forces, Colonel Worqneh Gebeyehu and the commander of the Police Force, Brigadier General Tsege Dibu, joined the two brothers.

Germame, who was the mind and the spirit behind the attempted coup, had a master's degree in political science from Columbia University. Obviously, Germame was able to convince his own brother, Brigadier General Mangistu Neway to stage a coup while the emperor was on a state visit to Brazil. The coup was initially successful in the capital. On the evening of December 13, 1960, the plotters managed to take hostage more than twenty ministers and kept them at Genete Leul Palace (now Addis Ababa University main campus) and controlled strategic points in the capital.

The next day, units of the Imperial Bodyguard took control of the radio station, and the plotters announced the deposition of the Emperor. His son, Crown Prince Asfawoson, was appointed in his place as a constitutional monarch with a fixed salary. The newly proclaimed “People’s Government” was to be headed by the progressive aristocrat Ras Emeru Haile Selassie. The popular general, Major General Mulugeta Buli was also nominated as chief of staff of the armed forces.

The coup leaders announced the formation of a government that would improve the economic, social, and political problems of the people which was read on the national radio by the Crown Prince on Wednesday, December 14, 1960.

Brainstorming Question

» What was the grave mistake of the *coup* makers? How was the *coup* suppressed?

The grave mistake of the coup leaders was that they made no attempt to win the support of the army and the air force. Although university students demonstrated in favor of the coup, army and air force units remained loyal to the emperor. The patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church also condemned the coup makers as anti-religious traitors and supported the loyalists. Thus, the rest of the military and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church rallied to support the Emperor and by 17 December the coup was aborted. While the army was storming the palace, the Neway brothers, as an act of desperation, massacred their hostages in the Green Salon, and fled the city.

Brainstorming Question

» What do you know about the fate of the Neway brothers?

Mengistu and Germame evaded capture until December 24. Finally, they were surrounded by the army near Mojo. Germame committed suicide but Mengistu was wounded and captured. He was tried and sentenced to death.

Activity 6.3.

1. Was the physical elimination of the Neway brothers the end of opposition to the emperor?

Peasant Rebellions

Brainstorming Question

» What were the common causes of the peasant rebellions?

In the post-liberation period, there were peasant rebellions against the imperial regime in various provinces of the country. Increasing state pressure on peasants' resources, and ethno-nationalist sentiments are often pointed out as factors behind these rebellions. The condition of the peasantry was extremely miserable. The lives of peasants were severely affected by increasing land taxes, the process of privatization and land sales plus the expansion of commercial farms. In the period under discussion major peasant rebellions occurred in Tigray, Bale and Gojjam provinces.

The Woyane Rebellion

Brainstorming Questions

» Who was the leader of the Woyane rebellion?

The first peasant rebellions after liberation occurred in Tigray in 1943. This rebellion that broke out in Eastern Tigray is known as the "Woyane Rebellion." Banditry, animosity between the central government and the Azebo and Raya peasants, maladministration as well as the interests of the regional nobility to exploit the unrest contributed to the rebellion. The Woyane rebellion was led by Blatta Hayle Mariam Redda, whose remarkable leadership is always pointed out as a major factor behind the temporary success of the movement. The course of the Weyane Rebellion was relatively brief. The rebels made some initial victories at Anda Abuna near Mehoni and finally captured Mekelle. But the movement was finally crushed by the imperial forces led by Ras Abebe Aregay, supported by British air force. After the fall of Mekelle in October 1943, all organized resistance collapsed.

The Bale Peasant Rebellion

Brainstorming Questions

» What was the root cause of the Bale peasant rebellion? In which district did the rebellion start?

The second and the longest peasant rebellion occurred in the Bale between 1963 and 1970. The rebels were supported by the Somalia government, which had the aim of creating Greater Somalia by incorporating Somali-inhabited neighboring regions of Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti. But the root causes were primarily local discontents over land and tax issues and opposition to Christian settlement in predominantly Muslim Oromo and Somali inhabited areas.

The rebellion began in the El Kere district in 1963 when peasants refused to pay land taxes. Then it spread to the Wabe, Dallo and Ganale districts. Initially, the rebellion was led by a Somali named Kahin Abdi, but gradually the leadership shifted to an Oromo commander, Waqo Gutu, who was later identified as the symbol of the Bale peasant resistance. It was under the leadership of Waqo that the rebellion became more militant and well organized.

At first, the government tried to pacify the province by promising the return of confiscated land. Nevertheless, the promise didn't satisfy the rebels, and the revolt continued to spread. The rebels killed two district governors and many government soldiers. They also attacked Goba, the capital of Bale province, two times. Finally, the Bale peasant rebellion was put down by a massive operation, which lasted from 1967 to 1970 and involved the Fourth Division of the Army led by General Wolde-Selassie Baraka and General Jagama Kello.

The Gojjam Peasant Rebellion

Brainstorming Questions

» When did the Gojjam peasants revolt against the government? Why?

Peasant rebellions in Gojjam can be traced back to the 1940s and 1950s. In these decades, people successfully resisted pressures from the political center. The peasants of Gojjam refused to go along with government actions such as gun and land registry and the appointment of governors from the center. In the 1950s, when Dajjach Kebede Tesemma was made governor of Gojjam, rebellion broke out in Motta, Kolla Dega Damot and Mecha districts. At that time, the peasants successfully resisted land tax increases and land measurement. This rebellion forced the central government to reduce the new tax rate by a third and to replace Dajjach Kebede with Hailu Below, a hereditary governor of Gojjam.

However, a militant and well organized peasant rebellion led by veterans of the resistance occurred in Gojjam in 1968. At that time, the rebellion involved bandits, local nobles, and peasants. The 1968 rebellion was provoked by the introduction of a new agricultural income tax law and changes in land measurement, and the arrogance of the then governor Dajjach Tsehayu Enqu-Selassie. Among other things, Tsehayu forced the people to make contributions to erect the statue of the emperor in the provincial capital, Dabra Markos. To eliminate banditry, Tsehayu also exposed

the peasantry to extortion by the *nech lebash*. He also forced the peasants to pay all arrears of taxation going back to 1940 and ordered guns registration with charges. Tsehayu also interfered in the affairs of churches and monasteries.

The immediate cause of the rebellion was the attempt to introduce the new tax, which Parliament passed as a tax on agricultural produce in November 1967. The peasants saw the new tax as an attempt to dispossess them from their hereditary rist land. Subsequently, the peasants resisted the tax assessors and sent petitions to the emperor to call off the new tax. When their petition was not accepted, the peasants rebelled. The rebellion was particularly strong in the Motta and Kolla Dega Damot districts. Indeed, for many months, several districts were outside government control. They were administered by rebels who assumed titles like *Le'ul* and *Fitawrari* for themselves.

Brainstorming Questions

- » What was the response of the central government? What were the results of the rebellion?

Initially, the response of the central government was indecisive, with *commettes* sent and concessions made before military force was used to restore order. The government set up several successive committees to pacify the region. Based on the recommendation of one of these committees, Tsehayu was removed and sent to Kafa Province, two of his arch-rivals were appointed as governors of Motta and Kolla Daga Damot districts, and a general amnesty (pardoning the rebels) was proclaimed. But the revolt continued until it was suppressed by a military campaign involving the army, the police, and the *nech lebash*. Although the Gojjam peasant rebellion was finally put down by the end of 1968, it was the most successful uprising. The peasants had not lost their causes. Following the suppression of the rebellion, the new tax was abandoned, unpopular officials were removed, and all arrears of taxation going back to 1950 were canceled.

To sum up, in the post-liberation period, peasant rebellions also occurred in other provinces, although not on the same scale as the ones discussed above. The peasants of Gedeo and Yajju rebelled and protested land alienation and maladministration. They challenged the autocratic rule of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1960 and 1970, respectively.

Armed Struggle in Eritrea

Brainstorming Questions

» What was the origin of the armed struggle in Eritrea?

The armed struggle in Eritrea posed the most consistent regional challenge to the imperial regime. It also played a significant role in the demise of the imperial regime. Based on the decision of the UN General Assembly, the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia came into effect in 1952. But the federation formula neither satisfied the unionists nor the separatists. The imperial government also did not want to see the continuation of autonomous Eritrea, which enjoyed some degree of freedom and civic liberties unknown in other parts of the country. Hence, in 1962, following the decision of the Eritrean parliament to dissolve the federation, Eritrea became the 14th province of Ethiopia in 1964. The end of the federation consolidated internal and external opposition to the imperial regime.

The first separatist movement was the Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM). This movement was founded in 1958. It engaged in clandestine political activities against the centralizing policies of the imperial state. However, the ELM had been discovered and disbanded by imperial authorities.

In 1960, Eritrean exiles in Cairo founded the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF). In September 1961, the ELF turned to armed struggle for the independence of Eritrea under the leadership of Hamid Idris Awate. Because of its domination by Muslims, but radical Arab states like Egypt, Syria and Iraq supported the ELF with military and financial assistance. However, division with the ELF led to the formation of new groups. The three major splinter groups were: the Eritrean Liberation Forces in the Barka area; the Popular Liberation Forces (PLF) in the Red Sea area led by Osman Saleh Sabby, and the Front for Eritrean Independence in the Akala Guzay region led by Isayyas Afeworqi.

Brainstorming Question

» How was the founder of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF)?

In 1972, the three splinter groups united to form the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (EPLF). From this time onwards, two armed organizations, i.e., the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) (Arabic Jabha meaning 'Front') and Eritrean People's Liber-

ation Forces (EPLF) (Arabic Sha'abiya meaning 'Popular') were fighting against the imperial regime for the secession of Eritrea from Ethiopia.

Mecha-Tulama Self-Help Association

Brainstorming Question

» What do you know about the *Mecha-Tulama* Self-Help Association?

This association, which was named after two of the major Borana Oromo sub-division, Mecha-Tulama, was established in January 1963. It is considered the origin of the organized quest for Oromo self-identity. It was a self-help club with the modest objective of promoting Oromo self-identity as well as providing educational, water supply, communication, and health facilities in the Oromo inhabited areas. Initially, its membership was not confined to Oromo origins only. But, later, the association began to play political roles, and the regime considered it a threat. It was particularly alarming when the association managed to win over the commander of the Ethiopian Police Force, Brigadier General Taddesse Birru, who was elected its president. Taddesse appeared at organizational rallies, delivering speeches critical of the government's policies towards Oromo areas and encouraging the people to demand justice.

A period of tense confrontation between the regime and the association attained its climax in November 1966. The Imperial regime became alarmed at the growth in the movement's popularity and decided to arrest its top leadership, including General Taddesse Birru, following a bomb explosion in a cinema in Addis Ababa. That was attributed to members of the association. The Mecha-Tulama Self-Help Association was banned shortly thereafter. General Taddesse, who had retreated to the bush, was captured and brought to trial in 1968. He was sentenced to death, but the sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. Mamo Mezemir was also sentenced to death and he was executed on February 28, 1969. Taddesse was set free soon after the outbreak of the revolution, but he was executed in early 1975 by the military regime on charges of opposing the land reform proclamation. The inability of the regime to accommodate such a moderate expression of Oromo self-identity subsequently opened the way for a more militant Oromo nationalism. The group that founded the Oromo Liberation Front in 1974 consisted largely of former members of the Mecha-Tulama Self-Help Association.

The Ethiopian Student Movement

Brainstorming Question

» What do you know about the Ethiopian student movement?

While the imperial regime was preoccupied with the peasant rebellions in various provinces and the armed struggle in Eritrea, the Ethiopian student movement offered a serious challenge to the regime at the center. Particularly beginning from 1965, student demonstrations called for land reform and urged the government to address corruption, rising prices, and various other social, political and economic issues.

The Ethiopian student movement was born as a result of the expansion of secondary and higher education. In 1950, the University College of Addis Ababa was inaugurated. In the subsequent years, some colleges and higher learning institutions were also opened, for example, in Harar and Gondar. Moreover, there was a massive expansion of secondary schools in Addis Ababa and provincial cities particularly throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s.

Activity 6.4

1. How students were politically active and effective?

The Ethiopian student movement went through various phases of development. The Ethiopian student movement began with specific university grievances, and then rapidly spilled over into a protest movement on much wider issues. During its first phase, in the 1950s, the students mainly demanded improvement in learning facilities and services. The major form of student organization at this stage was the student council. But, since the mid-1960s the students became more militant, and their movement grew into a mass revolution.

Brainstorming Questions

- What were the factors that led to the radicalization of the student movement?
- What were the major national and international issues raised by the students?

Several factors were crucial to transform the movement from passive to active opposition. These included the 1960 coup attempt, the Eritrean resistance, the coming of African students (offered scholarship by Ethiopia) and their role in weakening Ethi-

opian students and the Ethiopian University Service (EUS) that enabled students to get in touch with the rural population. After the attempted coup of 1960, the Ethiopian students began to present more radical demands and they made several confrontations with the regime. This can be considered as the second phase of the Ethiopian student movement.

The third and the revolutionary phase of the Ethiopian student movement was initiated in the mid-1960s. The birth of a radical core known as the “crocodiles” in 1964 played an important role in bringing the student movement to its militant phase. This group worked underground and embraced Marxist ideas. The first expression of students’ radical opposition came in February 1965 when Parliament was debating a land reform bill. Students gathered outside the parliament building to demonstrate against the feudal land tenure system under the slogan of “Land to the Tiller!”

In 1969, the students raised the most sensitive issue of the multi-ethnic country, i.e., the rights of nations and nationalities. From then on, the imperial government began to take repressive measures against students. On 28 December 1969, Tilahun Gizaw, the president of the University Students Union of Addis Ababa (USUAA), was killed near the Sidist Kilo campus. The students removed Tilahun’s body from the hospital and refused to hand it over to the family for burial. The police and the military opened fire on the students and killed and wounded many students. After this incident, the confrontation became serious and began to get world media attention.

Brainstorming Question

» What were the major national and overseas student organizations?

The period after the mid-1960s also witnessed the foundation of higher forms of students’ organizations. The University Students’ Union of Addis Ababa (USUAA) was founded to provide strong leadership for the student movement in the capital. In 1967, USUAA’s organ Tagel (Struggle), began to be published. In a parallel development, the Ethiopian Students’ Union in North America (ESUNA), with its organ Challenge, and the Ethiopian Students’ Union in Europe (ESUE), with its organ Tataq, were founded. These two groups were the major overseas opposition groups at the time.

LESSON 4

6.4. The 1974 Revolution: The Downfall of the Emperor and the Rise of the Derg

Competencies

After successful completion of this lesson, you will be able to:

- mention parts of the society which made major strikes from January to June 1974;
- narrate how the Derg gradually overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie I; and
- discuss the demand of the civilian groups when the Derg seized power;

The 1974 Ethiopian Revolution

Brainstorming Question

» What were the causes of the 1974 revolution?

As discussed in the preceding lesson, the imperial government's failure to effect significant economic and political reforms combined with rising inflation, corruption, and a famine that affected several provinces led to the Ethiopian revolution of 1974.

The Popular Upsurge of February to June 1974

Brainstorming Questions

» Which sections of society went on strikes in February 1974? When did the revolution come to the capital?

In February 1974, students, teachers, taxi-drivers, workers, and soldiers began a series of strikes and demonstrations that culminated on September 12, 1974, with the deposition of Emperor Haile Selassie by members of the armed forces.

The revolution began with a mutiny of the Fourth Brigade at Negele-Borena in Sidamo in January 1974. Soldiers protested and expressed their grievance over provisions such as food and water conditions. Led by their noncommissioned officers, they rebelled and took their commanding officers and demanded that the emperor should send his envoy to listen to their petitions and give decisions on the spot. The emperor sent the commander of the Ground Forces, Lieutenant-General Diresse Dubale, accompanied by other officers, to pacify the soldiers. But the mutineers took the commander himself as a hostage and ordered him to eat their food and drink

their water.

The concessions made to the mutineers promoted the spread of the discontent to other units throughout the army, including those stationed in Eritrea. There, the Second Division in Asmera mutinied, imprisoned its commanders, and announced its support for the Negele-Borena mutineers. In sympathy with the uprising, the Signal Corps broadcast information about events to the rest of the army. Moreover, by that time, discontent was rampant and led to the outbreak of nationwide protests throughout the country.

The revolution found its way to Addis Ababa on February 18, 1974. On that day, opposition to increased fuel prices and curriculum changes in the schools, known as Sector Review, as well as low teachers' salaries and many other grievances, crystallized. The Ethiopian Teachers' Association, with a membership of about 18,000, went on strike demanding higher pay and better conditions of work, and the suspension of the Education Sector Review. The Sector Review was an educational policy jointly produced by the Ethiopian government and the World Bank to replace the existing educational system. University students and other sections of society joined the demonstration demanding the suspension of the Sector Review.

At that same time, taxi-drivers in Addis Ababa withheld their service and joined the strike demanding that they be allowed to raise fares in proportion to the 50% rise in petrol prices introduced following the global oil crisis as a result of the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. Demonstrations and strikes were illegal during the imperial regime. However, in this case, the government failed to take any action to control the teachers, students, and taxi drivers.

Then, soldiers of the Second Division in Asmara, the Fourth Division in Addis Ababa and the Air Force in Dabra Zayt (Bishofitu) mutinied, demanding salary increases and political and economic reforms. More threatening for the regime, the various military units and contingents started to unite their actions by establishing a coordinating committee of the armed forces, which became a precursor of the Derg.

Brainstorming Question

» What were the measures taken by the government to pacify this nation-wide discontent?

The government tried to pacify the nation's wide uprising by promising some concessions. Riots in the capital and the continued military mutiny eventually led to the

resignation of Prime Minister Aklilu Habte-Wold. He was replaced on February 28, 1974, by Endakatchew Mekonnen, whose government would last only until the end of July.

Endalkachew chose the members of his cabinet based on talent, experience and youthfulness. He also promised to introduce reforms, including constitutional reform. The new government introduced no substantial reform, although it allowed the army a significant salary increase. But the civilian population continued with demonstrations and strikes.

The Prime Minister vigorously appealed to the people for calm and a respite to enable him to concentrate on the problems affecting the nation. Nevertheless, the general discontent continued. At that same time, to consolidate his power and to win the army to his side, Endalkachew set up a Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces and the Police chaired by Colonel Alem Zewd Tessema, commander of the Airborne Brigade. The Committee's task was presumably to restore law and order.

Activity 6.5

1. Why did Endalkachew's plea for time fall on deaf ears and the general discontent continue?

In March 1974, the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions (CELU) staged a successful general strike which paralyzed the entire nation, particularly the capital. At the same time, students continued their agitation against the Endalkachew Cabinet. The high point of the popular demonstration was reached on 20 April when an estimated 100,000 Muslims of the capital and their Christian sympathizers went to the streets for religious equality.



Figure 6.2 Demonstrations of the Muslims of Addis Ababa and their Christian sympathizers in April 1974

Brainstorming Question

- » What was the most serious action taken by the Armed Forces Coordinating Committee (AFCC)?

The soldiers, through their various committees, were also taking their own independent measures. In late March, Colonel Alem Zewd Tessema chairman of the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces acting with the approval of Endalkachew, arrested Aklilu and a large number of other high-ranking officials the former regime, who were suspected of making conditions more difficult for the new cabinet. Alem Zewd appeared to support the government of Endalkachew.

The Endalkachew cabinet, emboldened by the loyalty of the Coordinating Committee, took steps to stop strikes and demonstrations. The committee led by Colonel Alem Zewd did not achieve much except in detaining members of the old cabinet. Thus, to restore order and respect for the authority of the government, Endalkachew replaced the committee by a High National Security Commission chaired by the Minister of Defense, General Abiye Abebe. However, the Commission failed to contain the unrest.

The Formation of the Derg and the Deposition of the Emperor

Brainstorming Questions

» How was the *Derg* established? What were the first actions taken by the *Derg*?

Colonel Alem Zewd's support for Endalkachew's cabinet was unable to please many of the junior officers. Thus, in early June 1974, some broke away from the Armed Forces Coordinating Committee and requested that every military and police unit should send three representatives to Addis Ababa for an organized future action. On 28 June, a body of men that eventually totaled about 120, organized themselves into a new body called the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Police, and Territorial Army that soon came to be called the Derg (a Ge'ez word for "committee"). They elected Major Mengistu Haile Mariam as chairman and Major Atnafu Abate as vice-chairman.



Figure 6.3 Senior Derg members from left to right: Mengistu, Teferi and Atnafu

Although the Derg expressed loyalty to the emperor, it immediately began to arrest members of the aristocracy, high-ranking military officers, and government officials who were closely associated with the emperor and the old order. The period between June 28 and September 12, 1974 was known as the "creeping coup." The Derg systematically but slowly dismantled the imperial system.

The Derg, with the approval of the emperor, forced out Prime Minister Endalkachew and replaced him with Lej Mikael Imru, a person with a reputation as a liberal. Soon the Derg announced its famous motto "Ethiopia Tikdem" (Ethiopia First).

Brainstorming Questions

» How did the *Derg* finally overthrow the emperor? What were the measures taken after the deposition of emperor?

