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# History text book for grade 10


HISTORY STUDENT TEXTBOOK GRADE 10
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# HISTORY STUDENT TEXTBOOK GRADE 10

HISTORY

STUDENT TEXTBOOK
GRADE 10

Revised Edition

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# UNIT ONE: DEVELOPED CAPITALISM AND COLONIALISM IN THE 19th CENTURY

This unit focuses on the advance of capitalism in Europe and the U.S.A. It also deals with issues of nationalism by treating the unification of Italy, Unification of Germany and the consolidation of the national unity of the U.S.A through the American Civil War. The rapid industrial development in Europe and the USA, stimulated by the progress of science and technology is also covered. The economic, social and political effects of the Industrial Revolution are treated. The age of colonialism is also covered in the unit. The driving forces behind European colonialism, rivalries among colonial powers and their cooperation in the partition of Africa are dealt with.

Objectives

**After** studying this unit, you will be able to:

- explain how Italians and Germans managed to form united national states, and the effect there'of.
- analyze the causes, course and consequence of the civil war in the United Slates of America.
- describe the consequence of the Industrial Revolution, and its impact on Europe and the rest of the world. *
- analyze the development of industrial capitalism in Europe, and as how it paved the way for colonial rivalries, conflict and scramble for Africa

1

# Development of Capitalism in Europe and the U.S.A

- Nationalism

In Grade Nine you have learned about the numerous inventions that appeared in England in the second half of the 18th century. These inventions initiated the Industrial Revolution. Now, we shall turn to the second phase of the Industrial Revolution in the 19lh century Europe and the USA.

Features of the Industrial revolution at this stage were:

- The substitution of steel in place of iron as the basic industrial material.
- The replacement of coal by gas and oil as the principal source of power, and the use of electricity as a major form of industrial energy.
- The development of automatic machinery and high degree of specialization
- The radical changes in transportation and communication.
- The spread of industrialization to Europe and the USA.

Steel production increased in quantity and quality during the 19th century. In 1856, Henry Bessemer invented a machine that could eliminate impurities from liquid iron and produce steel. The Bessemer machine (container) for boiling iron, allowed steel to be manufactured quickly and cheaply. Steel became the main metal for machine building and other purposes.

Key Concepts

Ballot right

Colonialism

Hegemony

Imperialism

Innovation

Liberal democracy

Nation State Revisionism Revolution Scientific socialism Universal suffrage Utilitarian

2

Mention some of the uses of steel.

Discuss with any driver about diesel engine and turbine

The other major innovation during the 19‘h century was the invention of steam turbine. Electricity also came into practical use in steam engine. In 1831, Michael Faraday studied the principles of dynamo and electricity. In the 1870's he used it for the manufacture of motors. In 1879, Rudolf Diesel invented the diesel engine, and modem ships and automobile industries began to use it extensively.

Following these major innovations railroads, canals and steamships became the dominant means of transportation. The digging of canals for inland transportation started in England and the U.S.A. In the USA, the Erie canal which linked the Hudson River and New York with the Great Lakes was completed in 1825. Jt made New York, the commercial capital of the USA. The construction of the Suez canal was completed in 1869. The construction of the Suez canal linked the Mediterranean and the Red sea. It reduced the time and energy required to travel to the South east Asia via the cape of Good Hope. The construction of Panama canal was completed in 1914. It connected the Atlantic and Pacific oceans and enabled the USA to

have easy access to the East. The Russians also made an extensive canal construction linking the Volga and Don rivers and the Baltic and white seas. In line with this the steam engine revolutionized ocean voyages.

ACTIVITIES 1.1

• What are the economic significance of Canal?

- What is the difference between sailing ship and steam ship?
- Show the location of the Suez and Panama canals on a map.
- What are the advantages of railways to nation building? Relate it with The case of Ethiopia.

3

Railroad building had been increased tremendously during the 19th century. In 1825 the first rail way was built in England. It was driven by George Stephenson. In England rail way lines had increased extensively from 1825 to 1890. In Brussels, Paris and Madrid railways radiate from the center of the cities linking different regions. The USA, Canada and Russia showed similar progress. In Africa the Cape to Cairo railway was designed to strengthen British imperialism.

There was a revolution in other communication facilities. In 1840 the, first postal system was started in England. By 1870 the Universal Postal Union was created to facilitate the passage of mails from one country to another. The first telegraph company was formed in 1846 and the Western Union Company was organized in 1856. An American Alexander Graham Bell invented telephone in 1876. Wireless telegraphy was invented by an Italian. Guglislmo Marconi in 1896.

Until the second half of the 19lh century England had been the leading industrial nation. But since 1830 British industrial technology was transferred to Europe and the USA. In the 1870's Japan followed the trend of western industrialization.

The Industrial Revolution:

- Changed peoples way of life it brought about economic, social and political changes.

- Enabled industrial Europe to dominate the world in the 19,n century.

1. Debate on the advantages and disadvantages of science and technology.

2. Identify innovations introduced into Ethiopia during the 19u' and beginning of 20th century that could be associated w ith the Industrial ^ Revolution. ^

4

Following the Industrial Revolution:

- Industrial capitalism emerged as the dominant feature of the age. This age of business significantly changed social life.

- Urbanization was accelerated. This brought about movement of people from rural areas to urban centers.