After the removal of Prime Minister Endalkachew, power gradually shifted from the emperor to the Derg. Endalkachew and other high-ranking officials were arrested. Furthermore, the Derg disbanded the emperor's governing councils, and nationalized the imperial residence and the emperor's other landed and business holdings, such as the Anbassa Bus Company and the St. George Brewery. By late August, the emperor had been directly accused of covering up the horrors of the Wello famine of 1973 and 1974, which allegedly killed 100,000 to 200,000 people. After street demonstrations took place urging the emperor's arrest, the Derg formally deposed Haile Selassie by a proclamation on September 12, 1974, and imprisoned him at the Fourth Division headquarters.

The proclamation of September 12, 1974, in addition to deposing the emperor, officially suspended the Revised Constitution of 1955, dissolved Parliament, established a Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), promised a new constitution, prohibited the right to strike and stage demonstrations, and declared any opposition to "Ethiopia Tikdem" (Ethiopia First) illegal. The Derg also made General Aman Andom head of state.

Although General Aman was not a member of the Derg. But he was a well-known, popular commander and hero of the Ethio-Somalia War of the 1960s. In accordance with the Derg's wishes, he now became Head of State, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Minister of Defense, in addition to being Chairman of the PMAC. Despite his standing, however, General Aman was almost immediately at odds with a majority of the Derg's members on three major issues: the size of the Derg and his role within it, the Eritrean insurgency, and the fate of political prisoners. Aman claimed that the 120- member Derg was too large to function efficiently as a governing body; as an Eritrean, he urged reconciliation with the insurgents there; and he opposed the death penalty for former government and military officials who had been arrested since the revolution began.

At first, the measures taken by the Derg were supported by almost all sections of society. But soon, the Derg lost the genuine support of the people when it became clear that the military was not prepared to hand over power to a civilian government.

Thus, the Derg immediately found itself under attack from civilian groups, especially student and labor groups, who demanded the formation of a “people’s government” in which various national organizations would be represented. However, the Derg began to take bloody measures to suppress civilian as well as military opposition. It arrested the leaders of CELU and a leader of the Forum group. On October 7, the Derg crushed dissidents supporting the civilian demands in a bloody assault.

An even bloodier phase of the Revolution started on November 23, 1974. General Aman, who was opposed by the majority of the Derg, was attempting unsuccessfully to appeal directly to the army for support as charges mounted against him within the Derg. He retired to his home and on November 23, was killed while resisting arrest. On the same evening, on what became known as “Bloody Saturday,” 52 senior officials of the old regime and about half a dozen leaders of the military units that had opposed the Derg were executed. The summary execution of these officials, known as the sixty, was the most damaging political blunder of the Derg that discredited it both at home and abroad.

Activity 6.6

1. List down some members of the old regime who became victims of “Bloody Saturday”.

Following the events of “Bloody Saturday”, Brigadier General Tafari Banti, became Chairman of the PMAC and Head of State on November 28, 1974, but real power was retained by Major Mengistu, who kept his post as First Vice-Chairman of the PMAC, with Major Atnafu as Second Vice-Chairman. Hereafter, Mengistu emerged as the decisive force in the Derg and took steps to protect and enlarge his power base.

LESSON 5

6.5. Socio-economic and Political Reforms of the Military Regime

Competencies

After successful completion of this lesson, you will be able to:

- mention the different campaigns waged by the Derg;
- list down the various socio-economic measures taken by the Derg;
- identify the major Marxist-Leninist political organizations; and

- discuss the controversial policies of forceful massive resettlement and villagization.

Development through Cooperation Campaign (Zemecha)

Brainstorming Question

- » What do you know about the Development through Cooperation Campaign (*zemecha*)?

The Derg, having asserted its authority through bloody measures, soon initiated a series of socio-economic and political measures aimed at transforming the country fundamentally. In October 1974, the Derg announced the Development through Cooperation Campaign (known in Amharic as Zemecha), which was launched in December 1974 with the aim of assisting the enforcement of the upcoming land reform decree. It aimed at mobilizing university and secondary school students and their teachers to the countryside to explain the socialist revolution, including land reform, to peasants and to improve their traditionally low literacy rate. The Zemecha prepared the groundwork for the introduction of the land reform of 1975. The participants' contributions to the registration, distribution of lands, and formation of peasants' associations were immense. On the other hand, the campaigners, particularly members of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) who infiltrated the campaign, used the Zemecha to incite opposition to the Derg. Hence, the military government was obliged to terminate the Zemecha in June 1976.

Other similar Zemecha or campaigns were also launched by the Derg to address the various socio-economic and political problems of the country through mass mobilization. To mention the major ones: Yearnguadew Zemecha (Green Campaign), declared in 1978 to bring rapid economic development; Yemesrettimhirt Zemecha (Literacy Campaign), launched in 1979 to eradicate illiteracy; and Yeqeyi Kokeb Zemecha (Red Star Campaign), declared in 1982 to solve the Eritrean problem once and for all through military means. Of these campaigns, only literacy campaign enabled the Derg to achieve some success.

Proclamation of Ethiopian Socialism

Brainstorming Question

» Why did the *Derg* change the slogan of “*Ethiopia Tikdem*” by Ethiopian socialism?

Up to the overthrow of the emperor, the army was satisfied with the slogan of “Ethiopia Tikdem” (Ethiopia First). As if to gain the support of the students, the *Derg* began to change its slogan from “Ethiopia Tikdem” (Ethiopia First) to “Ethiopian Socialism” as the political philosophy of the nation. In keeping with its declared socialist path, the *Derg* announced that all royal titles were revoked, and that the proposed constitutional monarchy was abandoned in March 1975.

Brainstorming Question

» What were the two radical proclamations of the PMAC?

The year 1975 began with a series of proclamations that brought most of Ethiopia’s industries, large-scale agricultural farms, and financial institutions under the control of the government. The economic and social basis of feudo-capitalism were dismantled and replaced by a socialist socio-economic order. Both rural and urban communities were organized into a hierarchy of associations. In March 1975, the PMAC issued a radical land reform proclamation, Nationalization of Rural to dismantle the socio-economic basis of feudalism. The proclamation abolished all private land ownership and set the ceiling on family holdings at ten hectares. It also provided for the formation of peasant associations. The peasant associations at village, district, and provincial levels would be in charge of the implementation of the proclamation in cooperation with the *zemecha*.

The next radical measure taken by the *Derg* nationalized all urban land and extra houses. *Kebeles* were also formed after the nationalization of all urban land and rentable dwellings. Like peasant associations in the countryside, *kebeles* were the basic unit of urban government and served as instruments of socio-political control of urban areas.

Brainstorming Questions

» What was the Union of Marxist-Leninist Organizations (*Emaledeh*)? Which mass organizations accompanied the foundation of WPE?

In the immediate years of the revolution, several Marxist-Leninist political organizations emerged, which were later to form a common platform. These organizations, except for the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party or EPRP (Amharic: Ehapa), joined the revolution, perhaps with the hope of snatching the leadership from the PMAC. On the other hand, the PMAC regarded the partnership with leftist organizations as a calculated move to diffuse their opposition to its rule.

Therefore, each having its own hidden agenda, made tacit agreement and formed the Union of Marxist-Leninist Organizations (Amharic acronym was Emaledih) in early 1977. The task of the front was to identify strategies for the creation of a vanguard party. Member organizations of Emaledih were: The All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement (Amharic acronym was Meison); the Workers' League (Amharic acronym was Wezlig), the Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Organization (Amharic acronym was Malerid), the Ethiopian Oppressed Masses Revolutionary Struggle (Amharic acronym was Echa'at), and Abyotaw Seded (Revolutionary Flame), which was launched by Mengistu and his close supporters.

However, the Derg seemed hesitant to permit free and open political competition. The Derg also continued to use extreme measures against its real and perceived opponents to ensure its survival. At first, Meison left the union, and its leaders were either killed or arrested as they tried to retreat to the countryside, most probably to launch an armed struggle against the PMAC. In the end, as the three other member organizations: Echa'at, Wezlig and Malerid) were successfully expelled from Emaledih and, their leaders and members were executed or detained. Hence, by early 1979, Mengistu's Abyotawi Seded stood alone as the only officially recognized political organization; the others were branded enemies of the revolution.

The strategy of a vanguard party formation also shifted from the merger of political organizations to the recruitment of individuals loyal to Mengistu. Hence, the Derg formed the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Workers of Ethiopia (COPWE) in December 1979, with Mengistu as its chairman. Finally, the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE) was proclaimed on September 12, 1984, when the tenth anniversary of the revolution was celebrated. As you might expect, Mengistu Haile Maryam became the party's first secretary-general.

Side by side with the formation of the vanguard party, politicizing and organizing the people were actively pursued. Existing mass organizations were re-structured;

their officers were re-elected, ensuring that the leadership of mass organizations was in the safe hands of individuals who were loyal to the regime. This action gave the regime even greater and more direct control over the various sectors of society. In this regard, the regime took its first step by eliminating the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions (CELU) in favor of the government-controlled All-Ethiopia Trade Union (AETU) in early 1977. Control of the peasants was ensured through the All-Ethiopia Peasants' Association (AEPA), later renamed the Ethiopian Peasants' Association (EPA). Similarly, women and youth of the country between the ages of 14-30 were organized into a Revolutionary Ethiopian Women's Association (REWA) and a Revolutionary Ethiopian Youth Association (REYA) in 1980. Other professional organizations were formed at a national level. In short, there was no citizen who did not belong to a mass organization, a professional association, or both.

Brainstorming Question

» What was the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE)?

The culmination of the Ethiopian revolution was the proclamation of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) in September 1987. At first, an Institute for the Study of Nationalities, with the aim of drafting a constitution, was established. The Institute made a socio-cultural survey of the entire country. Then, a constitution drafting commission, was established with the power to draft a constitution headed by Mengistu. The commission finally submitted the draft constitution to public 'debate' and it was ratified by "referendum" in February 1987. The drafting and the referendum were followed by the drama of electing members of the supreme body, i.e., the National Shengo. As Bahru put it: "In a 'race' that was entirely a family affair, favored WPE candidates, who were appropriately given the emblem of the invincible elephant, were elected to be the Shango."

The founding congress of the Shengo issued a proclamation that formally established the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) on September 11, 1987. Despite these changes, members of the now-defunct Derg still ran the government, but with different titles. For example, the National Shengo elected Mengistu to be the country's first civilian president; he remained, however, the WPE's general secretary.

Resettlement and Villagization

Brainstorming Questions

» What were the impacts of the 1984–85 famine and the government’s response to the famine? What was the policy of resettlement? What have you heard about the policy of villagization?

The Derg implemented various misguided policy measures, which made the government unpopular and precipitated the downfall of the regime. Of these misguided policies, we will discuss forced resettlement and villagization.

The 1984/85 famine was the first signs that danger was creeping against the military regime. It was more severe than the 1973/74 famine which brought the Derg to power. The famine affected nearly eight million people and killed about one million. Beginning in the late 1970s Ethiopia suffered from a series of droughts, which progressively lowered agricultural production. The famine was a clear manifestation of the failure of the regime’s economic policy, particularly in the sphere of agricultural production and marketing.

At first, the government turned its blind eye to the famine until the celebration for the formation of WPE and the tenth anniversary of the revolution was over. Finally, in October 1984, after the end of the celebration, the government declared a state of emergency acknowledging the severity of the famine. Finally, the concerned action of the Ethiopian people and the international donor community was able to contain the worst tragedy.

The government embarked on forced resettlement and villagization in the mid-1980s as part of a national program to combat drought, avert famine, and increase agricultural productivity. Resettlement, the regime’s long-term solution to the drought problem, involved the permanent relocation of about 1.5 million people from the drought-prone areas of the north to the south and southwest, where population was relatively sparse and so-called virgin, arable land was plentiful.

At first, development specialists seemed to agree with the need for resettlement of famine victims in Ethiopia. But once the process was started, there followed a widespread criticism saying that the scheme was poorly planned and haphazardly executed. Moreover, critics charged that the government forcefully relocated peasants and breaking up thousands of families in the process. Thousands also died of malaria and sleeping sickness because of poor sanitation and inadequate health care in newly settled areas. Under an ill-planned resettlement program, 100,000 people died. Some sources voiced suspicion that the regime’s primary motive in resettlement was

to depopulate the northern areas where it faced insurgencies. Resettlement, the argument went, would reduce the guerrillas' base of support.

The villagization program, the regime's plan to transform rural society, started in earnest in January 1985. If completed, the program might have uprooted and relocated more than 30 million peasants over a nine-year period. The regime's rationale for the program was that the existing arrangement of dispersed settlements made it difficult to provide social services and to use resources, especially land and water, efficiently. The relocation of the peasants into larger villages (with forty to 300 families) would give rural people better access to amenities such as agricultural extension services, schools, clinics, water, and electricity cooperative services and would strengthen local security and the capacity for self-defense. Improved economic and social services would promote more efficient use of land and other natural resources and would lead to increased agricultural production and a higher standard of living. More specifically, the Ethiopian government perceived villagization to hasten agricultural collectivization.

However, the decision on villagization was not favorable. Thousands of people fled to avoid villagization; others died or lived in deplorable conditions after being forcibly resettled. There were indications that in the short term, villagization may have further impoverished an already poor peasantry. The services that were supposed to be delivered in new villages, such as water, electricity, health care clinics, schools, transportation, and agricultural extension services, were not being provided because the government lacked the necessary resources. Villagers therefore resorted to improvised facilities or reverted to old ways of doing things. Villagization also reduced the productive capacity of the peasants by depriving them of the opportunity for independent organization and action. By increasing the distance peasants had to travel to work on their land and graze their cattle, villagization wasted time and effort. Denied immediate access to their fields, the peasants were also prevented from guarding their crops from birds and other wild animals. The bitterest critics of villagization argued that regime's objective in villagization was control of the population. Larger villages would facilitate the regime's control over the population, cut rebels off from peasant support, and discourage dissident movements.

Lesson 6

6.6. The Decline and Downfall of the Derg Regime: Internal and External Threats

Competences

After successful completion of this lesson, you will be able to:

- describe the major challenges that the PMAC between 1976 and 1977;
- discuss the power struggle within the Derg;
- identify the major Marxist-Leninist political organizations of the period of the revolution;
- analyze the global changes that affected the military regime in the end of 1980s;
- mention the major defeats that the Derg suffered in the north; and
- outline the dramatic events of May 1991.

The Emergence of Military Dictatorship: The PMAC, Meison and EPRP

Brainstorming Questions

» What were the major challenges that the PMAC faced in 1976 and 77? What do you know about the struggle between the *Derg* and EPRP?

The years 1976 and 1977 turned out to be turning points in the history of the Revolution and the fate of the PMAC. A power struggle broke out in the center, which finally eliminated Mengistu's political rivals. Moreover, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), which consistently demanded that the Derg should relinquish power to a broad-based provisional government, intensified its attack against the Derg, and its challenge attained its climax. In the north, the Eritrean insurgents who demanded an independent Eritrea encircled the capital, Asmara. Besides, a pro-monarchist organization, the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU), was advancing from the Sudan to Satit-Humara region. In the East, Somalia invaded Ethiopia in 1977 to promote its irredentist interest in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia.

At first, the leftist groups inside Ethiopia presented a united front in their opposition to the PMAC. The leading clandestine leftist political organizations were the EPRP and the All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement (whose Amharic acronym was Meison). However, the united opposition of the leftist political organizations fell apart when

Meison joined the PMAC. Particularly after the PMAC had issued the land reform proclamation, Meison entered a strategic alliance with the government by adopting a policy of what it called “critical support.” But the alliance between the Derg and Meison did not last long. It should be noted that the Provisional Office for Mass Organization and Affairs (POMOA), which was established with the aim of disseminating Marxism-Leninism among the masses in 1976, was staffed mainly by members of Meison. In collaboration with the government, Meison organized the Kebeles and the peasant associations. The fact that it soon began to operate in these grassroots organizations independently was considered a threat to the Derg’s dominance of local governments throughout the country. Hence, the Derg began to attack Meison.

The EPRP challenged the Derg’s control of the revolution itself by agitating for a broad-based democratic government run by civilians, not by the military. The struggle between the EPRP and the Derg and its allies became a real civil war. It could be said to have started in September 1976 with the arrest and execution of EPRP militants by the Derg and the assassinations of Derg supporters by EPRP squads. The latter included an attempt on the life of Colonel Mengistu, on September 23, 1976. The EPRP conducted urban guerrilla warfare against the regime, referred to as the “White Terror.” The government also waged war against EPRP and other political opponents with its own “Red Terror” campaign. During the “Red Terror,” government security forces systematically hunted down and killed suspected EPRP members and their supporters, especially students. Between 1977 and 1978, an estimated 100,000 people suspected of being enemies of the government were killed or disappeared in the name of the “Red Terror”.



6.4. Red Terror caused the deaths of thousands of Ethiopians

Power struggle within the Derg

Brainstorming Question

- » What do you know about the power struggle within the *Derg* and the coup of February 1977?

By late 1976, the Derg had undergone an internal reconfiguration. The ideological and power struggles of the period came to divide the Derg within itself. In the summer of 1976, Mengistu succeeded in liquidating some powerful members of the Derg and potential rivals for power and influence. The first victims included Major Sisay Habte, who was chairman of the Political and Foreign-Affairs Committee of the PMAC, Lieutenant Bewketu Kassa, member of the PMAC and assistant to the Major, Major Kiros Alamayahu, member of the PMAC and chief of the Zemecha, and Brigadier-General Getachew Nadew, the Commander of the Second Division of the Army in Eritrea.

In addition, Mengistu was also able to eliminate other prominent members of the Derg who tried to restructure the Derg and marginalize Mengistu. Finally, differences of views in the PMAC on measures to be taken in dealing with the EPRP, EDU, and ELF culminated in the palace coup of February 3, 1977. While a meeting of the Central Committee was in session, Colonel Daniel Asfaw, accompanied by security guards, burst into the meeting and arrested General Teferi Benti, Chairman of the PMAC; Lieutenant-Colonel Asrat Desta, Chairman of the Information and Public Relations Committee of the PMAC; Lieutenant-Colonel Hiruy Haile Selassie, member of the PMAC; Captain Alemayahu Haile, Secretary-General of the PMAC; Captain Moges Wolde-Michael, Chairman of the Economic Committee of the PMAC; Captain Tefera Deneke and Corporal Hailu Belai, both members of the PMAC. All these key members of the PMAC were taken away and ruthlessly executed.

Following the establishment of his supremacy through the elimination of General Tafari Benti, Mengistu declared himself the Derg's chairman in February 1977 and thereafter took steps to protect and enlarge his power base. In November 1977, Atanfu Abaate, Mengistu's last rival in the Derg, was eliminated, leaving Mengistu in undisputed command. The coup also gave Mengistu and his civilian leftist allies a free hand to unleash what they called the "Red Terror" against what they labeled "reactionaries" and "anarchists". The terms "reactionaries" and "anarchists" were also interpreted to include anyone who opposed the policies of the regime and the modes of its implementation. The bloody campaign of "Red Terror" initially targeted mem-

bers and supporters of the EPRP. Later, the “Red Terror” made members and supporters of other dissident organizations like Meison as well as other political groups, included in the list and became targets of attack.

To conclude, the “Red Terror” destroyed all civilian opposition groups mercilessly or forced them to go underground. By the end of 1978, the second round of the “Red Terror” effectively uprooted the EPRP from all cities and towns. A split within EPRP also hastened the collapse of the party. The surviving members of the EPRP retreated to the mountain of Asimba, in Tigray, and tried unsuccessfully to organize the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Army (EPRA).

The Somalia- Ethiopian War and Foreign Relations

Brainstorming Question

» What was the major external challenge that the *Derg* faced?

The year 1977 saw the emergence of the most serious external challenge to the revolutionary regime. This time it was the Somalia state that provoked Ethiopia. The roots of the conflict lay with Somalia irredentism and the desire of the Somalia government of Mahammad Siad Barre to annex the Ogaden area of Ethiopia. The Somalia government, in violation of the Charters of the UN and OAU, launched an invasion to annex the Ogaden inhabited by Somali-speaking Ethiopians. Somalia launched a full-scale invasion in July 1977 after infiltrating members of the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), a Somalia guerrilla organization. Somalia had begun to take advantage of the Derg’s political problems as well as its troubles in Eritrea to attack Ethiopia. The Ethiopian forces were also outnumbered both in terms of manpower and weapons and were forced to retreat. Hence, within a couple of months, Somalia forces penetrated and captured large parts of the Ogaden and threatened the cities of Harar and Dire Dawa.



Map 6.1 Ogaden war (the Ethio-Somalia War), 1977-1978

Soon after this, the PMAC issued a general mobilization to defend the motherland from external aggression. The response of the Ethiopian people to the general mobilization was beyond the expectations of the PMAC. Indeed, the Somalia invasion had the effect of rallying the population behind the PMAC. In one of the most dramatic examples of the Derg's capacity for mass mobilization, a force of about 100,000 peasant militia was trained in a very short time at the Tateq Military Training Camp, to the west of Addis Ababa, and became ready to be deployed to the fronts. Hence, with renewed morale, the militia and the regular army were able to launch a counter-offensive which routed the Somalia invaders in a matter of weeks. The increasingly intense fighting culminated in a series of actions around Jijiga in March 1978.

The last decisive battle between the Ethiopian forces and the Somalia troops was fought around Kara Mara, a strategic pass just outside Jijiga the Ogaden region. In this battle, which was fought on 5 March 1978, the Ethiopian forces scored a brilliant victory over the invading forces of Siyyad Barre. As usual, the Ethiopian gallant warriors again demonstrated their military valor over the invading forces. Ali Berke who destroyed three Somalia tanks alone, non-commissioned officer, Hussein Gobena and Lieutenant Bekele Belay are amongst the outstanding members of the Ethiopian Armed Forces who showed the usual gallantry of the Ethiopian soldiers in the Ethio-Somalia War of 1977-1978. The Ethiopian Air Force had a marked superiority over the Somalia forces. General Legesse Teferra, Colonel Ashenafi Gebretsadik, Colonel Berhanu Wubneh and Colonel Bezabeh Petros and others were among the brave Ethiopian Air Force pilots who destroyed a number of Somalia jet fighters and paralyzed the Somalia Air Force.

Brainstorming Questions

- Which were the external powers that assisted Ethiopia in repulsing the Somalia invasion?
- What was the next move of the PMAC after the repulse of the Somalia invasion?

The support of the Soviet Union, Cuba and the Democratic Republic of Yemen changed the balance of power in favor of Ethiopia. The Ethiopian army was equipped with Russian weapons and supported by the Cuban troops deployed from Angola and Yemen. The war induced the Mengistu regime, desperate for help, to turn to the Soviet Union and to break off relations with the United States completely. The Soviet Union had been supplying equipment and some advisers for months. When the Soviet Union continued to aid Ethiopia as a way of gaining influence in the region, Somalia, which until then had been a Soviet client, responded by expelling all Soviet advisers. Starting in late November, massive Soviet military assistance began to pour into Ethiopia. To conclude, Soviet and Cuban involvement in the Somalia-Ethiopia war created a situation that had significant international repercussions and that resulted in a major realignment of power in the Horn of Africa.

The Derg and the Armed Struggle in Eritrea

After crushing the Somalia invaders, the PMAC decided to take counter-offensive measures against the Eritrean secessionists. Thus, the necessary human and material resources were mobilized for the campaign. The campaign was launched in June 1978 with the rather too confident slogan that “The victory scored in the east will be repeated in the north”. By the end of 1976, the Eritrean secessionists had made substantial gains in rural areas, forcing Ethiopian troops into garrisons and urban centers in Eritrea. For some time, it appeared that the motto was going to become a reality. The secessionist forces were forced to pull back under the massive assault launched by the PMAC. The secessionists were successfully ousted from major towns in Eritrea, which had been occupied by the rebels in 1976-77, and the road leading from Addis Ababa to Asmara was opened. The EPLF, having sustained heavy losses in the conventional battles, retreated to its impenetrable fortress at Naqfa, in northern Eritrea. Nevertheless, the government was not able to dislodge the EPLF from Naqfa. Even the loudly advertised Red Star Campaign of 1982 failed to take over Naqfa and eliminate the EPLF. But it should be noted that the temporary military victory over the EPLF and other armed organizations in the north gave the Derg a breathing space to turn its attention to popular legitimacy.

Activity 6.8

1. Why did the military government fail to dislodge the EPLF from Naqfa?

The Northern Insurgency and the Downfall of the Military Regime

After the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) in September 1987, Mengistu was not able to enjoy power for long. Instead, he encountered a number of internal and external factors that eventually brought his downfall.

Brainstorming Question

- » What was the global change that affected the regime by the end of the 1980s?

Towards the end of the 1980s, the Soviet Union, driven by Mikhail Gorbachev's glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring), changed its policies toward its allies among the developing countries. The implications of this new policy for Ethiopia were likely to be profound, as continued high levels of military assistance were vital to the pursuit of Mengistu's military solution in Eritrea as well as to the fight against other internal insurgencies. Above all, Gorbachev's policies brought about the collapse of the Soviet Union. The United States, which had never been friendly with the Derg, now became the sole undisputed global power. Although Mengistu now tried to improve relations with the Americans, they were more prepared to listen to his opponents, the EPLF and TPLF, than to him. The mounting internal and international pressures exerted on the government to change its political orientation and economic system, i.e., to declare a mixed economic policy in March 1990.

Nevertheless, by 1989, it was evident that the government had failed to reassert its rule. Furthermore, the regime not only was unable to control the general population, but also dozens of top-ranking officials had defected to the West, where they bitterly denounced the government. With military morale at its lowest point, disaffected senior officers attempted a coup d'état in May 1989. The arrest and execution of most of the generals, following the aborted coup d'état, deprived the various armed forces of their experienced leadership. To make matters even worse for the regime, the balance of power changed in favor of the numerous opposition groups who waged military campaigns against the government.

Brainstorming Question

- » Can you mention some of the armed organizations that fought against the *Derg*?

Mengistu Haile Maryam, who had already become a dictator by out-smarting his rivals within the Derg and the urban left, began to face a very serious challenge from rural-based movements fighting for national self-determination. To mention some of these armed groups: the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), the Oromo Islamic Front, the Afar Liberation Front, the Sidama Liberation Front, the Beni Shangul Liberation Front, and the Gambella Liberation Front. But the most vigorous opposition came from the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). The two fronts severely tested the regime and greatly contributed to its final downfall.

Brainstorming Question

» What were the major defeats that the *Derg* suffered in the north?

The northern insurgency began to take a decisive turn in March 1988. In that same month, the routed a formidable force, named the Nadew Command. Subsequently, the town of Afabet, with its military stores, fell to the EPLF. In February 1990, the EPLF mounted a major drive aimed at capturing the port city of Massawa, the entry point for much of the food and military supplies coming into Eritrea. It had overrun the city, dealing a decisive blow to the government army. After the capture of Massawa, it was apparent that it was only a matter of time before the capital, Asmera, fell to the EPLF.

Another decisive blow to the military regime came from the TPLF. The history of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) traced back to 1975. Initially, the Derg didn't consider TPLF as a major threat to the regime and didn't pay attention to it. In its early years, the TPLF was also characterized by internal struggles until it began to consolidate in the mid-1980s. In the 1980s, when the Derg launched an offensive against TPLF, the latter succeeded in repulsing the offensive. The TPLF also began to capture several small towns in western and central Tigray. In February, the TPLF captured Enda Sellase. After controlling the entire Tigray region, it began operations in surrounding regions.

At that same time, the TPLF abandoned its initial objective of establishing a republic in Tigray and decided to liberate the whole of Ethiopia by merging with several other opposition groups. A broader front known as the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), was established. The founding member organizations that gathered under the umbrella of the EPRDF were: TPLF, the Ethiopian Peo-

ple's Democratic Movement (EPDM), the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO), and the Ethiopian Democratic Officers' Revolutionary Movement (EDORM).

Brainstorming Question

» What were the dramatic events of May 1991?

In a series of dramatic campaigns in 1990 and 1991, the EPRDF made advances into Gondar, Gojjam, Wollo, and parts of Wollega and Shewa provinces routing an increasingly discouraged Ethiopian army and approach the capital from the north and west. In the meantime, faced with economic problems and shortages of military supplies, the government was forced to consider a political solution to its problems. The Ethiopian national assembly called for unconditional peace talks with the EPLF in June 1989, and later agreed to similar talks with the EPRDF. But, it was too late. Negotiations for the peaceful end of the conflict were held in Atlanta, Nairobi, and Rome. Even as these talks proceeded, the opposition forces acquired more and more territory. It was at a time when the last of these negotiations were being held in London, in May 1991, that a series of dramatic events that precipitated the end of the Mengistu regime unfolded. On 21 May 1991 Mengistu fled the country for Harare, Zimbabwe. Finally, on 28 May, EPRDF forces triumphantly entered Addis Ababa. The EPLF also took complete control of Eritrea and announced the de facto independence of Eritrea.

Unit Summary

British involvement in the liberation campaign enabled them to have a dominant role in Ethiopia. They were in control of the most important bodies of government, like the police force, finance, the army, and key posts in the administrative sector, and had occupied Eritrea and the Ogaden. After a long diplomatic struggle, the British restored the entire Ogaden region to Ethiopia in 1954. British occupation of Eritrea also ended in 1951 and Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia in 1952.

Agriculture, which accounted for over 60 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and 80 percent of the labor force, remained the most important sector of the Ethiopian economy in the post-liberation period. Rist continued to prevail in the northern provinces, but in the south, the major form of tenure was gult. Trade and industry played insignificant role in the national economy.

After Emperor Haile Selassie was restored to his throne, he continued the work of constructing an absolutist state until his downfall in 1974. The Emperor dominated the political life of the country for more than half a century. Nevertheless, the Emperor encountered opposition that came from various sections of society and expressed itself in various forms, such as plots and conspiracies, attempted coups, peasant rebellions, student movements, and armed struggle.

More threateningly for the regime, the various military units and contingents started to unite their actions by establishing a coordinating committee of the armed forces, which became a precursor of the Derg. On June 28, about 120 junior officers, none above the rank of major, established the Derg (a Ge'ez word for "committee"). Although the Derg professed loyalty to the emperor, it immediately began to arrest members of the aristocracy, military, and government who were closely associated with the old order. This became the first step of the "creeping coup" by which the imperial system of government was slowly dismantled. The Derg formally deposed Emperor Haile Selassie on September 12, 1974, and transformed itself into the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC).

Later, the Derg began to change its slogan from "Ethiopia Tikdem" (Ethiopia First) to "Ethiopian Socialism" as the political philosophy of nation. The year 1975 began with a series of proclamations that brought most of Ethiopia's industries, large-scale agricultural farms, and financial institutions under the control of the government. Of the proclamations the most radical were: the nationalization of rural land and the state ownership of urban land and extra houses. The culmination of the Ethiopian revolution was the proclamation of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) in September 1987. By the end of 1980s, the Soviet Union, in the spirit of Mikhail Gorbachev's glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring), brought about the collapse of the Soviet Union. The United States, which had never friendly relations with the Derg, now became the sole supreme power of international affairs. The northern insurgency began to take a decisive turn in March 1988. On 21 May 1991 Mengistu fled the country for Harare, Zimbabwe.

Unit Review Exercises

Instruction I-Fill in the Blank Spaces with Appropriate Names or Phrases

1. The radio station in Eritrea was renamed Kagnaw to commemorate the Ethiopian Battalion which fought on the American side during _____.
2. The UN General Assembly, through its resolution called “_____”, adopted, the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia on 2 December 1950.
3. The type of land tenure system in which owners collected tribute from the peasantry and also exacted labor service as payment in kind from the peasants was _____.
4. Since the late 19th century, ___has become one of Ethiopia’s more important cash crops.
5. In the post-liberation period, the imperial government developed a gold mine which provided the government with nearly one-fifth of its total revenue _____.
6. The largest of the administrative units after the emperor had revised the administrative divisions were _____.
7. The prime minister of Ethiopia between 1943 to 1957 was _____.
9. The Bale peasant rebellion began in _____district in 1963.
10. In February 1965, students gathered outside the parliament building to demonstrate against the feudal land tenure system under the slogan of_____.
10. The summary execution of 52 officials of the old regime and about half a dozen leaders of the military units who had opposed the Derg, known as the sixty, on 23 November 1974 is called _____.

Instruction II- Give Short and Precise Answers to the Following Questions

1. Explain the British plan for the partition of Ethiopia briefly.
2. How did the Americans influence and shape the Ethiopian education system.

4. What were the major classifications of rural land according to its productivity?
5. List down the major factors hindering Ethiopia's development planning during the imperial regime.
6. State the two suggested reasons why the aging emperor increasingly left domestic issues in the care of his Prime Minister, Aklilu Habte Wold, and turned his attention to foreign affairs.
7. What was the proclaimed intent of the 1960 coup leaders?
8. Mention the grave mistake of the 1960 coup's leaders.
9. List down the crucial factors that transformed the Ethiopian student movement from one of relative passivity to one of active opposition.
10. What was the global change that affected Mengistu's regime at the end of the 1980s?

UNIT SEVEN

AFRICA SINCE THE 1960S

Unit Introduction

This unit deals with the main historical developments on the continent of Africa since the 1960s. It studies the history of the newly independent African states. The topics included in this unit are the road to independence and the rise of independent states in Africa, politics in the independent African states, the economy and society in independent Africa, the cold war in Africa, Pan-Africanism, and the transition from the Organization of African Unity to the African Union.

Unit Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, learners should be able to:

- evaluate the performance of African earlier political leaders in transforming the new nations;
- examine neo-colonialism and the indirect domination of old colonizers on liberated Africans;
- trace the origin and development of African regionalism and integration and the emergent OAU and AU and subsequent challenges;
- differentiate the concepts of peace and security in the African context and the African peace and security architecture to ensure these issues; and
- identify the major environmental challenges that Africa is facing and the coping strategies employed by Africans.

Lessons:

- ◆ The Road to Independence and the Rise of Independent States in Africa
- ◆ Politics in Independent African States
- ◆ Economy and Society in Independent Africa
- ◆ The Cold War and Africa
- ◆ Pan-Africanism, from Organization of African Unity to African Union
- ◆ Issues in Contemporary Africa

Key words and concepts

- Pan –Africanism
- Integration
- Unity
- Settler colonialism
- Independence

LESSON 1

7.1. The Road to Independence and the Rise of Independent States in Africa

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you should be able to:

- discuss the last years of European colonial rule in Africa
- identify the major impacts of colonialism on Africa, and
- respect the struggles of Africans for independence.

Brainstorming questions

- » Why did so many African countries manage to achieve their independence in the 1960s?
- » Why did the colonies in French West Africa achieve independence?

The Last Years of Colonial Rule and the Struggle for Independence

The national liberation movements in Africa took two courses, i.e., violent and non-violent. In West Africa, political independence was achieved with relative ease. The main possible reason for this was that West Africa had no significant number of white settlers. Moreover, the nationalist movements in West Africa had a long history and relatively better experience that could enable them to provide leadership and facilitate the struggle for independence.

Nationalist agitation in British West Africa was especially strong in the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nigeria. In these two countries, the nationalist struggle was led by two extremely capable and competent leaders, namely: Nnamdi Azikwe of Nigeria and Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast. Both were educated in the USA and returned to

their countries in the 1930s and 1940s respectively.



Map 7.1 African states and their respective year of independence

Between 1945 and 1954, bitter clashes were observed between the African nationalists, mainly in the Gold Coast and Nigeria. The nationalists of the Gold Coast accused British officials of trying to keep their rule in West Africa by claiming to train Africans in the management of a modern state. As a result of nationalist pressure in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, the African nations of West Africa were able to gain full political independence. In March 1957, the Gold Coast achieved independence, adopting the new name Ghana. Nigeria followed suit in October 1960, while Sierra Leone became independent in April 1961 and Gambia achieved independence in February 1964.

After the end of the Second World War, France came to realize the need to grant more political and civil rights to its colonial peoples of French West Africa. In the beginning, the French government was not ready to grant full independence to its colonies in Africa. It rather wanted to give the colonies only rights as part of an association with France itself. Accordingly, France introduced reforms and allowed each colony in French West Africa, to elect a territorial assembly. Compared with the pre-war situation in the French colonies, this was significant progress. Nevertheless, the reforms were not adequate. One of the reasons for this was that the colonies were not

granted legislative power. The laws for each colony in French West Africa were promulgated by the French Minister of Colonies in Paris. Meanwhile, radical nationalists began to demand unconditional full independence.

In 1958, General Charles de Gaulle became French President, and a new French constitution was issued in the same year. In the new constitution, Charles de Gaulle intended to transform the French Union into a French Community. It was planned that each colony in French West Africa would hold a referendum on the new constitution. They were to choose between voting “Yes” and becoming autonomous republics within the French Community or voting “No” and becoming immediately independent outside the French Community. According to de Gaulle, those who choose “No” would lose French economic and technical assistance.

The economies of the French West African colonies were highly dependent on French assistance. Voting “No” seemed dangerous to many colonies. Because of this, almost all colonies voted “Yes”. Only Guinea voted “No” and became fully independent in 1958. Other colonies in French West Africa also became autonomous within the French Community. Meanwhile, France immediately recalled all its professionals and technical assistants from Guinea and stopped other assistance to Guinea. Nevertheless, Sekou Toure, the first president of Guinea, turned to the Soviets. The U.S.S.R. soon responded favorably and filled all the gaps created by the French withdrawal. But the Soviet advance worried France very much. At the same time, leaders of other colonies in French West Africa began to demand full independence. By November 1960, all French West African colonies had achieved full independence. Except for Guinea, all of them maintained their close ties with France. They were Cameroon, Togo, Dahomey (now Benin), Niger, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), Ivory Coast, Chad, Ubangi Shari (Central African Republics), Middle Congo (Republic of Congo–Brazzaville), Gabon, Senegal, French Sudan (Mali) and Mauritania. The year 1960 is commonly known as “Africa Year” because seventeen French colonies achieved independence in that year.

Activity 7.1

1. Why did a long and devastating war of independence take place in Algeria?

In colonies where there were many white settlers, the colonial powers were not willing to grant independence easily. The people of the areas with many white settlers had to wage an armed struggle. In this regard, we can take the case of Algeria, which

has been a French colony since 1830. The French administered Algeria as part of France. In Algeria, there were large numbers of white settlers known as colons (or colonists). In 1960, the number of white settlers living in Algeria was around one million. These white settlers used to consider Algeria as part of France. Until the end of the Second World War, many of the Algerian elites, including Ferhat Abbas, considered Algeria as part of France. Nevertheless, the enthusiasm shown for French nationalism, began to decline. Ferhat and others began to demand independence. But the colons fought to the finish to resist the struggle for Algerian independence. Therefore, the Algerian freedom fighters had to fight one of the bloodiest wars of independence not only against the French government but also the white settlers in Algeria.

The Algerian War of Independence began in November 1954. The leaders of the Algerian War of Independence were mainly former soldiers of the French army and Algerians of peasant origin. One of the leaders of the struggle for independence was Ben Bella, who eventually became the first President of independent Algeria. Ben Bella and his followers first set up an organization called the Revolutionary Committee for Unity and Action to Fight for Independence. This organization later changed its name to the National Liberation Front (FLN). Soon, the FLN became very strong, mainly because of the financial support it received from Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, and the Arab League. By 1956, the FLN had established itself in Algeria as a highly organized and structured fighting force.



Figure 7.1 President Ben Bella of Algeria

The Algerian War of Independence had a big political impact on France. The downfall of the French Fourth Republic was apparently related to the prolonged war in Alge-

ria. The crisis brought General Charles de Gaulle, who had lost office earlier, back to power in May 1958. In 1959, Charles de Gaulle offered the Algerians three alternatives, namely: integration with France, absolute independence from France, or independence in cooperation with France. The FLN officially declared that it was in favor of absolute independence. The white settlers in Algeria were against this decision by the FLN. In 1960, the colons and some French generals attempted to overthrow Charles de Gaulle. In both Algeria and France, they established a terrorist organization known as the Secret Army, which targeted all those who supported the independence of Algeria. Finally, the French government decided to begin negotiations with the FLN. Accordingly, on March 18, 1962, France and the FLN concluded the Evian Agreement, which brought an end to the Algerian war of independence. On July 1, 1962 Algeria became an independent state.

LESSON 2

7.2. Politics in Independent African States

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- Assess the major political, economic and social problems of independent African states.
- sketch the political map of independent African states,
- discuss the role of the military in the politics of politically independent Africa; and
- Appreciate what Africa has achieved so far in terms of political, economic and social progress.

Most of the French-speaking states, with the notable exception of Guinea, Senegal, and Cote d'Ivoire, went over to military rule during the 1960s. Togo and Dahomey (Benin) have suffered from frequent military coups and counter-coups. From November 1965, coup followed coup with frightening regularity, taking Nigeria and Ghana in early 1966. By the early 1970s, military rule had become a serious African political option. Coup d'état remained the most frequent means of changing government throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Apart from the two world wars, African armies in the colonial period were mainly held in reserve for internal use against potential rebellious subjects rather than for the defense of the country against potential hostile neighbors. At independence, they had little role to play beyond being part of the trappings of an independent nation state. An interesting exception was the Seychelles, where there was no army at all at independence. Prime Minister René staged his coup in 1976 with only a handful of colleagues. It was only after the coups that the Seychelles government needed an army to defend the state from potential counter-coups.

Since the 1960s, the major problem in many African countries has been a lack of political stability. The post-independence decades were especially marked by coups and countercoups. Many African countries' governments collapsed one after another very rapidly. For instance, between 1963 and 1969, five violent changes of government occurred in Dahomey (Benin). In many countries, leaders are under constant threat of assassination. In December 1962, Habib Bourguiba, the President of Tunisia, barely escaped death from an attempted assassination. In the 1960s and early 1970s, there were frequent coups in Africa. In this regard, we can mention the coups in Cong Brazzaville of August 1963, the Algerian Coup of June 1965, and the military coup in Algeria of January 1966. Similarly, in 1969, three coups took place in Libya, Sudan and Somalia and in 1971 in Uganda.

In the 1960s, African military coups were apparently reactions to inefficient and corrupt civilian regimes. As such, most coups against civilian regimes were initially welcomed. At least until they got into power, the military was known to be disciplined and usually free from corruption. It should not be concluded, however, that the military in African politics was necessarily a positive for African development. Military rulers were just as likely to be corrupt and tyrannical as their civilian counterparts.

The year 1979 saw the downfall of three of Africa's most corrupt and tyrannical regimes: General "Emperor" Jean Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republics (1966–79), Field Marshal Idi Amin of Uganda (1971–79) and the civilian President-dictator Francisco Marcias Nguema of Equatorial Guinea (1968–79). Bokassa embezzled a huge sum of his poor country's revenue. Idi Amin and Marcias Nguema were both responsible for the torture and deaths of thousands of their political opponents. Amin's regime looted and destroyed what was once regarded as one of Africa's most thriving agriculturally based economies.

In Nigeria, the widespread belief that the elections of 1964–65 had been rigged fi-

nally destroyed the credibility of the civilian government. But the first army coup of January 1966 was followed by another in July amid fears of ethnic domination by Igbo Southerners or Hausa Northerners. The massacre of 20,000 Igbo people living in the northern region led directly to the Biafra secession and subsequent civil war of 1967–70. It was thus that General Gowon, who had seized power in the counter-coup of 1966, steered Nigeria through the consequences of its political inheritance, which squabbling multi-party civilian politicians had done nothing to improve.

Though General Gowon achieved a remarkable level of post-war reconciliation, during the early 1970s, his government grew increasingly inefficient and divorced from the needs of the country. This led to his overthrow by General Murtala Muhammed in July 1975. Muhammed restored moral authority to the government. He embarked on a series of serious reforms of the administration and set a timetable for a return to civilian rule in 1979. Nevertheless, this popular and widely respected military leader was assassinated by a group of envious middle-ranking officers in February 1976. Their attempted coup was actually foiled and General Obasanjo took power. General Obasanjo continued Murtala Mohammed's reforming policies and returned the country to civilian rule in 1979.

Similarly, in Ghana, corruption, extravagant spending, and intolerance of criticism led to the overthrow of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in February 1966. Nkrumah had been blamed by the Ghanaian people for giving priority to external affairs and ignoring the serious economic problems of his own country. But there were also specific military grievances that led to the February 1966 coup.

President Kwame Nkrumah was forced into exile in Guinea, and his political supporters were purged from the civil service. However, the government of the veteran "Gold Coast" politician, Dr. Kofi A. Busia, proved quite unable to solve the mounting economic problems of Ghana in the face of a further sharp fall in the world price of cocoa. Therefore, another coup was staged in 1972 by Colonel Ignatius Acheampong. Though unable to halt Ghana's overall economic decline, Acheampong's noted achievement was "Operation Feed Yourself," which was aimed at reducing Ghana's dependence on expensive food imports. But it was not adequate. Ghana, like most other African countries, was hit hard by the huge rise in oil prices in 1973–74. Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings seized power in 1979. Three former military heads of state were executed for corrupt practices, and the country returned to civilian rule within three months. Once again, the new civilian government was not urgently and

aggressively involved in the urgent task of halting the country's decline. In December 1981, Rawlings seized power again, proclaiming a "people's revolution" and removing the old political elites from power.

Activity 7.2.

1. Why did the African military involve in politics?
2. Do you support coups d'état by the military officials against democratically elected but wicked and oppressive presidents? Why?

LESSON 3

7.3. Economy and Society in Independent Africa

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, learners will be able to:

- criticise the continuation of western economic domination on Africa;
- identify the main influences of the western powers on the peoples of Africa;
- appreciate the attempts made by the African states to reduce economic dependency on their former colonial masters.

Brainstorming questions

- » What was the major problem in the economy of Africa after independence?

The economic system inherited by independent African states was another source of problems. The major problem in the economy of Africa has been a lack of diversity. Throughout the colonial period, Africans were encouraged only to produce raw materials for export. The colonial regimes made little effort to establish factories that would produce manufactured goods. The colonies were made producers of mineral ores for the industries of Europe. In the field of agriculture, Africans were encouraged to specialize in single cash-crop products. The price of such single products in world markets has not been stable. Moreover, their prices were sometimes fixed in the metropolitan countries in accordance with the interests of international monopolies. Thus, whenever prices of such products fell on the world market, African states

often faced economic crisis, which in turn became a cause of political instability.

The European colonial governors have left Africa with a mounting economic crisis that has been the end-product of 85 years of colonial misrule. Furthermore, the two major factors stifling African development in the 1980s and 1990s were international debt and drought. Thus, the political legacy of colonial rule has a great impact on the development of African countries.

Struggle for Economic Independence

In economic terms, the performance of many African countries has fallen far short of the vision of the leaders of anti-colonial movements. For example, in 1985, 22 countries could not feed their growing populations. Agricultural production in the first part of the 1980s had declined. In contrast, some countries have recorded substantial economic achievements, like Botswana, Algeria, Gabon, and Cote d'Ivoire. For others, however, the exigencies of absolute poverty have continued to shape their existence.

LESSON 4

7.4. The Cold War and Africa

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- discuss the impact of the cold war on Africa;
- assess the challenges of settler colonialism in the newly independent African countries;
- explain how the Apartheid system collapsed in South Africa and;
- appreciate the struggle of South Africans against the Apartheid system.

Brainstorming Questions

- » What do we mean by “Cold War”?
- » What are the manifestations of the “Cold War”?

» How did the “Cold War” Affect the African countries?

Africa was also a hotspot for Cold War rivalry between the two superpowers: USA and USSR. The Soviets approached the African continent with a clear anti-imperialist ideology. Initially, the US generally deferred to its European allies. It was when the Europeans failed that the USA became much more visibly involved. Neither super-power simply allowed African nationalism to take its course. On their part, African leaders often looked abroad for support against internal factions or external ene-mies.

Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt was the first African ruler to develop an interest in Soviet support. Egypt became the point of entry when Nasser sought weapons from the West, which was pro-Israel and refused to sell arms to Egypt. The Soviets agreed to build the high Aswan Dam and then backed Egypt during the Suez crisis of 1956. Then Sekou Toure of Guinea followed the example of Nasser and began to look eastward. When Guinea was expelled from the French fold in 1958, the Soviets were prompt to supply arms to Guinea.

The assassination of Lumumba and the ideological cleavage over the Congo led other governments, like Mali, Ghana, and Algeria to seek Soviet support. Of course, the Soviet Union's highest priority was the establishment of a diplomatic presence. In fact, the Soviets had a working relationship with pro-western states like Senegal, Nigeria, and even monarchic Ethiopia.

Throughout the 1960's, pro-Soviet African leaders were removed from power. Ben Bella was overthrown in 1965, Nkrumah in 1966, and Keita in 1968. Sekou Toure drifted back to France. By the end of the decade, the Soviet Union's most active allies were moderate African governments that wanted Soviet arms. Over the next decade, the Soviet Union established itself as the world's leading arms dealer in sub-Saharan Africa. From about \$2 million in 1974, Soviet arms sales to Africa rocketed to \$3.4 billion in 1979. The collapse of Portuguese colonialism ushered in this new era of Soviet involvement in continental affairs. Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola have joined the socialist camp.

The scale of the Soviet commitment in Angola went well beyond its previous engagements. In Mozambique, FRELIMO concluded a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union. Calling upon the Soviets to support the development of Marxist Mozambique, the Soviets responded by dispatching Bulgarian agronomists, East

German engineers, Cuban sugar specialists, and Soviet factory managers.

The Horn of Africa is perhaps the only part of sub-Saharan Africa in which the Soviets had an active strategic interest. Lying on the Red Sea route from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, the Horn constitutes the southern periphery of the Middle East. Somalia appeared well on its way to becoming the major Soviet client in Black Africa until the coup in Ethiopia revised this outlook. As the Derg embraced Socialism, the Soviets changed camps. From 1977 to 1980, Ethiopia received nearly \$2 billion worth of arms. Both Somalia and Ethiopia provided naval bases for the Soviet Union, Berbera and Dahlak, respectively. But, Siad Barre expelled the Soviets from Somalia in November 1977 after their enormous supply of arms to Ethiopia. For some time, Egypt was by far the major recipient of Soviet arms. Libya's Mohammed Gaddafi armed his military with Soviet equipment.

The major U.S. involvement during the 1960s was in Ethiopia. Between 1953 and 1977, Ethiopia had been a major recipient of U.S. economic and military aid. After the coming to power of the Derg military regime in 1974, the relations between Ethiopia and the USA deteriorated and Ethiopia became the number one Soviet arms client in black Africa. In the meantime, the U.S. established a better link with Somalia. U.S. policy in the Horn was designed to contain Soviet influence. Soviet-U.S. efforts to easing tension in Africa was shaken first by the conflict over Angola and then by the Ogaden War.

American relationship with Egypt changed dramatically under Sadat, following Egypt's defeat in the 1973 Yom Kippur War with Israel. Sadat needed U.S. support to achieve his aims in the Sinai, and the U.S. poured in military and economic aid. The Camp David Agreement between Egypt and Israel in 1979 made the U.S. commitment even stronger. Whereas the US government had bad relations with Libya. Gaddafi's hostility to Israel stood against U.S. policy. His support and involvement in international terrorism prompted Reagan to approve a plan to overthrow Gaddafi and conduct an air strike in 1986. However, he survived the American assault.

Activity 7.3

1. Which African countries in Colonial Africa had a significant number of white settlers?

The Challenges of Settler's Colonialism and the Last Strongholds of Colonialism: Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Angola.

The independence of the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea were other examples of violent struggles for independence. Angola and Mozambique had significant numbers of white settlers. Liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies started in the early 1960s. The liberation struggles in Angola commenced in 1961, in Portuguese Guinea in 1963, and in Mozambique in 1964. The resistance movements in Angola and Mozambique were very strong. The Angolan war of independence was led by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and in Mozambique by the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). Agostino Neto was the leader of the MPLA. Eduardo Mondlane led FRELIMO, until he was killed in 1969 and succeeded by Samora Machel. From the outset, the liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique were led and supported by Marxists who organized the freedom fighters. The movements also enjoyed foreign support: MPLA from Guinea and FRELIMO from Tanzania and later Zambia. Portugal sent in more and more troops, who were supported by white mercenaries from the west and the Republic of South Africa.

As the war of independence continued, it became a heavy burden on the Portuguese economy. In the early 1970s, the Portuguese had to spend about 40 percent of their government's revenue on the armed forces. Consequently, Portugal began to face a political crisis at home. In 1973, Guinea made a unilateral declaration of independence. Meanwhile, violence in Mozambique was mounting. Furthermore, radical elements in the Portuguese army called for an immediate end to the colonial empire. Now the Portuguese had no option but to grant independence to their colonies. Therefore, they recognized the independence of Guinea as the Republic of Guinea Bissau. Mozambique gained its independence in June 1975 and Samora Machel became the first President of Mozambique. In the same year, 1975, Sao Tome and the Cape Verde Islands also became independent.



Figure 7.2 Samora Machel

The independence of Angola was arranged for November 1975. Nevertheless, the Portuguese failed to transfer power properly to the MPLA. The Portuguese made a hasty and mismanaged withdrawal from Angola. The result was a power struggle between the MPLA and its political rival, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (UNITA). In early 1976, an independent Angolan People's Republic was set up under Agostino Neto's MPLA government. But the newly established MPLA government had to fight against its opponents, particularly Jonas Savimbi's UNITA. UNITA continued guerrilla warfare against the MPLA for many years.

Activity 7.4

1. Why did Southern Rhodesia change its name to Zimbabwe after independence?
2. Which African state provided valuable military support for the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe?

On June 20, 1969, a referendum was held in Rhodesia regarding the adoption of a constitution that would enshrine political power in the hands of the white minority and establish Rhodesia as a republic; Rhodesia's predominantly white electorate overwhelmingly approved both measures. The constitution was approved by Parliament in November, and on March 2, 1970, Rhodesia declared itself a republic.

Unsuccessful negotiations with Britain continued. A 1971 proposal to lessen restrictions on the opposition led to the creation of a third nationalist movement, the United African National Council (UANC), led by the Methodist bishop Abel Muzorewa. Unlike the previous two parties, i.e., ZAPU and ZANU—both banned and operating only from exile in Zambia and Mozambique, respectively—UANC was able to organize inside Rhodesia and held talks with the government during the 1970s. During

the early 1970s ZAPU and ZANU had sporadically organized raids into Rhodesia, but in December 1972 the violence of the conflict intensified after a ZANU attack in the northeast. The Zambia-Rhodesia border was closed in 1973, but Mozambican independence in 1975 provided a valuable base of operations for ZANU, which had close links to the FRELIMO government.

The White Rhodesian government was thus under diplomatic, military, and, economic pressure to settle. The 1976 rapprochement between Nkomo, the leader of the ZAPU party, and Mugabe, of ZANU led to the formation of the Patriotic Front (PF), which received frontline support from Rhodesia's majority-ruled neighbours. The fighting escalated in both areas. By 1979 the combination of pressures had forced Smith to accept the necessity of an "internal settlement."

The 1978 agreement had promised elections for a transitional government. The UANC won a clear majority of the seats allotted to Blacks in the April 1979 election, and the country adopted the name Zimbabwe. Without PF participation or support the new government was unable to end the warfare. Britain briefly retook control of Southern Rhodesia as a colony until a new round of elections was held in February 1980. Of the 80 contested Black seats, ZANU won 57, ZAPU 20, and the UANC 3. Mugabe became the first prime minister as Zimbabwe achieved internationally recognized independence on April 18, 1980.

Activity 7.5

1. What do you mean by Apartheid?
2. What are the major problems facing the agricultural sector in Africa?

The End of Apartheid in South Africa

After the end of the Second World War, the South African white rulers in general and the Afrikaner National Party in particular, began to develop a strong fear towards the South African black population thinking that unless strong measures were taken to control them the blacks may eventually dominate the urban areas and the economy of South Africa. The white leaders of South Africa also thought that the anti-colonial struggle which was getting intensified in other parts of Africa could be imported to South Africa as well. The Afrikaner National Party, which launched a strong anti-black racist propaganda easily, won the 1948 general election in South Africa.

The government that was set up by Afrikaner National Party had further strengthened a system of segregation that was imposed on the majority black population for four decades in South Africa. The government came up with extremely racist rules and regulations to guarantee the superiority of the white race in South Africa at the expense of the majority black population of the country. The blatant racist policy of South Africa that attempted to make the minority white rule perpetual was known as 'apartheid' which means 'separateness'. The apartheid system considered the majority indigenous black population of South Africa as alien and foreigners in their own land. The South African black populations were forced to live in separate quarters which were overcrowded and relatively backward areas.

In 1950, the white government in South Africa introduced a new racist policy known as 'Population Registration Act'. This newly introduced law classified and registered the people of South Africa based on race into whites and non-whites. The non-whites group included the majority blacks, Asians, and peoples with mixed races. The native black populations of South Africa too were further divided into several ethnic groups including the peoples of Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Venda and Sotho.

In the same year, an additional law was issued in South Africa known as 'The Group Areas Act'. This Act clearly indicated the residential areas where the white and non-white settlers were allowed to reside, and work based on race. The two acts that were issued in South Africa in the year 1950 laid the foundation for the racist apartheid system which had strong impact on the lives of the people of South Africa. These acts made the native black Africans inferior and prevented sexual relations between different races. Separate public places, buses and schools were arranged for the whites and non-white peoples in South Africa. Although the apartheid system had a strong negative political and social impact on the non-white peoples of South Africa, its major objective was to exclude the non-whites particularly the blacks from participation in economic activities and ensure that they should remain subordinate, and poorly paid workers in the white controlled factories and industries. Although the blacks were allowed to work in factories with meager pays and under bad working conditions, their rights as employees were not recognized. The white government of South Africa had gone to the extent of banning labor unions throughout the country.

The other very unpopular law introduced by the apartheid regime in South Africa was 'the Bantu Education Act' which was issued in the year 1953. This act prevented black South Africans from learning in the missionary schools. Blacks were allowed

to join only the government owned schools, the curricula of which were intentionally designed to show the supremacy of the white race and inferiority of blacks. The blacks were trained not actually to be creative and think independently but just to servants of their white 'masters'.

The issuance of the above mentioned cruel and racist laws could not however totally paralyze the spirit of resistance of the majority black population. They rather encouraged the blacks to protest the apartheid rule in South Africa. The black population made relentless struggle against the oppressive laws both in an organized and spontaneous ways. They staged demonstrations and strikes and made boycotts.

Their organized struggle led to the formation of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912. The ANC was led by able and competent young educated South Africans who had a determined stand to change the lives of the black population in South Africa. Among the prominent and determined leaders of African National Congress (ANC) we can mention Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu. Later, after long years of confinement, Nelson Mandela was set free and served as the first president of Post-Apartheid South Africa.

While many African countries got their independence in 1960, it was a year of intense anti-apartheid struggle and campaign of defiance organized by ANC. In 1960, there were anti-apartheid popular risings and disobedience of the black population in South Africa. The South African police harshly dealt with the peaceful protestors and massacred 69 peaceful demonstrators and wounded 180 protestors at a place called Sharpeville, near Johannesburg on March 21, 1960.



Figure 7.3 Nelson Mandela

The massacre at Sharpeville was a turning point in the struggle of the South Africans to achieve independence at least from apartheid rule. The black Africans, organized under their organizations like ANC decided to intensify their struggle against the minority white regime. The South African white racist government had realized the seriousness of the blacks struggle and began to take strong measures to stop the mass protests. The first action taken by the apartheid regime of South Africa was banning the two political organizations in South Africa namely: the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). The brutal acts of the South African government were sharply condemned not only by the black population of South Africa, but also by the international community.

The newly emerging independent states in Africa and Asia expressed their solidarity with the people of South Africa. The United Nations Organization (UNO) too condemned the brutal acts of the South African government. Many countries also called for imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa. In fact, the planned economic sanctions were not materialized as pro-South African influential states in the UN Security Council, particularly Great Britain and the USA used their veto power to cancel the proposed economic sanction against South Africa. Although the ANC was banned by the South African white regime, it had continued its struggle and the then president of ANC, Albert Luthuis, had managed to win the Nobel Peace Prize award of the year 1961. The South African racist regime was isolated from the international community and received world-wide condemnation. But the South African regime gave a deaf ear to the request of the international community, withdrew from the Commonwealth of Nations and eventually declared itself South Africa Republic in the same year, 1961.



Figure 7.4 Sharpeville massacre

Until the early 1960s, the main strategy of struggle of the ANC was non-violent resistance and it was not engaged in any formal armed struggle. Eventually, however, the ANC came to realize the significance of armed resistance as well. Accordingly, the ANC established its armed wing known as Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). Oliver Tambo was given the responsibility of soliciting foreign support for the newly adopted tactic of armed struggle. In 1963, the armed wing of the ANC launched attacks against the positions of the South African regime.

Unfortunately, however, in that same year, the South African government managed to capture high ranking officials of the armed wing of ANC, and brought them to justice. The suspects included Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and six others and a South African court passed a verdict of life imprisonment against them. The imprisonment of these leaders of the ANC did not however bring an end to the struggle and the South African blacks, organized under the ANC, even further intensified their fight against the apartheid regime.

In the early 1970s, in particular, a new wave of successful strikes and demonstrations broke out by black workers in the Natal region demanding better pay. These mass risings forced the South African government to lift the ban it has imposed against some black trade unions. Concurrently, the South African blacks introduced a new movement which they called 'Black Consciousness' with the view to restore black dignity. The 'Black Consciousness' movement increased the determination of the blacks in South Africa to get independence by themselves without seeking the assistance of white men including white liberals. The struggle continued and in the early 1980s, the South African blacks refused to use white-owned shops and businesses, schools and renting houses particularly in Eastern Cape and Transvaal.

LESSON 5

7.5. Pan-Africanism, from Organization of African Unity to African Union**Competencies**

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- discuss the birth and development of the Pan-Africanism movement;
- identify the main leaders of the Pan-Africanism movement;
- explain the unique feature of the Fifth Pan-African movement of 1945 to Africa;
- appreciate the historical emergence of pan-Africanism.

Brainstorming Questions

- » What do we mean by “Pan-Africanism”?
- » What makes the 5th Pan-African Conference different from the previous Pan-African Conferences?

Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism is not only an expression of the desire for African unity, but also a sense of unity among all black peoples of African origin in Africa and elsewhere. Pan-Africanism assumes a common brotherhood or sisterhood of all black peoples of Africa, North and South America, and the West Indies. It originated and developed outside the African continent by black people of African origin in the Americas. Afro-American people in the USA and the Caribbean were the first to introduce Pan-African ideas. These people of African origin in the “New World” were living in alien lands, and thus they felt they had been made homeless by their eviction from their countries of origin and forced to live in a social environment unknown and unfriendly to them. Therefore, they wanted to have equality with the other races and justice for black people. At least in the beginning, Pan-Africanism was the resistance of black people against white racism. For many of them, Africa was a continent where black people lived in happiness and freedom. Apparently, this view of Africa without frontiers or divisions seems to have given birth to the idea of the United States of Africa. The term “pan” means “all” in Greek. Therefore, we can conclude that Pan-Africanism means bringing Africans together.

Congresses of Pan-Africanism

The first Pan-Africanism Conference was held in London in 1900. This was the first organized form of political expression of Pan-Africanism. The first Pan-African Conference was organized by a man from Trinidad and Tobago known as H. Sylvester Williams. The participants of the First Pan-African Conference were mainly people who came from America and the West Indies. Before 1945, four Pan-African Conferences were held. The two prominent Pan-African leaders during that period were Dr. William Du Bois (1868-1963) and Marcus Garvey (1887-1940). Du Bois was an African-American scholar and writer. He became an organizer and preacher of Pan-Africanism. Du Bois is referred to as the Father of Pan-Africanism. Although both Du Bois and Garvey were prominent leaders of the Pan-Africanism Movement, they had no harmonious relationship. They were criticizing and blaming each other.

Marcus Garvey was a Jamaican who moved to and lived in the USA. Garvey was a founder and leader of the Universal Negro Association. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey had some differences about the future of people of African origin living outside the Africa continent. Du Bois believed that black people residing outside their mother continent should struggle to ensure their rights in their host countries. Contrary to this stand, Marcus Garvey insisted that the only bright future for people of African origin living outside Africa was to return to their mother continent, Africa. To materialize this dream, Garvey organized the so called "Back to Africa Movement." The Universal Negro Improvement Association, established by Garvey in 1914, was meant to promote his "Back to Africa Movement."

The year 1945 was a landmark in the history of the Pan-Africanism Movement. In 1945, the Fifth Pan-African Conference was held in Manchester. This conference was different from the previous Pan-African conferences in the sense that it was the first time that Africans from the African continent participated and the issue of independence of Africa was raised. Some of the participants of the Fifth Pan-African Conference were the future leaders of independent Africa, like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. The participants of the Manchester Conference expressed their determination to resort to violent means unless their demand for independence is seriously considered by the colonial powers. The decisions of the Fifth Pan-African Conference brought Africans together in the struggle to achieve political independence.

Formation of OAU

The Manchester Conference of 1945 laid the foundation for the emergence of a continental organization in Africa. One of the issues in the Pan-Africanism Movement was materializing the unity of Africans particularly African states. The slogan for this leading idea was to establish the United States of Africa. After the Manchester Conference, however there was a division among the then African leaders and politicians over the issue of creating a single politically united Africa. Some nationalist African leaders considered the creation of nation states as the first step towards creating a larger United States of Africa. Among the advocates of this idea, we can mention President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

After independence, however, new trends contrary to this idea began to appear. In many African countries, nationalist movements and their leaders have begun to give priority to their national cause and achieving independence of their respective countries. These African nationalists insisted that pan-Africanism should be materialized better after the African countries first achieve independence and underlined that Pan-Africanism should not be allowed to weaken the position and sovereignty of the emerging individual African nation states. This division in Pan-Africanism became a source of problem, which continued to trouble the unity of African nations in the post-independence period. The OAU was founded in May 1963 in Addis Ababa, by 32 African states with the main aim of bringing the African nations together and resolving the issues within the continent. Its first ever conference was held on May 1, 1963 in Addis Ababa.

The OAU had the following primary aims:

- To coordinate and intensify the co-operation of African states in order to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa;
- To defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of African states.
- To eradicate of all forms of colonialism and white minority rule.

The period was a time when many new African states were established. In fact, by then there were states in Africa that had not yet won their independence or were under brutal white minority rule. South Africa and Angola could be mentioned in

this regard. The OAU proposed two ways of solving the problems of colonialism and white minority rule in some parts of Africa. First, it would defend the interests of independent African states and help the independence struggle waged by African peoples. Secondly, it would remain neutral in terms of world affairs, preventing its members from being controlled once more by outside powers.

A Liberation Committee was established to aid independence movements and look after the interests of already-independent states. The OAU also aimed to stay neutral in terms of global politics, taking the Cold War into consideration. The other aims of the OAU included ensuring that all Africans enjoy human rights; raising the living standards of all Africans and settling

arguments and disputes between members – not through fighting but rather through peaceful and diplomatic negotiation.

Most of the newly emerging independent African states were in favor of the creation of continental organization. Some of the African states wanted to establish a continental African organization that could lead to the creation of a federation of African states or the United States of Africa. The other group of African states too wanted the creation of a continental African organization that could lead to economic integration and in the long run political integration.

One of the groups was the Casablanca group. This group was founded in the year 1961 and its member states were Ghana, Algeria, Guinea, Morocco, Egypt, Mali and Libya. The Casablanca group was in favor of an immediate political union of African states through federation.

The other bloc was the Monrovia group. Unlike the Casablanca group, the Monrovia group did not call for an immediate political union of the newly independent states. This group rather favored first economic integration that will be followed by a gradual and a step by step political integration of the African states. The member states of the Monrovia group were Ethiopia, Nigeria, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Togo, Tunisia, Congo, Kinshasa and Somalia.

Emperor Haile Selassie I had a key role in the establishment of a continental organization of African states. Although Ethiopia was a member of the Monrovia group, Haile Selassie I invited the members of the two contending groups i.e., Monrovia and Casablanca groups to come to his capital, Addis Ababa and eventually succeeded

in convincing the African leaders to create the Organization of African Unity in 1963 in Addis Ababa. Since 1963, Addis Ababa is serving as the headquarters of OAU and then the African Union (AU). Thirty-two independent African states established the OAU by signing its charter.

The OAU has helped African countries under colonial rule to achieve independence. Almost all the African states had joined the OAU. In fact, one member i.e., Morocco has left the OAU in November 1984 in protest against the OAU's decision to admit the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic as Western Saharan state two years earlier i.e., 1982.

The OAU was criticized for being a bureaucratic forum of the African oppressive rulers rather than an organization that is much concerned about the peoples of Africa. Some call the OAU "Dictators' Club" or "Dictator's Trade Union". The OAU had neither a strong agency to enforce its decisions nor a military wing or armed force of its own. Attempts were made by the OAU to mediate disputes between member states, but they were not always successful. The OAU could not stop civil wars in Africa that lasted for long and caused serious human and material destruction. In this regard, we can mention the civil wars in Nigeria and Angola.

One of the controversial policies of the OAU was its policy of non-interference in the affairs of member states. Based on this policy, the OAU kept silent when governments of member African states clearly violated the human rights of their citizens. The OAU failed even to condemn the ruthless acts of African dictator rulers like Idi Amin Dada of Uganda against their fellow people.

The Role of Ethiopia in Uniting Africans: Successes and Failures of the OAU

Ethiopia is the only African country that was never colonized as it had successfully defeated the Italian colonizing force in 1896 at the battle of Adwa. Ethiopia was the sole African polity whose independence to be recognized by the colonial powers in the era of colonization. Ethiopia, with its ancient civilization and remarkable victory against Italy, was a role model not only for Africans but also the entire black race who were fighting for their independence. As mentioned already, the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie, had played a significant role in bridging the gap between the Casa-blanca and Monrovia blocs and the establishment of the OAU in Addis Ababa in 1963.

He could be taken as a father figure of the OAU and Addis Ababa was and still is the capital of Africa. Ethiopia, both under Haile Selassie and the Derg military regime, has significantly helped African countries under the yoke of colonialism and has given support in their struggle to achieve independence. Emperor Haile Selassie has supported the South Africans' struggle against apartheid. Ethiopia has given military training to the ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Addis Ababa. Colonel Mengestu Haile Mariam too, has supported the Zimbabweans in their struggle for independence. Ethiopia has trained thousands of Zimbabwean freedom fighters.

The OAU as any organization has success and failure stories. Although it had some shortcomings, the OAU was successful in some respects. Many of its members were members of the UN, too, and they stood together within the United Nations Organization (UNO) to safeguard African interests' particularly in the anti-colonial struggle. Its pursuit of African unity, therefore, was in some ways successful.

Bringing political integration in Africa was a very difficult task and most of the African countries were divided. The ties between the independent African states and their colonial masters were very strong even after independence. For instance, most of the African countries that were colonized by France were very much dependent on their colonial master, France. As we have seen already, many of these former French colonies had formed their own block before the establishment of OAU, known as the Monrovia Group. Ideology was the other dividing factor. After the cold war, some African states became pro-West while others were in favor of the Eastern block and became Socialist oriented. Among the leaders of the first African states to achieve independence, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana was in favor of the Eastern bloc that was led by the Soviet Union while the president of Ivory Coast, Félix Houphouët-Boigny, was in favor of the West i.e. the capitalist block. Because of their ideological differences, the African states were facing difficulties to reach consensus on some important issues and take measures against states involved in internal conflicts.

It is undeniable that the OAU had a significant contribution in the struggle of the Africans to bring an end to the era of colonialism and in combating the minority white racist rule in South Africa. OAU members provided firearms and ammunition, military training and military bases for African countries that were under colonial rule. The anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa and the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe had enjoyed the support and encouragement of the OAU. South African aircrafts were

not allowed to fly over the sky of the other African countries.

The OAU had cordial relations with international organizations. It worked in collaboration with the High Commission for Refugees to help displaced peoples for various reasons. Regarding economic development, the Organization of African Unity has set up the African Development Bank. This bank provided loans for important development projects in the continent of Africa. Eventually, all the African countries managed to achieve their political independence. But the political independence of the African states was not supported by economic emancipation. As most of the African countries were not economically self-sufficient, their political independence was incomplete and remained economically dependent on their former colonial masters. The politically independent African states continued to receive financial aid and loans from their former colonial countries. These financial loans were often given with preconditions in addition to re-payment with high interest rates. If the loans were taken to establish industries in Africa, the manufactured goods were expected to be sold for the loaner countries at very low prices.

The two super-powers of the post-World War II era i.e., the USA and the USSR were competing in Africa to advance their ideologies and benefit economically by exploiting the resources of Africa. These contending super-powers sometimes helped the African states in the form of technology and sending aid workers.

Transformation from AAU to AU

On 9 September 1999, the Heads of States and Governments of Africa met in Libya at an OAU Summit and issued the Sirte Declaration which called for the establishment of a new continental Organization known as the African Union that replaces the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The main reason behind the issuance of the Sirte Declaration was a desire to hasten the process of integration of the African states and help Africa contribute its part in the global economy besides confronting with the adverse effects of globalization in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres.

Establishment of the African Union

The new African continental union, the African Union (AU) that officially replaced the Organization of African Union (OAU) was officially inaugurated in July 2002 in the South African city of Durban. The establishment of AU was the outcome of the September 1999 decision of OAU members in a gathering at Sirte, Libya to dissolve

the first organization of African independent states that has successfully discharged its responsibility of freeing the continent from colonial rule and fighting against the apartheid rule in Africa and replace it by more efficient continental organization. Now the African leaders had come to realize the significance of focusing on greater economic and political integration of the states in the continent of Africa.

The new continental organization had a strong ambition of establishing a united, wealthy and peaceful Africa, directed by the Africans themselves and capable of discharging its responsibility in global developments. In order to materialize its objectives, the African Union has established six agencies like that of the United Nations Organization (UNO) to enforce its decisions. These AU organs included:

- The Assembly of Heads of States and Governments
- The Executive Council
- The Permanent Representatives Committee (PRC)
- Specialized Technical Committees (STCs)
- The Peace and Security Council and;
- The African Union Commission

Unlike its predecessor i.e., the dissolved OAU, the AU at least in theory was not a forum of only heads of states and governments. The AU claims that it is a forum of the entire African peoples that deals with various aspects of life including economy, politics, social and cultural affairs under the umbrella of Pan-Africanism. To realize these intended goals, the AU has set up agencies like: The Pan-African Parliament, the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC). The AU, like its predecessor, OAU has also established agencies i.e., human rights commission and human right courts to deal with human right issues like the African Commission on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR), the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) the African Union Commission on International Law (AUCIL) the African Union Advisory Board on Corruption (AUABC) and the African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. The continental organization is also striving to set up continental monetary institutions like a continental central bank, an investment bank and a continental monetary fund.

Impact of Colonial Rule in Africa

Colonialism had a big impact on Africa. Colonialism was a double-aged-sword for Africa. Although the European colonial powers were engaged in the building of roads,

railroads, ports, and other infrastructure in Africa using the forced unpaid labor of the native African population, the infrastructure development was mainly designed to exploit the natural resources of their African colonies and to advance the European colonial presence in Africa. For instance, in northern Nigeria, railroads were built mainly for this purpose. In Sierra Leone too, the discovery of minerals deposited led to either the expansion or the building of spur lines to facilitate the exploitation of these minerals.

One of the major impacts of colonialism on the African continent was the fact that it led to the under-development of the colonized African countries in different ways. Although the colonial powers had introduced modern education in their colonies in African colonies, the education could not bring in Africa as it was designed by the Europeans to materialize their selfish imperialist needs and had nothing to do with the African realities. Colonialism had an economic impact on Africa as well. The colonial powers distorted the patterns of economic development in Africa in many ways. The colonial powers brought disarticulation in the production of goods, markets, trade, transport, provision of social services, and the pattern of urbanization and the like. Colonialism also disarticulated the African markets and trades. The indigenous market centers in Africa were disoriented by colonialism. The colonial powers established new marketing centers and trade routes to facilitate the smooth export of raw materials to their industries in Europe and to import manufactured goods from Europe to their African colonies. This European economic activity culminated in the weakening and eventual death of most of the native African marketing centers. This resulted in the distortion of the African indigenous pattern of African economic development and urbanization. Colonialism made the African trade mainly export-import oriented. This integrated Africa's trade and economy prematurely into the world market and international trade. This premature integration had a detrimental effect on Africa and benefited the economically and technologically advanced European countries and made the African countries economically dependent on the colonial powers. The raw materials produced by the Africans in Africa were not used by industries located in Africa. They were instead exported to Europe. Therefore, there was no organic linkage between the agricultural and the industrial sectors in Africa. Subsequently, the African economy could not move forward because the surplus profits appropriated by the colonial powers were not ploughed back or spent within the African economy. The European colonial powers also disarticulated the development of a comprehensive transport system in Africa.

It is true that the colonial powers were engaged in large-scale construction of roads. But the transport network developed by the Europeans was not intended to link the African towns with the rural areas to facilitate effective communication and development. They built transport routes mainly to dispatch the raw materials from their sources to places where the raw materials are processed and exported abroad. The transport networks developed by the European colonizers in Africa were mainly limited to rail roads and shipping lines. In general, there was a lack of economic integration and cooperation among the African territories during the colonial period. Colonialism also led to the disarticulation of the provision of social facilities and the pattern of urbanization in Africa.

The social facilities during the colonial period were not only very limited in number but were also concentrated in a few places, particularly urban areas. This forced many people from the rural areas to migrate to the urban centers where the social amenities were better. The resulting problems of disarticulation of provision of amenities and urbanization include among other things rural-urban migration, overcrowding, filthy and slum environment, poor hygienic condition, spread of epidemic disease, social evils, and ethnic problems.

Colonialism in Africa also led to the emergence of classes and class struggle in the socio-economic and political life of the continent. The emerging classes include the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, proletariat, and peasants. The African petty bourgeoisie served as a bridge through which the European colonial masters exploited and tapped the economy of the African continent. That is why during the period of independence, the African petty bourgeois managed to control the political leadership.

The nature of political power struggles and the uneven distribution of wealth as well as economic resources in the present-day African states are manifestations of the sympathetic and harmonious relations of interest between the African bourgeoisie and their former colonial masters, who were their political and economic partners. The severe impoverishment of most of the African peoples by their own petty bourgeois leaders and marginalization, as well as oppression of the masses by those who have assumed state power, are results of colonialism or colonial hang-over among African states.

Colonialism seriously challenged Africa's traditional lifestyles and culture. The Eu-

European colonizers imposed their culture on the indigenous people of Africa. The Africans abandoned most of their culture and embraced European ways of life. Indigenous African religious beliefs were thoroughly weakened and replaced by Christianity. The Africans were forced to even take European, Christian, or Biblical names, abandoning their own African names.

Unit Summary

The end of the Second World War marked the beginning of a successful African national liberation struggle against European colonial rule. The driving force behind the liberation struggle was African nationalism, which grew in a gradual process after the end of the First World War. Among the factors that contributed to the growth of African nationalism, the most important one was the Pan-African movement. The movement raised the consciousness of Africans through resolutions it passed at various conferences held from 1919 on. Among the conferences, however, the fifth, held in Manchester in 1945, was very important. For the first time in the history of Pan-Africanism, the resolution of this conference raised a demand for the independence of Africa. This resolution provided a slogan which rallied Africans in the struggle for independence.

The nature of the struggle for independence was not similar throughout the African continent. In some parts of the continent, independence was achieved smoothly, while in others it entailed a bloody conflict. The main factors that decided the nature of the liberation movements were the presence or absence of white settlers in the colonies and whether the concerned colonialist states were prepared to decolonize. In the colonies without white settlers, independence was achieved more or less smoothly. In the colonies with white settlers, however, independence was achieved only after a protracted armed struggle. Since Portugal decided to cling to its colonies until the last moment, the colonies of Portugal had to fight national liberation wars to achieve independence.

Among the factors that hastened the process of independence, one was the formation of the Organization for African Unity (OAU). The process of forming the OAU, which started in 1958, was not smooth. There were differences of opinion among African states over the structure of the organization. Despite those differences, African states succeeded in setting up their own continental organization, which was born

in May 1963 in Addis Ababa.

During the struggle for independence, many Africans felt that after independence, the political, economic, and social lives of Africans would improve rapidly. Unfortunately, this was not the case. Instead, many independent African states fell victim to endless political instability, economic crisis, and acute social problems, which in most cases were the legacies of colonialism and their own weakness.

Unit Review Exercises

Instruction I: Fill in the blanks

- The former name of Ghana before independence was _____.
- The Jamaican politician who led the “Back to Africa!” movement was _____.
- The first president of independent Algeria was _____.
- The colonial masters of Kenya were _____.
- The Pan-African Conference in which African scholars were well represented was _____.

Instruction II- Multiple Choice Questions

1. The first country to achieve independence in west Africa was:
A. Ghana B. Guinea C. Nigeria D. Senegal
2. Identify the Wrong pair
A. Ahmed Ben Bella – Senegal
B. Seiko Toure – Guinea
C. Kwame Nkrumah- Gold Coast
D. Nnamdi Azikwe – Nigeria
3. The Algerian war of independence was
A. an anti-colonial struggle that was officially launched in November 1954.
B. led by former soldiers of the French army and Algerians of peasant origins.
C. the longest and devastating anti-colonial struggle in northwestern Africa .
D. All are answers

4. Which of the following countries did not fall under military rule in the 1960s?
A. Nigeria B. Ghana C. Senegal D. Togo
5. Identify the African ruler who had established a corrupt and tyrannical regime in his country.
A. General “Emperor” Jean Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republics
B. Field Marshal Idi Amin of Uganda
C. Francisco Marcias Nguema of Equatorial Guinea
D. All of the above

UNIT EIGHT

POST 1991 DEVELOPMENTS IN ETHIOPIA

Unit Introduction

This unit aims to piece together Ethiopia's history after the military regime of the Derg fell apart in 1991. This unit covers the important political concerns of the transitional period, including the preparation and approval of the FDRE constitution, developments in Ethiopia following the 1995 constitution, socio-economic issues in Ethiopia, and worldwide issues.

Unit Learning Outcomes:

At the end of this unit, the students will be able to:

- analyze the controversial articles of the 1995 FDRE Constitution;
- describe the major socio- Economic and political developments since 1991;
- appreciate the positive aspects of the post-1995 FDRE Constitution; and
- identify the major challenges in the process of democratization.

Lessons:

- ◆ The Transitional Government
- ◆ The Formation of FDRE
- ◆ Socio-Economic Issues
- ◆ The Role of Ethiopia in Peace Keeping (Liberia, Rwanda, Sudan and Somalia)

Key words and Concepts

- Constitution
- Regions
- Self-determination
- Status quo
- Transitional government

LESSON 1

8.1. The Transitional Government of Ethiopia

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- analyze the major political issues of the transition period in Ethiopia of 1991-94
- discuss the main features of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia of 1991
- identify the main tasks accomplished by the Transitional Government of Ethiopia of 1991

Brainstorming Questions

- » How was the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (1991) formed?
- » What were the main features of the Transitional Charter of Ethiopia in 1991?

The Transitional Government

The military regime that ruled Ethiopia for seventeen years was officially overthrown on June 28, 1991 by the coalition of armed rebels that were organized under the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). Then, the EPRDF facilitated the establishment of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) soon after the overthrow of the Derg. The TGE was formed after a National Conference was convened in Addis Ababa in June 1991. The conference produced the "Transitional Government Charter of Ethiopia." The Transitional Government of Ethiopia was set up based on the "Transitional Period Charter that was in effect from 1991 until the endorsement of the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in 1995.

During the Transitional Period a new ethnic and language based administrative structure was introduced and fourteen regions were set up replacing the previous fourteen geographic based provinces. The former Ethiopian Armed Forces were dismantled and the ex-soldiers and policemen/policewomen were demobilized and became jobless.

Activity 8.1

1. Why did the EPRDF armed groups defeat the professional Ethiopian army under the Derg ?
2. List the fourteen regions that were established by the Transitional Government of

Ethiopia in 1991.

The 1995 Constitution

Although there were in Ethiopia some documents like the Fitha Negest (Glory of Kings) and traditional institutions like the Oromo gada system that had some elements of constitution, the first modern written constitution was issued only in 1931. The 1931 constitution was revised in 1955. The 1955 Revised Constitution was suspended by the Derg regime when it assumed political power in 1974. For nearly a decade and a half the military rule had no constitution and ruled by decrees and proclamations. The Derg issued its constitution in 1987. But the 1987 was short-lived as the Derg regime was overthrown in 1991.

The Transitional Government of Ethiopia took the issue of writing a new constitution as one of its priorities and set up a constituent assembly. The members of the constituent assembly prepared a draft constitution and presented it for at least a nominal “public discussion” as did the previous Derg regime. Although some groups claim that they were not represented in the drafting and endorsement process, the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia was finally endorsed in August 1995. This brought an end to the Transitional Government of Ethiopia that was established immediately after the demise of the military regime.

The new constitution was better than its predecessors in the sense that it has at least in principle recognized human and democratic rights. The constitution also recognized international regional declarations regarding human and democratic rights. The 1995 constitution is also unique because it recognized the rights of nations, nationalities and peoples for self-determination including independence. In fact, the EPRDF led government was not the first to raise the question of nations and nationalities to self-determination. This question was first echoed in 1969 by the Ethiopian students’ movement. Article 39, which is one of the most controversial articles of the FDRE Constitution, clearly states that “Every Ethiopian Nation, Nationality and people has an unconditional right to self-determination.” The same article on another sub-provision stated that “Every Nation, Nationality and People has the right to a full measure of self-government. Some Ethiopian scholars and politicians argue that this article encourages secession and is potentially very dangerous for the very survival of the country.

Activity 8.2

1. What makes the 1995 Constitution different from the previous constitutions in Ethiopia?
2. What are the fundamental principles of the 1995 Constitution?

LESSON 2

8.2. Ethiopia after the 1995 Constitution

Learning Outcomes:

At the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- identify the main features of the FDRE government;
- debate on the controversial articles of the 1995 FDRE Constitution;
- explain the causes and consequences of the Ethio-Eritrean war of the 1990s;
- point out the major challenges in the process of democratization;
- debate on what would be the way forward for democratization.

The Formation of FDRE

The FDRE was established after the final endorsement of the Constitution in August 1995. Ato Meles Zenawi, who was the chairperson of the EPRDF, became the first Prime Minister of FDRE and the commander-in-chief of the Ethiopian Armed Forces. Dr. Negaso Gidada, a member of the Oromo Peoples' Democratic Movement (OPDO), was the first elected president of the government of FDRE. The FDRE set up a federal structure with a parliamentary system of government.

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is a federal state with a parliamentary system of government. The FDRE government originally had nine regions and two city states, namely Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. In fact, recently, two more regions have emerged: the Sidama Regional State and the Sothwestern Ethiopian regional state. The federal structure is formed mainly based on language and ethnicity. Revolutionary Democracy was the ideology of the EPRDF-led government. The economy is based on agriculture.

Political Issues, Political Parties, and National Elections

The 1995 constitution replaced the Dregs' policy of one party politics by a multi-party system. The 1995 Constitution of Ethiopia has given at least nominal recognition to hu-

man and democratic rights and the rights on nationalities. It also recognized the UN and African Declarations on human rights as part of the Ethiopian law. Therefore, the rights of Ethiopian citizens to form associations, to express their beliefs and participation in elections are given constitutional recognition. In fact, there are questions on the implementation of these constitutionally recognized rights.

Elections in Ethiopia under the EPRDF Government

Elections were not totally new phenomenon in Ethiopia. The Revised Constitution of Ethiopia of 1955 was the first to introduce formal political elections in Ethiopia. There were also elections during the military regime although they were apparently not genuine ones. The EPRDF led government of Ethiopia too had conducted periodic election after five years interval. Accordingly, general elections were conducted in Ethiopia since the endorsement of the 1995 constitution. Accordingly, general elections were also conducted in 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2015. The first general election for seats in the House of People's Representatives and regional assemblies was conducted in May 1995. Some political parties like the All Amhara Peoples' Organization, Council of Alternative Forces for Peace and Democracy in Ethiopia and Ethiopian Democratic Unity Party boycotted the 1995 election. In this first election, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Party (EPRDF) got a majority seat in parliament and formed a government.

After five years in the year 2000 a second round of general election was held. The 2000 election was better than the 1995 election in the sense that many political parties including those who were not willing to participate in the previous election like the All-Amhara People's Organization, had taken part. Nevertheless, the result of the 2000 election was not different from the 1995. Again the EPRDF claimed a landslide victory and managed to form a government.

The third round of election that was conducted in the year 2005 was unique compared to the previous two elections. In this round of the Ethiopian general election, there was much hope and optimism on the part of the people and the contending political parties. The opposition parties were better organized and united than ever before. Parties that had boycotted the previous election now decided to take part in the 2005 general election. They even formed a very strong coalition to come out victories in the general election and assume political power defeating the EPRDF

through ballot. The opposition groups established the Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party which soon apparently became very popular party. The EPRDF also seemed to welcome the prospect of free and fair elections as it agreed to restructure the Electoral Board (NEBE), promised to cease restrictions on opposition activities, and allowed free access to observers. Parliamentary elections took place on May 15, 2005, with a reported 90% turnout. The opposition parties managed to win 180 seats in the House of Peoples' Representatives. In Addis Ababa for instance, the Coalition for Unity and Democracy had won all the 23 seats for the federal parliament. Although the opposition parties were complaining the NEBE declared that the EPRDF has won more than 50% +1 vote and again formed a government. The opposition parties were not willing to accept the NEBE's announcement of victory of the EPRDF and protests followed in the country particularly in the capital, Addis Ababa which led to the death of hundreds of protestors and the arrest of many protestors including leaders of the Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party. Many opposition party leaders and members were brought to trial and were sentenced to life imprisonment although they were eventually given amnesty.

Again after five years i.e., in the year 2010 another round of general election was conducted. But by then the optimism that was observed in 2005 was non-existent. As usual after the end the election the NEBE announced that the EPRDF has got the majority of seats in parliament. In the year 2015 too there was another Parliamentary election in which again the EPRDF claimed it won most of the seats and formed government.

Peace and Democracy and Equality of Nations and Nationalities

There was relative peace in Ethiopia under the EPRDF before the outbreak of the Ethio-Eritrean War. Therefore, the peasants could till their land without serious problems. The Ethiopians, who were engaged in various professions, were able to do their jobs with relative ease. Under the EPRDF government, the previous forced conscription of young people for national military service was abandoned.

The question of democracy was also repeatedly raised in Ethiopia, more than ever before under the EPRDF government. It seems that the ordinary people of Ethiopia focused only on the right part of democracy rather than the obligations that are associated with democracy. In fact,

some opposition groups and their leaders claim that the EPRDF's democracy was a pseudo or nominal democracy and that it was never genuinely implemented. They argue that freedom of speech and association were only on paper and not practically implemented. People were imprisoned for what they said, thought, and did. Although the rights of the majority were recognized, the rights of the minority people, particularly those who were living outside their region, were not duly respected. Unlike the majority, who were thought to be owners of the regions, the minority settlers were, in most cases, denied the right to learn, get a trial, and work using their vernacular languages. In fact, democracy in Ethiopia is still at its infancy.

The FDRE government has made a serious attempt to guarantee the equality of nations, nationalities, and peoples. No nation, nationality, or people were recognized to be neither inferior nor superior to others. This is manifested by the recognition of all nations and nationalities for self-determination, the right to get an education and a trial in one's own vernacular or mother tongue language.

Political Parties and National Elections

Ethiopia under the Derg regime employed a system of one-party politics, and no party, except for the ruling WPE Party, was allowed to take part in elections. In contrast, The EPRDF-led government introduced a multi-party system, and a number of political parties began mushrooming. Although a multi-party system was promised by the EPRDF-led government that led Ethiopia for more than two decades and a half, there was no multi-party system rather than a single dominant party system of the EPRDF.

The Ethio-Eritrean War

The Ethio-Eritrean War that broke out in 1998 was apparently a boundary dispute that took place between Ethiopia and Eritrea. On 6 May 1998, the Eritrean forces launched a military assault on the disputed territory of Badme. Consequently, on the 13th of May 1998 the Ethiopian forces launched a counteroffensive against the Eritrean forces.

The USA and Rwanda sought to mediate between the two warring states and prepared a peace plan proposal calling for the immediate evacuation of the invading Eritrean troops from the disputed regions. Unfortunately, however, the Eritrean government was not willing to accept the peace offer. The government of President Isaias Afewerki instead called for the demilitarization of all disputed areas along the

common border, to be overseen by a neutral monitoring force and direct talks.

Following the refusal of the Eritrean government to accept the US-Rwanda peace plan, Ethiopia decided to take its own measures. On 22 February 1999, Ethiopia launched a massive military offensive against the forces of Eritrea to restore Badme. The Ethiopian counter-offensive was known as “Operation Sunset”. The Ethiopian military assault was successful, and the Ethiopian troops managed to control most of the contested territories, including Badme and Zalambessa, and on 25 May Ethiopia declared that the war was over. The casualties of the Ethio-Eritrean war were heavy. Tens of thousands of combatants were killed on both sides, and many more were wounded.

On 18 June 2000, Prime Minister Meles Zenawi and President Isaias Afewerki agreed to a comprehensive peace agreement and binding arbitration of their disputes under the Algiers Agreement. In July 2000, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1312 and a 25-kilometer-wide Temporary Security Zone (TSZ) was established within Eritrea, patrolled by the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) and over 60 countries. On December 12, 2000, a peace agreement was signed by the two governments.

On April 13, 2002, the Ethio-Eritrean Boundary Commission that was established under the Algiers Agreement in collaboration with the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague, issued “final and binding” verdict. The ruling awarded some territory to each side, but Badme was awarded to Eritrea. But the signing of the Algiers Peace Agreement and the decision of the Ethio-Eritrean Boundary Commission could not bring peace. Although both countries had pledged to accept the decision of the boundary commission, the two countries, particularly Ethiopia, requested further explanation, and the decision of the commission was not implemented. Since then, Ethiopia and Eritrea remained in a state of no peace no war situation for over a decade. Relations between the two countries began to improve after the coming to power in Ethiopia of Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed.

Activity 8.3

1. Discuss the causes and consequences of the Ethio-Eritrean war that broke out in the 1990s.
2. Why did Ethiopia and Eritrea fail to establish friendly relations after the signing of the Algiers Agreement and the decision of the Boundary Commission?

LESSON 3

8.3. Socio-Economic Issues

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- evaluate the essence of the major Socio-Economic developments in Ethiopia since 1991;
- judge Ethiopia's economic system during the government of EPRDF;
- appreciate the endeavours made by the EPRDF government for the prosperity of Ethiopia.

Brainstorming Questions

From Command to free market Economy

Under the Marxist Derg rule, Ethiopia had a command economy. The government had the maximum intervention in the economy of the country. The private sector was leveled as an oppressor and opponent rather than a partner for national development. The government was involved even in very small retail activities. Under the Derg regime, the maximum capital a private investor could use was only 500,000 Ethiopian Birr. Nearly all the enterprises during the military regime were government owned.

The EPRDF-led government introduced a shift in the economic policy of the country. The socialist command economy was abolished and a "free market" economy was introduced. The capital limit for private investors was lifted and government intervention in the economy was minimized compared to that of the military regime. A commission was established to privatize government owned enterprises, and many enterprises were sold to private investors. Nevertheless, the EPRDF-led government did not totally abandon its participation in the economy.

The Land Issue and Agriculture

The land issue was the same throughout the Derg regime and under the EPRDF-led administration. In 1975, the Derg had nationalized rural land and distributed it to

people who were landless. Although the size of the land given to each peasant was relatively small, the Derg made landless peasants landowners. The Derg did not allow peasants to sell their land. Land was, by then, a public and government property. In fact, some scholars claim that by giving the peasants land, the military regime made the peasantry totally dependent on it. Likewise, under the EPRDF government, land was still state property.

Agriculture has exhibited significant progress and improvement under the EPRDF government. Even the country's economic policy was declared to be agricultural led. Fertilizers and improved seeds have enabled farmers to greatly increase their agricultural yield. Farming without fertilizers and improved seeds has become a thing of the past. Agricultural Extension Workers are trained in large numbers and are engaged in following up on the activities of the peasant farmers. The government was encouraging the model peasants by giving awards of moral and material encouragement.

Infrastructural Developments

After its assumption of political power in 1991, the EPRDF gave priority to the development of infrastructure. Since the mid-1990s, road infrastructure and education have been the top two sectors attracting the highest share of the government budget. The first official document released by EPRDF in 1995 on its vision of economic development recognized the significance and urgency of rehabilitating and expanding infrastructure. The strategy was known as "Agricultural Development-Led Industrialization" (ADLI), and it recognized that infrastructure development in the areas of electric power, roads, railways, telecommunications, and water supply was critical to triggering economic growth through the active participation of the private sector.

Expansion and rehabilitation of rural roads were given top priority by the EPRDF government. Another major infrastructure project that attracted the government's attention was a rural electrification program called the Universal Electrification Access Program (UEAP). Similarly, the Ethiopian government plans to expand its telecommunications infrastructure. The expansion of the telecommunications infrastructure generated employment primarily in urban centers.

Activity 8.4

1. Discuss the major tasks performed by the EPRDF government in expanding infrastructure.

The Hydro-Politics of the Nile

Two treaties were signed between Great Britain and its colonies of Egypt and Sudan regarding the utilization of the Nile River in 1929 and 1959. Nevertheless, in both treaties, Ethiopia, which contributes more than 85% of the Blue Nile, was not invited to take part. In fact, in the 1929 treaty, not even Sudan was consulted. In the absence of the Sudan, Britain and Egypt concluded the treaty. Ethiopia was not only invited to take part in the signing of the 1929 agreement but was also given no share of the water of the Blue Nile. In 1959, another treaty on the utilization of the waters of the Blue Nile between Great Britain, Egypt, and Sudan was signed. Again, in this treaty, Ethiopia was not only excluded but also got no share of the waters of the Blue Nile. The 1959 agreement apportioned Egypt 55.5 billion cubic meters per annum, while the Sudan's share was decided to be 18.5 billion cubic meters. The 1959 Agreement created a watershed in the hydro-political history of the Nile valley in the sense that it ensured a monopoly on the waters of the Nile by Egypt and Sudan. In fact, Ethiopia did not give recognition to this colonial treaty, of which she was not a signatory. Attempts made to use the Nile waters by Ethiopia beginning with the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie I were not successful as donors and international monetary organizations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank were unwilling to give loans for projects on the Nile waters. Finally, in the year 2011, the Prime Minister of Ethiopia, Ato Meles Zenawi, laid the foundation stone for the construction of the Ethiopia Renaissance Dam, which is today known as the Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, and which has a capacity of generating 6000 Mega Watts of electric power. The Ethiopian government decided to build the dam with the financial contribution of the Ethiopian people. Nearly all the Ethiopians, including the rich and the poor, took the project as a national project and made financial contributions, particularly by purchasing bonds. Egypt and Sudan were and are still working hard to obstruct the building of the Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam with the support of the great power of the USA. Egypt is threatening to use force of arms.

Activity 8.5

1. Ethiopia claims that the purpose of her hydroelectric power development is based

on the “no harm principle”. Elaborate it.

LESSON 4

8.4. The Role of Ethiopia in Peace Keeping (Liberia, Rwanda, Sudan and Somalia)

Competencies

By the end of this lesson, you will be able to:

- describe the participation of Ethiopia in UN peacekeeping operations;
- analyze the contribution of Ethiopia to UN humanitarian missions.
- appreciate Ethiopia’s effective peacekeeping missions in history.

Brainstorming question

» In which countries have Ethiopian forces served as UN peacekeeping missions?

Ethiopia has a long history of participation in United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations dating back to the 1950s. Ethiopia has participated in peacekeeping missions in Korea, Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Liberia, Sudan, South Sudan, and Somalia. Nowadays, Ethiopia has contributed 8297 troops, police, and military experts to UN peacekeeping operations around the world. Ethiopia also significantly contributes to the AU peacekeeping force in Somalia (AMISOM). According to the mission’s website, it has provided 4395 uniformed personnel to the operation.

Fighting Terrorism

Ethiopia has also actively participated in the fight against terrorism. Ethiopia had a meaningful contribution to the struggle not to make Somalia a safe haven for terrorist groups. As Ethiopia itself was vulnerable to terrorist attacks, the EPRDF led Ethiopian government has worked in collaboration with the international community, particularly the government of the U.S.A. Ethiopia has also taken its own measures against terrorism, ranging from dealing with internal “terrorists” to attacking terrorists by launching punitive military campaigns within the territories of Somalia. As we have seen already, Ethiopia has also sent its peacekeeping mission to Somalia to deal with the terrorist groups like Al Shabaab, along with other African brothers and sisters.

Unit Summary

The Transitional Government of Ethiopia that ruled the country from 1991 to 1995 set up a Constitutional Assembly to draft a constitution. The draft constitution was presented for “public discussion” and received final endorsement and became functional as of August 1995. The 1995 constitution introduced a federal state structure and a parliamentary system of government. After its assumption of political power in 1991, the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) gave priority to the development of infrastructure. Since the mid-1990s, road infrastructure and education have been the top two sectors attracting the highest share of the government budget.

The Ethiopian government under EPRDF made a serious attempt to utilize the Nile Waters. A great dam, known as the Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, began construction by mobilizing the Ethiopian population. The Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, the expense of which is fully covered by the Ethiopian people and government, will have the capacity to produce 6000 kilowatts of electricity. The construction of the GERD had great significance in uniting the whole Ethiopian population for a common cause. All Ethiopians, irrespective of ethnic, religious, and economic status, have contributed to the building of the dam.

Unit Review Exercises

Instruction I-Write “True” if the statement is correct, “False” if the statement is incorrect.

1. The President of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia was Dr. Negaso Gidada.
2. The state structure of the government of FDRE is unitary.
3. Members of the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) were not allowed to participate in the peace conference of 4. 1991 that led to the creation of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia.
5. The number of regions established by the Transitional Government of Ethiopia was nine.
6. All the high-ranking officials of the Derg regime were executed by the EPRDF without trial.

UNIT NINE

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS AND HERITAGES OF ETHIOPIA

Introduction

In this unit, you will learn Ethiopia's indigenous knowledge systems and historical heritage. The definition and unique characteristic features of indigenous knowledge, as well as Ethiopia's indigenous knowledge systems, will be dealt with in detail.

Learning Outcomes

After successful completion of this unit, you will be able to:

- identify Ethiopia's knowledge systems of knowledge and practice, developed and accumulated over generations;
- examine the different types of indigenous knowledge;
- evaluate the role of indigenous knowledge for development;
- identify the shared and particular contributions of different societies of Ethiopia in the general heritage potential of the country;
- appreciate indigenous knowledge for unity and stability of the society; and
- sympathize cultural and religious ceremonies without discrimination.

Lessons:

- ◆ Indigenous Knowledge: Definition and Unique Characteristic Features
- ◆ Indigenous knowledge and Development

Key Words and Concepts

- Conflict resolution
- Indigenous
- Cultural decolonization
- Architecture
- Tradition
- Sustainable development
- Medicine
- Cottage industry
- Philosophy

LESSON 1

9.1. Indigenous Knowledge: Definition and Unique Characteristic Features

Competencies

After successful completion of this lesson, you will able to:

- identify the values of indigenous knowledge systems for overall development;
- assess the need for documenting knowledge systems and preserving heritages; and
- list down the unique characteristic features of indigenous knowledge; and
- discuss Ethiopia's knowledge systems developed over generations.

Definition

What is indigenous knowledge?

Indigenous knowledge, also named traditional knowledge or local knowledge, is the knowledge systems and practices that people in each community have developed outside the formal educational system over centuries of experimentation in an effort to cope with their own agro-ecological and socio-economic environments. It refers to the understandings, skills, and philosophies developed by societies with long histories of interaction with their natural surroundings.

It is also integral to a cultural complex that encompasses all aspects of life, such as: history, cultural practices, language, the environment and ecological relationships, resource use practices, social interactions, healing, ritual and spirituality. In short, it comprises knowledge systems and practices developed within a particular culture or society independent of, and prior to, the advent of the modern scientific knowledge system. Hence, it is also known as local knowledge, folk knowledge, people's knowledge, traditional wisdom, or traditional science. That is why it is considered an important catalyst for sustainable overall development.

Indigenous knowledge passes from generation to generation, usually by word of

mouth and cultural rituals, and the wide range of other activities that sustain a society and its environment for many centuries in many parts of the world. On the other hand, most of the indigenous knowledge disappears due to the intrusion of foreign technologies and development concepts that promise short-term gains or solutions to problems without being capable of sustaining them.

Unique Characteristic Features

What are the unique characteristic features of indigenous knowledge?

Indigenous knowledge has the following unique characteristic features:

1. Indigenous knowledge is local. It is rooted in a particular place and is generated by people living in those places. Indigenous knowledge is unique to a given culture or society. It is the lived experience of each community that informs indigenous knowledge.
2. Indigenous knowledge is based on historical experiences but adapts to social, economic, environmental, spiritual, and political changes. It is not rooted in a specific period of history, but has evolved, adapted, and grown over millennia; it is dynamic.
3. Indigenous knowledge is cumulative. It is a body of knowledge and skills developed from centuries of living in close proximity to nature. It is the consequence of practical engagement reinforced by experience and trial and error.
4. Indigenous knowledge is holistic. All aspects of life are interconnected and are not considered in isolation but as a part of the whole. It incorporates all aspects of life: spirituality, history, cultural practices, social interactions, language, healing, etc.
5. Indigenous knowledge is humble. Indigenous knowledge does not dictate how to control nature but how to live in harmony with the gifts of the Creator.
6. Indigenous knowledge is intergenerational. Collective memory is passed within a community from one generation to the next orally through language, stories, songs, ceremonies, legends, and proverbs.
7. Indigenous knowledge is invaluable. It has been argued that Indigenous knowledge is the key to sustainable social and economic development.
8. Indigenous knowledge is irreplaceable. There is nothing western science can

do to replace or replicate indigenous knowledge.

9. Indigenous knowledge is moral. There is a morality in indigenous knowledge—a right and wrong way to interact with nature.
10. Indigenous knowledge is relative. Indigenous knowledge is not embodied to the same degree by all community members. The elderly will obviously carry more knowledge than younger community members.
11. Indigenous knowledge is responsible. Indigenous peoples generally believe they are responsible for the well-being of the natural environment around them.
12. Indigenous knowledge is spiritual. It is rooted in a social context that sees the world in terms of social and spiritual relations among all life forms.
13. Indigenous knowledge is valid. It does not require the validation of western science.

However, the colonial and western education systems have negatively affected the indigenous knowledge systems of African, Asian, and Latin American countries. Even in the post-independence period, modern education seems to consider indigenous knowledge systems as primitive, simple, and static. As a result, there is a grave risk that much indigenous knowledge is being lost and, along with it, valuable knowledge about ways of living sustainably both ecologically and socially. Recently, however, the potential of indigenous knowledge in the sustainable development process has been getting the attention of academics, scientists, development planners, and policy makers in developing countries.

Ethiopia's Indigenous Knowledge System

Ethiopia is an ancient country and the home of people who have diverse cultures. Hence, it is very rich in different indigenous knowledge systems in such areas as agriculture, architecture, medicine, cottage industry, philosophy, conflict resolution, etc. In Ethiopia, indigenous knowledge systems are most often specific to a particular physical, economic, and cultural environment. Conditions for adoption or development of indigenous knowledge are the production-associated problems such as land degradation, erosion, climate or weather change, topography/landscape feature change, and change in the economic, social, and cultural settings of the community. Some of these indigenous techniques are flexible and area specific as they rely main-

ly on the local economic, social, cultural, religious, and environmental situations.

To mention a few examples of Ethiopian indigenous knowledge, the Obelisk of Aksum, the rock-hewn churches of Lalibella, the castles in Gondar, and the Wall of Harar are some of the standing monuments of civilization regarding architecture. Until the 20th century, in many parts of Ethiopia, local traditions of smelting iron ores, tanning hides and skins and weaving clothes had existed for centuries and had been crucial to rural livelihoods. The Oromo people are renowned for their indigenous democratic socio-political system, known as the Gada system. The Afar people have an indigenous, unique information exchange system called Dagū. The Konso people are famous for their traditional skills in hillside terracing and banding. The Dorze people are highly renowned for their weaving skills. The Surma people are known for their traditional family planning methods.

The Gumuz have incredible indigenous knowledge of shifting cultivators and natural resource management. In rural parts of Ethiopia, if someone is struck by lightning, the survivor will be immediately brought into contact with moist ground or dung. This practice is substantiated by static electricity theory, though most rural people are unable to explain it.

Moreover, Ethiopia is very rich in oral and written philosophical literature. The Ethiopians' spiritual and secular philosophies are mainly written in Ge'ez, Arabic, and other languages. Moreover, Ethiopians are very rich in oral expressions of wisdom, including mainly proverbs, songs, and folktales. Ethiopians also have well-developed traditional methods of conflict resolution. Ethiopians, in their long history, also discovered the medicinal properties of many plants. However, the indigenous knowledge systems of the various peoples of Ethiopia have not been well identified, studied, documented, and utilized to improve the quality of their lives. The interest in indigenous knowledge, particularly as an issue of theoretical debate, is a relatively recent one.

LESSON 2

9.2. Indigenous knowledge and Development

Competencies

After successful completion of this lesson, you will be able to:

- realize the positive values of heritages for social stability and order
- assess the need for documenting knowledge systems and preserving heritages
- outline the parameters used by UNESCO to register heritages
- symphonize cultural and religious ceremonies without discrimination
- appreciate the value of indigenous knowledge for unity and stability of the society

Brainstorming Questions

- » Which areas of Ethiopia are registered by UNESCO as world tangible immovable heritage sites?
- » Which heritages of Ethiopia are registered by UNESCO as the world's intangible heritages?

Heritages of Ethiopia

Heritage can be defined as the legacy of physical artifacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present, and bestowed for the benefit of future generations. In its broader sense, heritage includes everything that people want to save. Hence, heritage refers to both the material and non-material culture of man as well as elements of nature that man lives with.

Heritages are essential components of almost every human experience. In this view, heritage is viewed as a personal inheritance from the past, a past that can be used in the present. It is the subject of the past that an individual inherits from his or her family, ancestors, tradition, or nation. According to this view, heritage comes to mean oral history (tradition), written history, buildings, landscapes, objects, pictures, memoirs, sounds, cultural beliefs, etc.

Activity 9.1

1. What is the significance of preserving heritages?
2. Is everything that is old a heritage?

Ethiopia is a land of diverse tangible and intangible cultural, religious, and historical heritages. Nevertheless, the number of Ethiopian heritage sites that are registered by UNESCO is apparently too small compared to the numerous cultural and religious heritage materials and sites. Even today, there are numerous heritages that meet UNESCO's criteria for designation as world heritage. Therefore, the task of registering Ethiopia's cultural, historical, and religious heritage by UNESCO should be a priority agenda for all concerned bodies.

Values of Heritages

Heritage has a significant value to promote interpretation of the past by making relations with and providing insight into past people and events through shared experiences. The historical value of heritage sites mainly depends on direct experience of elements that survived from the past. Commemorative values of heritage deal with the meaning of a heritage for those who identify with it or have connections to it. Many heritage sites maintain humans' collective memory and identity. In this regard, war memorials (battlefields), public statues, and palaces are examples of memorials whose meanings are usually unforgettable.

Heritage also serves as a symbol of nationalism. It serves a great purpose in defining national identity. Identity, however, goes beyond the national level. Hence, heritage strengthens identities at the level of our home, neighborhood, towns, and region as well as at the continental and international level. The common purpose of heritage is to make some people feel better, more rooted and more secure. There are many heritage sites that are professed as sources of identity, interaction, and coherence and hence have greater socio-political value. Heritages are an integral part of the concept of nation building. They are also instruments for creating a sense of belongingness to a common place.

Types of Heritages

According to the World Heritage Convention of 1972, heritage is broadly classified into two major categories: cultural and natural.

Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage is any tangible or intangible object that is the product of the creativity and labor of man in pre-literary history and historical times. It describes and

witnesses the evolution of nature and has major value in its scientific, historical, cultural, artistic, and handcraft content. Cultural heritage is classified into tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Tangible cultural heritage is that which can be seen and felt. They are further divided into movable and immovable historical and human-created cultural heritage. As the name suggests, movable cultural heritage is the one type of cultural heritage that is not attached to the foundation and that can be moved from place to place easily, and which has been handed down from generation to generation.

Would you give some examples of movable cultural heritage from your own locality? The following could be relevant examples of movable cultural heritage. Parchment manuscripts, stone paintings and implements, sculptures made of gold, silver, bronze, iron, wood, stone, inscriptions of skin, ivory, horn, and archaeological remains.

Heritage includes natural reserves, museums, fauna, flora, geology, habitats, and water. Landscape, for its part, refers to national parks, gardens, coasts, cultural and archaeological landscapes, mountain chains, and natural areas. These heritage places may be significant for scientific, aesthetic, architectural, historical, or any other special cultural value.

The other components of heritage, which encompass buildings, monuments, archaeological remains, and sculpture, are the other components of heritage. In addition, national battle fields, historic markers, and mythical sites are part of our heritage. Artifacts such as museum artifacts, family albums, art works and activities like clubs and societies, legislation, language, religion, performing arts, sports, diet and drink, calendars, customs, crafts are all parts of heritage. Heritage also comprises other elements such as atrocity sites, plagues, saint's relics, heroes, victims, and graveyards.

As opposed to tangible cultural heritage, intangible cultural heritage is that which cannot be touched and felt by the hands but can be seen or heard. Intangible cultural heritages constitute different kinds of performances and shows, religious, wedding and mourning ceremonies, music, drama, literature and similar other cultural values, traditions and customs of nation, nationalities and peoples.

Literature (Geez)

Although it is often said that Ge'ez literature is dominated by the Bible, there are many medieval and early modern original texts in the language. Most of its import-

ant works are also the literature of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church, which include Christian liturgy (service books, prayers, and hymns), hagiographies, and literature. For instance, around 200 texts were written about indigenous Ethiopian saints from the 14th through the 19th centuries. This religious orientation of Ge'ez literature was a result of traditional education being the responsibility of priests and monks.

In addition to religion, works of history, ecclesiastical and civil law, philology, medicine, and letters were also written in Ge'ez. Although documents written in the Ge'ez language are largely found in Ethiopia, we also find materials written in Ge'ez in foreign countries as well. Significant collections of Ethiopian manuscripts are found outside of Ethiopia in France, Italy, the United Kingdom, Germany and the United States. The collection in the British Library comprises some 800 manuscripts dating from the 15th to the 20th centuries, notably including magical and divinatory scrolls and illuminated manuscripts of the 16th to 17th centuries. It was initiated by a donation of 74 codices by the Church of England Missionary Society in the 1830s and 1840s, and substantially expanded by 349 codices looted by the British from Meqdela, the last stronghold of Emperor Tewodros II in the 1868 Expedition to Ethiopia. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City has at least two illuminated manuscripts in Ge'ez.

Brainstorming Question

» Why was the first mosque in Ethiopia established in the present-day Tigray region?

The Al Nejashi Mosque

Al Nejashi Mosque is the oldest Muslim religious place of worship found in northern Ethiopia in the present-day Tigray region. In the 7th century AD, the first followers of the Prophet Mohammed were persecuted and oppressed in their own land by the Quraysh ruling classes of Mecca for their conversion to the new religion, Islam. The Prophet Mohammed thus searched for a safe place and a compassionate king who could grant a safe hideout and protection for his followers. Realizing that he could not protect them from the attacks of the Quraysh ruling class of Mecca, Prophet Mohammed instructed his followers go to the Christian king of Habesha (Aksum) saying that Habesha is a land of justice and truth.

Accordingly, in the year 615 A.D Prophet Muhammed sent a small group of his first

converts including his own daughter and her husband Othman (who later became the third caliph of the Islamic state) to Aksum to seek refugee from the persecutions they were suffering in the hands of the then rulers of Mecca. The Quraysh ruling classes of Mecca had sent envoys to the Aksumite king with gifts demanding the extradition of the first converts who were given refugee in Aksum. But the Aksumite king refused to accept the request of the Quraysh ruling classes of Mecca, that he would not extradite his guests even if they were to give him a mountain of gold. The king rather assured the Muslims full protection saying to them 'Go and live in peace, if anybody ill-treats you, he will pay heavily for it'. The then king of Aksum known as Ella Sham (or as Ashama b Abjar or Nejashi in Arabic sources) granted them asylum and permitted them to practice their religion freely until they left back to Arabia in 628 A.D.

The Al Nejashi Mosque, which is named after the king Negash, is said to be the first mosque not only in Ethiopia, but also, one of the oldest mosques in the world. It holds an important place in Islamic history and serves as an enduring reminder of the warm welcome extended to the first Muslims by the Ethiopian king of the time. It is also a sign that Ethiopia endorsed Islam first among the rest of Africa and most Arab countries, even before most of the people in Mecca.

Brainstorming Questions

- » Which church was the first church in Ethiopia?
- » When and by whom was it established?

After the end of the medieval tradition of roving capitals, the Ethiopian monarchs were busy building palaces since the reign of Emperor Fasileds. Of the modern Ethiopian rulers, we can mention the palace of Emperor Yohannis IV of Mekele and that of Emperor Menelik II of Addis Ababa. But palaces were also built by other kings and rulers of other parts of Ethiopia as well.

Jimma Abba Jifar's Palace

In the 18th century, King Abba Jifar II, the sixth ruler of a powerful Oromo-Muslim dynasty, established a palace in Jimma. He reigned from 1877 to 1933. He was the last king of the kingdom of Jimma and he is said to have spent for the construction of his palace 400 kgs of gold and 65,000 Marie-Therese Thaler, the Austrian currency that was widely used in Ethiopia. He nevertheless had to pay important taxes to Emperor Menelik II. Aba Jifar had an impressive personality with a height of 2.10 m and

he kept his prerogatives despite the expansion of the Christian kingdom thanks to his friendly relations with Emperor Menilek II, to whom he nevertheless had to pay. Strongly influenced by Indian architecture, the building of the palace of King Abba Jifar II includes, on the ground floor, the family mosque and the reception room, where you can see a window higher than the others, which allowed the giant to have a view of the surrounding areas. The first floor is occupied by the court room and private apartments distributed around an inner courtyard. The complex is dominated by a watch tower whose windows open towards the neighboring provinces of Shewa, Kafa, and Wollega, as well as the town of Jimma below. If the whole is a little thin in furniture, the palace is worth it for its originality and for the point of view it offers on the city. The tomb of King Abba Jifar II is located on the road leading to the palace, about 1.5 km away.

Kumsa Moreda's Palace

Built by the hereditary ruler of Wollega in the 1870s, the Kumsa Moreda's Palace has only recently been opened to the public after long years of neglect. It is in 1 km distance north of the Wollega Museum and served as residence to the prominent Worra Bekere family until they left the palace in Wollega to Addis Ababa during the Derg period. Outside are several places to get a traditional Ethiopian coffee in a park-like setting.

Activity 9.2

1. Who was KumsaMoreda before the incorporation of his kingdom by the forces of Negus Menilek of Shewa?

Sheikh Hojele's Residence in Addis Ababa

Sheikh Hojele al Hassan of Benishangul had a residence in Addis Ababa in a place known as Shegole, which is a name derived from Sheikh Hojele. The residence of Sheikh Hojele was confiscated in 1975 based on a proclamation that nationalized urban land and extra houses and was rented to people who needed houses to live in. Both the then government and the residents of this historic house were apparently unaware of the value of heritage, and the residence of Sheikh Hojele was given inadequate attention. Thus, it was in very bad condition. Nowadays, the city government of Addis Ababa is working hard to conserve this heritage site.

Halala Kella, of Dawuro

The rulers of the medieval kingdom of Dawuro were able to build defensive dry stone walls and dig defensive ditches between the 16th and 18th centuries. The motivation for these activities might have been the need to protect the territory against the neighboring enemies, Ahmed Gragn's war, the Oromo population expansion, or pastoralist pressure. The walls are locally called the Kati Halala Kella. They are dry stone walls constructed without using any joining materials. The walls counted three to seven rows, and the kingdom was watched over by seven main gateways. Some sources estimated the length of a single wall at 150 km to 200 km. The total of the seven rows will be about 1,000 kms. Its average height and width are about 2.6 m and 3.5 m, respectively. Parts of the Halala Kella of Dawuro still exist, but the site requires attention. Conservation work should begin as immediately as possible.



Figure 9.1 Parts of the Halala Kella of Dawuro

Brainstorming Question

» List the archaeological sites you know in Ethiopia.

Archaeological Sites in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is well known for its significant fossil-bearing beds, which have borne some of the oldest and most complete fossil hominids. One well-known example is Lucy. Her hominid species, *Australopithecus afarensis*, is named after the Afar region where it was discovered. Other discoveries are being made. The Melka Kunture prehistoric site, the Tiya erected stones, the Awash and Omo valleys, and the Hadar region in Afar are some of the important archaeological sites in Ethiopia. In 2019, archaeologists discovered a 30,000-year-old Middle Stone Age rock shelter at the Fincha

Habera site in the Bale Mountains of Ethiopia at over 11,000 feet above sea level. This dwelling was the earliest proof of the highest-altitude human occupation. Thousands of animal bones, hundreds of stone tools, and ancient fireplaces were revealed. Around 2000, archaeologists uncovered the ruins of the legendary ancient Islamic kingdom of Shewa that included evidence of a large urban settlement as well as a large mosque.

Activity 9.3

1. Discuss in group about tangible and intangible heritage sites that are found in area.

Music

Music in Ethiopia can be associated with oral-literary custom. In this area, traditional music was and still is played by mostly wandering musicians called *azmaris*, who are popular but not adequately respected by their society. As this form of music slowly spread across the country, it appropriated aspects of the regions it infiltrated, depending on the local customs, culture, and religion. During the time of Yared, ancient Christians adopted these traditions, embellishing them with tales from the Bible. Yared is said to have invented musical *nota* long before the Westerners. The northern parts of Ethiopia, particularly the Province of Wollo had an active role in the development of secular music. The Four major Ethiopian melodies namely *Bati*, *Tizeta*, *Ambassel* and *Anchihoye* are the gifts of Wollo. The Ethiopian musicians play using their own musical instruments. Towards the north-eastern lowlands, a Muslim musical form called *manzuma* was developed. Sung in ancient Amharic, over time *manzuma* spread to Harar and Jimma, where it is now sung in the Oromo language. Modern secular Music was developing particularly as of the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie and the 1960s and 70s were the heydays of the Ethiopian modern music. It was in those decades that elite singers like Tilahun Gessesse, Ali Birra, Mahammad Ahmed, Alemayehu Eshete, Bizunesh Bekele, Hirut Bekle, Tamrat Molla and others became well known.

Ethiopian Art

Ethiopian art refers to any form of ancient and contemporary art tracing from the 4th century to the present. One of the manifestations of Ethiopian art is dominance of Christian art. Christian arts exist in Ethiopia in forms including painting, crosses, icons, illuminated manuscripts, and other metalwork such as crowns. There are

also popular arts and crafts such as textiles, basketry and jewelry, in which Ethiopian traditions are closer to those of other peoples in the region. Its history goes back almost three thousand years to the kingdom of Da'mat.

Although some buildings and large, pre-Christian obelisks exist, there appears to be no adequate surviving Ethiopian Christian art from the Aksumite period. However, the earliest works remaining show a clear continuity with Coptic art of earlier periods. There was considerable destruction of churches and mosques during the Muslim-Christian Civil war of the 16th century. The revival of art after the Muslim-Christian civil war was influenced by Catholic European art in both iconography and elements of style but retained its Ethiopian character. In the 20th century, Western artists and architects began to be commissioned by the government, and to train local students, and more fully Westernized art was produced alongside continuations of traditional church art. Meter Artist Afework Tekle, Eskender Bogosian, Gebrekristos Desta and Agegnehu Engida are some examples of prominent Ethiopia modern artists who produced excellent works of art particularly, painting.

Ethiopian painting, on walls, in books, and in icons, is highly distinctive. It is typified by simplistic figures with large eyes. Colors are usually bright and vivid. Most paintings are religious in nature, often decorating church walls or Bibles. Another important form of Ethiopian art, also related to Coptic styles, is crosses made from wood and metal. They are usually copper alloys or brass, plated (at least originally) with gold or silver.

The Lalibela Cross is an especially venerated hand cross, perhaps of the 12th century, which was stolen from a church in Lalibela in 1997 and eventually recovered and returned by a Belgian collector in 2001. Distinctive forms of crowns were worn in ceremonial contexts by royalty and important noble officials, as well as senior clergy. Royal crowns rose high, with several circular bands, while church crowns often resembled an elongated version of the typical European closed crown, with four arms joined at the top and surmounted by a cross.



Figure 9.2 Lalibela Cross, Afro Ayigeba

Colorful basketry with a coiled construction is common in rural Ethiopia. The products have many uses, such as storing grains, seeds and food and being used as tables and bowls. The Muslim city of Harar is well known for its high-quality basketry, and many craft products of the Muslim minority relate to wider Islamic decorative traditions. Basketry wasn't the only artistry to emerge from the Muslim city of Harar. While Christian illuminated manuscripts dominate literature on religious texts emerging from this region, Ethiopia is also home to a rich history of Islamic illuminated manuscripts.

The Khalili manuscript (a single-volume Quran of 290 folios) is regarded as a representative of the distinct Harari manuscripts. The Khalili Quran has distinct, wide horizontal margins, creating the optics of a script elongated across the page. The wide margins are filled with notes and ornate decorations. Some notes written diagonally to the main text creating a vertical zigzagging effect, and others written in blocking patterns. The colorful gray, gold and red text serve both an aesthetic and functional purpose, each color indicating a different reading of the text or sayings of the prophet.

Festivals

There are various cultures in Ethiopia, each having their own festivities with some similarities and differences. In this section, we will see some of the festivals.

Shadey/Ashenda/Solel

'Ashenda, also known as Ashendiye or Solel, is a colorful girls' festival celebrated in Ethiopia and South Eritrea among the Tigray, Agaw, and Amhara ethnic groups. The holiday started as a religious one, but evolved into a cultural one celebrated by girls

of all religious backgrounds. It commemorates the heavenly ascension of the Virgin Mary following her death. It is typically celebrated between August 16 and 26 every year. Its length varies from three days to one month depending on the location, being celebrated over a longer duration in rural areas and a shorter one in urban areas.

Prior to the celebration, groups of girls make preparations for the holiday by buying new clothes, visiting hairdressers, preparing drums, and harvesting the distinctive “Ashenda” grass (which will be tied around their waists for the celebration).



Figure 9.3 Ashenda, Ashendiye or Solel

On the first day, the Ashenda, Ashendiye, or Solel, girls gather together and make the journey to their local Church of St. Mary (or any other Orthodox Tewahedo Church in the community), playing music and dancing. They then go around the entire village, expressing their thanks to each household in the community. The Ashenda girls spend around 20 minutes at each house, entertaining families, and themselves, before being given farewell, usually with gifts of money, food, or drink. After the door-to-door celebrations, the Ashendiye or Solel girls find a suitable field in or near the village, spending anywhere from a day to a week dancing and playing in the field while passing men are urged to provide gifts of money. All money and gifts collected over the course of the celebration are then donated to a charity, the Church or other events. The Ashenda holiday is named after the long, thin ‘Ashenda’ grass which girls tie to hang down from their waists in a fashionable pattern. The Ashenda grass has come to symbolise the cultural festival, as dancing girls move their waists, causing the leaves to shake in an eye-catching manner.

Timket (Ethiopian Epiphany)

The Ethiopian Epiphany is a colorful festival celebrated all over Ethiopia to commemorate the baptism of Jesus Christ by John the Baptist in the River Jordan. The commemoration starts on the eve of the main festival on January 18. The eve is known as Ketera, which means blocking the flow of water for the blessing of the celebrants. On the eve of Ketera, people escort their parish church tabot (replicas of the Ark of the Covenant) to Timket-Bahir (a pool, river or artificial reservoir), transported by a priest of the parish and accompanied by a great ceremony. The people spend the night attending night-long prayers and hymn services, including the Eucharistic Liturgy. Hundreds of thousands participate in the actual festival on the following day, January 19. The celebration starts early in the morning with pre-sunrise rituals. These are followed by the sprinkling of the blessed water on the congregation as well as other ceremonies. At around 10 a.m., each tabot begins its procession back to its respective church, involving an even more colorful ceremony with various traditional and religious songs.

Meskel (The Founding of the True Cross)

The festival of Meskel is celebrated across Ethiopia on 26 September to commemorate the unearthing of the True Holy Cross of Christ. Celebrations begin with the building of the Demera bonfire – a conical bonfire of poles surrounded by bundles of branches and torches, decorated with green grass and Ethiopian seasonal flowers including the yellow flower known as Adey Abeba, symbolizing the New Year. Hundreds of thousands of people from diverse communities flock to the square as colorfully dressed priests chant hymns and prayers and perform their unique rhythmic dance in front of the pyre. At the climax, the patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church lights the bonfire. Meskel is celebrated nationwide regardless of age, gender, language or ethnicity. Participants are believed to receive spiritual rewards from the celebration and blessings from the Holy Cross. Local churches play a key role in coordinating communities and safeguarding the element. The festival is also a time when families get together and migrant workers return home – reunions that result in the inflow of money, information, and new ideas from urban centers to rural areas. Prior to the celebration, personal quarrels and social disagreements must be resolved. In this way, Meskel is an occasion for Ethiopians to promote their spiritual life through reconciliation, social cohesion and peaceful coexistence. Meskel was registered by UNESCO as a World Heritage in September 2019.



Figure 9.4 Meskel, the founding of the ‘True Cross’ Celebration

In addition to the Meskel festivity, which is celebrated in September, there are also similar festivals in southern Ethiopia which are celebrated in the same month and are beginnings of a new year. For instance, the Gamo and Hadiya have the Maskala and the Yahode festivals respectively.

The Gifaataa Festival

The Wolaita people have their own calendar system. They used to celebrate the end of old year and the beginning of New Year by a festival called ‘Gifaataa’ (the first month of the New Year). The aim of Gifaataa celebration is to give praise to the Lord for replacing strong humid and rainy season by warm and bright season. The Wolaita people celebrate the ceremony with different traditional arts, dances, and music. In addition, the festival gives young people an opportunity to get a marriage partner. Furthermore, the time is considered as a month of peace-making or resolving conflicts among individuals or groups. For the consumption of annual festivity, the people usually save money in cash and in kind until the next ‘Gifaataa’.



Fig. 9.5 Gifaataa Festival of the Wolaita

Irrecha

Brainstorming Questions

- » What is the *Irrecha* festival? Which people of Ethiopia are the owners of *Irrecha*?
- » Discuss in group about the *Irrecha* ceremony and tell the result of your discussion to your friends

Irreecha is the thanksgiving holiday of the Oromo people in Ethiopia. The Irreecha festival is celebrated every year at the beginning of Birraa (spring), the new season after the dark and rainy winter season. The thanksgiving is celebrated at sacred lakes in the Oromia regional state, particularly in Hora Harsadi, Bishoftu. In 2019, the festival was celebrated in the nation's capital, Addis Ababa, without abandoning the celebration in Bishoftu.

The Oromo people celebrate Irreecha not only to thank Waaqa (God) but also to welcome the new season of plentiful harvests after the dark and rainy season is over. At Irreecha festivals, friends, family, and relatives gather and celebrate with joy and happiness. Irreecha festivals bring people closer to each other and make social bonds.

Fiche Chambalala

Fichee-Chambalaalla is a New Year festival celebrated among the Sidama people. According to the oral tradition, Fichee commemorates a Sidama woman who visited her parents and relatives once a year after her marriage, bringing buurisame, a meal prepared from false banana, milk, and butter, which was shared with neighbors. Fichee

is a unifying symbol of the Sidama people. Every year, astrologers determine the correct date for the festival, which is then announced to the clans. Communal events take place throughout the festival, including traditional songs and dances. Every member participates, irrespective of age, gender, and social status. On the first day, children go from house to house to greet their neighbors, who serve them buurisame. During the festival, clan leaders advise the Sidama people to work hard, respect and support the elders, and abstain from cutting down indigenous trees, begging, indolence, false testimony, and theft. The festival therefore enhances equity, good governance, social cohesion, peaceful co-existence, and integration among the Sidama clans and the diverse ethnic groups in Ethiopia. Fiche Chembelela was registered by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site in September 2019.



Fig. 9.6 Fiche Chambalala Celebrations

Egalitarian Democracies

In Ethiopia, there were egalitarian democracies. In this regard, the Oromo socio-political and military institutions are a good example of democratic practices in Ethiopia long before the advent of the western idea of democracy to Africa. But the Oromo were not the sole Ethiopian ethnic group to have such indigenous institutions with some elements of democracy.

Activity 9.4

1. Why the Gada system is not as strong as it was before a century?

The Luwa System of Sidama

Luwa is one of the Sidama cultural institutions that is still practiced by the society. It is a mechanism of mentoring, training, and initiation that enables the youth to take up multifold social, economic, cultural, ritual, and political roles. In the system, males make participation to get social status, greatness in rank, and a transition to efficient

elderliness. Moreover, it is an institution in which each male member gives administrative and social services to society. It is most probable that this system might have been adapted from the Oromo's gada system.

Luwa is a generational class or age-set system that serves as an instrument for transforming generational leadership. It is administered by an age system where each grade rotates every eight years. The Luwa system has social, cultural, political, and military dimensions and passes through five generational cycles, revolving approximately every eight years. Therefore, one full cycle of Luwa is forty years. The five cycles are Fulasa, Darara, Mogisa, Wawasa, and Hirbora. Luwais is administered by democratic rules and principles, and its leader is known as the gadana. (The deputy of gadana is called jalawa. The Sidama have an indigenous defense system, which is organized under the Luwa system.



Fig. 9.7 The Luwa assembly of the Sidama

Brainstorming Questions

- » What is the Dagu system?
- » What do you know about the people of Afar?

Dagu of Afar

Dagu can be taken as the “Internet of the Afar”. The people of Afar, particularly the dominant pastoral majority, lead a lifestyle characterized by a communal social structure where an individual exhibits a considerable sense of communality intertwined with autonomy and self-esteem, whose co-existence seems to contrast. Individuals’ autonomy and self-esteem are characterized by the possession of ample livestock and the exercise of power through public oratory.

As a culturally trusted medium, Dagu might be considered “journalism by the people

and for the people,” to use the old political cliché. It is a very culturally valued means of information exchange, commonly among each other and, at times, with the world different from their well-defined territory. For the Afars, Dagu is their journalism, where every Afar plays the role of a journalist, while the elderly particularly play the role of an editor, applying their canny skills and strategies of information seeking and testing as they have learned from rich life experiences. Such ethnic members’ tendency to strive to hunt for new information, basically in response to discharging communal responsibilities, and the dynamic nature of information exchange in terms of pace and reliability, makes Dagu a “wireless network” readily available to pass anything factual and tested through.

Brainstorming Questions

- » Which heritages of Ethiopia are registered by UNESCO as World Heritage Site?
- » What is the significance of getting our heritage sites listed as world heritage sites by UNESCO?

UNESCO Registered Heritages of Ethiopia

Tiya Stone Erections

The Tiya stones are part of an archaeological site located in central Ethiopia, in an area known as the Gurage Zone. A total of 46 large, decorated Tiya megaliths have been declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Although construction of such megaliths is an ancient tradition in Ethiopia, Tiya stones are fairly recent, dating back to sometime between 10 and 15 centuries. Remarkably, little is known about Tiya Stele beyond descriptions of their physical appearance. These large monuments likely had some cultural significance when erected, but their meaning remains unclear today, and very few efforts have been made towards understanding their meanings and significance. The erected stones of Tiya are mainly places of cemetery. In some tomb quarters, there were still preserved grave goods, such as pottery, bovine bones, beads, and iron objects. They are usually placed separately from the body, above the pit that holds the individual.

There is information that several bodies had been found which had been carbon dated at between 12 and 14 centuries. All appear to have been warriors killed in battle. The layout of stones certainly gives the impression of a row of head stones and

graves beyond them. Many are carved with what are clearly swords, but other motifs are less clear-suggestion for the commonly occurring fountain-like shape is that it is a false banana tree-a significant plant in Ethiopia, providing all year round flour and leave for houses etc. The prospects all around are totally rural, and the site itself is covered by long grass. In September 1980, the Tiya was registered by UNESCO as World Heritage Site.

Jegol Ginb of Harar

The fortified historic town of Harar is located on a hilltop in the eastern extension of the Ethiopian highlands, about 526 kilometers from Addis Ababa. According to tradition, the town got its name from Sheikh Abadir, a man who is said to have come from Arabia in the 10th century. The wall surrounding the town, commonly called Jegol, was built during the 16th century. This wall is still intact and is the symbol of the town and its inhabitants. During the period between the 16th and 19th centuries, Harar was noted as a centre of trade and Islamic learning. The local culture also flourished during this period. In the 17th century, Harar became an independent emirate until the Egyptians occupied it for a decade from 1875 to 1885. Eventually, Negus Menilek of Shewa incorporated it into the Ethiopian Empire in 1887.



Figure 9.8 The wall of Harar (Jegol)

According to UNESCO, the old town of Harar is considered “the fourth city of Islam”, with 82 mosques, three of which date from the 10th century, and 102 shrines. The inhabitants of Harar represent several different Afro-Asiatic-speaking ethnic groups, both Muslim and Christian, including Oromo, Somali, Amhara, Gurage, Tigray and others. Nevertheless, in the walled section of the town, the indigenous Harari are

predominant. Despite this difference, however, Harar is usually regarded as a place of peaceful co-existence and tolerance. It was perhaps this reality that enabled Harar to win the UNESCO medallion as a city of peace.

The fortified historic town of Harar and its surroundings are enriched with tremendous cultural treasures. As described earlier, the Jegol wall that surrounds the old town of Harar is an important element to mention here. The wall has five traditional gates, namely: Asadin Beri, Asum Beri, Argob Beri, Bedro Beri, and Sufat Beri. The 16th century wall of Harar was built to defend against a possible attack by the Oromos. The other structure is the Indian House, built by Indian merchants who came to Harar after 1887. It is also called the “Rimbaud House,” named after Arthur Rimbaud, a French poet who lived in Harar for ten years from 1881 to 1891. The traditional houses constitute other cultural sites in Harar. They comprise three rooms on the ground floor and service areas in the courtyard. Their inside parts are decorated with colorful basketry and textiles.

There are also many other cultural attractions in and around Harar, as described below. The handicrafts of the Harari people, which include weaving, basket making, and book binding, are impressive. The colorful traditional costume of Harari women is also attractive. Another important aspect of the cultural attractions in Harar is the fact that hyenas seem to be tamed. The hyena men that give meat to the hyenas with their hands and mouths are attractive. The Harar Jugol and the Fortified Historic Town were registered by UNESCO as World Heritage Sites in August 2006.

The Rock-Hewn Churches of Lalibela and the castles of Gondar are other examples of marvelous Ethiopian immovable tangible heritage sites that are well-known not only locally and nationally but also at the international level. Both the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela and the roal castles of Gondar were registered by UNESCO as world heritage sites in 1978 and 1979 respectively.

Konso's Tracing

The Konso Cultural Landscape is a 55-square-kilometer arid property of stone-walled terraces and fortified settlements in the Konso highlands of Ethiopia. It constitutes a spectacular example of a living cultural tradition stretching back 21 generations (more than 400 years) adapted to its dry, hostile environment.



Figure 9.9 Konso hillside terracing

Agriculture was and remains to be the major economic activity of the Konso. Farmers practice a balanced and integrated system of specialized agricultural technology. The location of mainland Konso within mosquito-infested hot and dry lowlands at the edge of the Great East African Rift Valley led farmers to adopt intensive agriculture. Farmers combined crop production with cattle breeding. At the same time, they adopted soil conservation techniques, notably the construction of terraces, which proved helpful in converting rugged and hilly areas into permanent cultivation. Farmers were also adept at selecting plant genes that withstood harsh climatic conditions. These terraces retain the soil from erosion and create terrace saddles that are used for agriculture. The terraces are the main features of the Konso landscape, and the hills are contoured by stone terraces that could reach, in some places, up to 5 m high. The terrace retention walls are built with heavier blocks at the base. The saddles that are prepared for agriculture are between four and eight meters wide at most places. Such complex agricultural practices enable farmers to produce sufficient food on a small plot of land for their sustenance. Besides agriculture, Konso's economy depended on beekeeping and craftworks. All these activities attest to the ingenuity of local adaptation strategies.

National Parks

The Simen National Park

The Simen Mountain National Park was established in 1969. At the time of its establishment, the park had an area of 220 square kilometers. Simen Mountains National Park protects the western part of the eponymous mountain range, an incised plateau characterized by sheer 1,000 m-high cliffs and rugged pinnacles and buttresses.



Figure 9.10 Partial view of the Simen Mountains

The range includes at least a dozen peaks that top the 4,000 m mark, among them the 4,620 m Ras Dejen, commonly known as Ras Dashen, which is the fourth-highest mountain in Africa. Situated about 100 kms north of Gondar and best assessed from the small town of Debarq, the park is best known for its wonderful scenery, lauded by Rosita Forbes as 'the most marvellous of all Abyssinian landscapes', but it is also the most important stronghold for the endemic Gelada Baboon, Walia Ibex and Abyssinian Wolf, as well as hosting one of the world's densest populations of the spectacular bearded vulture (lammergeier), which is frequently seen at close range at the camp sites. The Simen Mountains National Park was registered by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site in September 1978.

The Bale Mountains National Park

In the 1960's, the present-day site of Bale Mountains National Park (BMNP) was surveyed by two British naturalists and, due to the increasing pressure from pastoralists settling permanently in the area, a boundary was proposed for the park. Following the inception of the Bale Mountains National Park in late 1969, there has been a succession of park wardens (from Ethiopian nationals), initially Peace Corps volunteers until 1973. In the last decade, many pastoralists, agriculturalists, and timber users have moved into the area, and natural resource use has increased extensively throughout the park.

The Bale Mountains National Park is universally valuable for several reasons, not the least of which is its spectacular scenery. Its high mountains, sweeping valleys, dramatic escarpment, and wide expanses of forest provide visitors unique opportunity. The Bale Mountains ecosystem and its associated diversity of habitats are an internationally recognized centre for endemism and biodiversity, with a quarter

of mammals and 6% of birds in the area being Ethiopian endemics. There are also several rare endemic amphibians. The mountains and forests of this ecosystem are also a critically important water catchment area for southern Ethiopia and western Somalia, supplying perennial water to 12 million people in the lowlands of Ethiopia and Somalia.

Ethiopia currently has nine World Heritage Sites, of which eight are listed under the Cultural Heritage Criteria and only one under the Natural Heritage Criteria. That is the Siemen National Park. Although Ethiopia has rich and important natural heritage sites, the inscription of Bale Mountains National Park on the WHL is underrepresented. The area was declared a national park by the Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organization and has been managed as a protected area since then. A serious attempt should be made to get the Bale Mountains National Park registered by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site. So far, the Bale Mountains National Park is not yet registered as a World Heritage Site.

Danakil Depression

The Danakil Depression is a plain lying in the north of the Afar Region of Ethiopia. The area is often referred to as the cradle of humanity. In addition, Afar is one of the hottest places on Earth in terms of its annual average temperatures. It is 100 metres below sea level, and hence it is one of the lowest places on earth. The area is characterized by both hot springs and active volcanos. Today, the Danakil Depression is one of the most popular tourist destinations in the country.

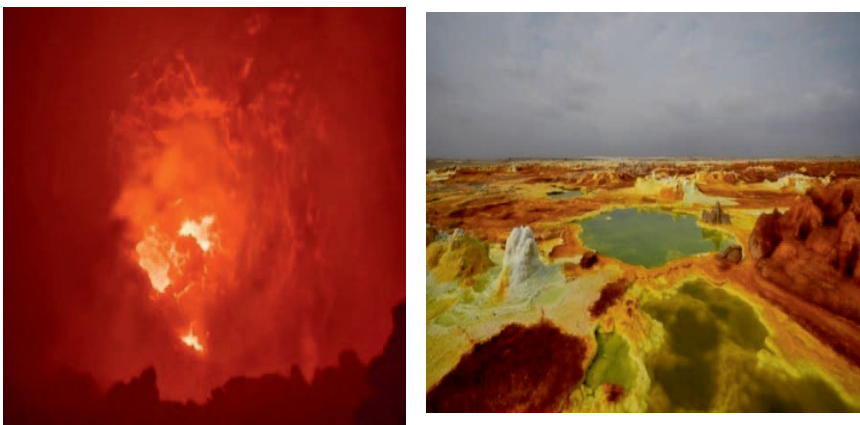


Figure 9.11 A) Erta Ale, the most active volcano B) Danakil Depression hot springs

Unit Summary

Indigenous knowledge, also named traditional knowledge or local knowledge, is the knowledge systems and practices that people in each community have developed outside the formal educational system over centuries of experimentation in an effort to cope with their own agro-ecological and socio-economic environments. Indigenous knowledge is local, unique, adaptive, cumulative, holistic, humble, intergenerational, invaluable, irreplaceable, moral, relative, responsible, spiritual, and valid. Ethiopia is very rich in different indigenous knowledge systems in such areas as agriculture, architecture, medicine, cottage industry, philosophy, conflict resolution, etc. Ethiopia is a country with tremendous indigenous knowledge. Ethiopia is also the home of multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-religious people. Ethiopia is rich in natural and man-made heritage sites. The heritage of Ethiopia is both tangible and intangible.

Although it is often said that Geez literature is dominated by the Bible, in fact, there are many medieval and early modern original texts written in the Geez language. Most of the literature in Geez is related to the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church. In addition to the Geez literature, there are also important Arabic-language written materials in the Muslim learning centers of Ethiopia.

The medieval kingdom of Dawuro was able to build defensive dry stone walls and dig defensive ditches in the 16th and 18th centuries. The motivation for these activities might have been the need to protect the territory against the neighboring arch-enemies, Ahmed Gragn's war, the Oromo population expansion, or pastoralist pressure. The walls are locally called the Kati Halala Keela. They are dry stone walls constructed without using any joining materials. There are various cultures in Ethiopia, each having their own festivities with some similarities and differences. The Ashenda, Ashendiye, or Solel, the Irreecha ceremony, and Fichée-Chambalaalla are some of the colorful festivals celebrated in Ethiopia. The Luwa institution, which is one of the Sidama cultural institutions still practiced by society, The Dagu information sharing system can be taken as the "Internet of the Afar". The people of Afar, particularly the dominant pastoral majority, lead a lifestyle characterized by a communal social structure where an individual exhibits a considerable sense of communality intertwined with autonomy and self-esteem, whose co-existence seems to contrast.

There are a number of heritage properties in Ethiopia that are registered by UNESCO

as World Heritage Sites or properties. These UNESCO registered heritages in Ethiopia include the obelisks of Aksum, the Tiya Stone erections, Jegol Gimb, the Rock Hewn Churches of Lalibela, the Tracing of Konso, the castles of Gondar, Timiqet (the celebration of Ethiopian Epiphany), Meskel (celebration of the founding of the True Cross), the Oromo Gada system, and the Fiche Chembelela system of the Sidama people.

Unit Review Exercises

Instruction I- True or False Questions

1. The Irrecha ceremony is registered by UNESCO as a World Heritage Property.
2. Timket and Meskel are registered by UNESCO as World Heritage Properties.
3. Heritages should be preserved even after their designation as World Heritage Sites by UNESCO.
4. There is some valuable heritage in Ethiopia that has not yet been registered by UNESCO.
5. Saint Mariam of Zion of Aksum is believed to be the first Church in Ethiopia.