- The division of the society into two basic social classes, the bourgeoisie and the working class (proletariat) was further strengthened. To get more profit the capitalists employed women and children who were extremely exploited. The bad working conditions, poor payments, and the fear of losing one's job forced workers to struggle for their rights. Hence, workers in different industrial countries were involved in different forms of struggle. Trade unions (workers' organizations) were established.

In England a group of skilled workers known as the Luddites destroyed the machines they were working with, in order to express their grievances. On the other hand some English workers believed that their demands could get answer by presenting petitions to the

English Parliament. To this end they collected the signatures of their followers and presented their demands to Parliament. Thus, their movement came to be known as the Chaitist movement.

Another form of movement during this period was what is known as Scientific socialism. One of the most famous founders of scientific socialism was Karl Marx (1818 -1883). Marx's socialism is also known as Marxism or communism. K.Marx and his communist supporter and colleague. Frcdcrich Engels, wrote the "Communist Manifesto" in 1848. Marx concluded that violent struggle between capitalists and workers will continue and the final victory will be for workers.

4 Industry creates military power and financial strength. Thus,

industrialized states have come to dominate the world. The 5

colonization of more overseas territories, during the second half of the nineteenth century, was the outcome of the Industrial Revolution. The imperialism of th£ $19^{th}$ century was interested in the acquisition of territories in less advanced areas of the world. Industrial Europe needed colonies so as to use them as sources of raw materials, markets for its manufactured goods and place of settlement for its overgrowing population. The acquisition of colonies was also considered prestigious. By 1914 seven European countries came to own 115 colonies that were three times more populous and thirty times larger in area than themselves.

- Formation of nation-states in Europe facilitated industrial development. This was true of Germany and Italy. Nation-states are states composed of people having common language, culture, historical tradition, etc.

- The ideas of liberalism, democracy, and pluralism spread all over the industrialized world.

Liberalism as explained by John Stuart Mill (1806 - 1873) was the belief in free speech, criticism, freedom of worship and people's control over the

state. Supporters of liberalism believed that people ought to enjoy freedom in an orderly society governed by law. They believed that people must be educated to accept rules of conduct and use the laws in society for better human life.

The Industrial Revolution brought about drastic changes in the mode of production. But equity in the distribution of national wealth did not exist. Many liberal intellectuals and workers' organizations demanded for reforms. In response, western governments enacted series of laws to alleviate working conditions. England passed laws reducing working hours; prohibited the employment of child labour, introduced health, sanitation and safety devices in factories.

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In Germany, the government of the first security laws for workers n compensation in the event of accident on job, old-age pensions, for sickness and unemployment insurances was drafted. Further more, in most west European states, municipalities began to pro nde cheap housing facilities. City governments also started providing for free garbage disposal and furnished gas, electricity and water at low cost.

In urban centers workers cooperatives were established to form companies that could involve in the sale of stocks. They eventually grew into manufacturing commodities. In agriculture, farmers organized cooperatives. This helped them to have easy access to buying seeds and fertilizers without the involvement of the middlemen.

ACTIVITIES 1.2

**V**

Who was responsible for garbage disposal in 19$^{th}$ century Europe? What are the advantages of cooperatives? Discuss in-group citing examples from your locality if there is any.

What kind of major changes did the Industrial Revolution bring

about in the economic, social and political spheres?

This period (1870-1914) was characterized by the spread of education. Before 1860, the vast majority of Europeans were illiterate and practically unschooled. Liberal democracy granted universal male suffrage to the lower classes. It became imperative to introduce basic education to enlighten the masses to exercise its rights. In England Education Bill was passed in 1870 by which school attendance increased from one million to four million in ten years. Similar decrees were passed in other west European countries. Thus by 1900 great number of people in France, Britain, Germany, Holland, Switzerland and Scandinavia could read and write.

7

A key feature of democracy under capitalism is pluralism. Pluralism is the existence of a number of groups that belong to different political outlodks. religious beliefs or different races in a specific society. It is a principle which suggests that these different groups can live together peacefully. Pluralism in politics means the existence of a multi-party political system

In the 19$^{th}$ century, industrial capitalism paved the way for the development of nationalism. Nationalism advocates common goal for national interests, unity and independence from foreign mle. It makes people feel that they belong to a nation, a larger community with mutual interests and institutions. It is also a pride in one's own country and a desire for its success.

Nationalism may take various forms. A campaign to free one’s country from foreign control is one form of nationalism. Another form of nationalism m a desire to make one's' nation united and strong. A plan to make one's country superior over others is still another form. After 1815, people in certain areas of Europe gradually transferred their loyalty to the national ideal of a country.

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Map 1 The Unification of Italy Under Piedmont-Sardinia

Unification of Italy

Italy had once been the center of the Roman Empire. It had also been the place where the Renaissance culture developed After the Great Explorations and Discoveries, Italian famous cities of Venice, Naples, Florence, Rome and Genoa lost their importance because of the decline in Mediterranean trade. This decline came about as a result of the shift of trade routes from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic shores.

Following Napoleon's defeat representative from the victorious nations and France met at the Congress o[r] Vienna in 1815 The congress reshaped the map of

Europe to something like it was before the Napolonic wars. The Kingdom of Sardina which also included piedmont was recognized as an independent Italian state. Venetia and Lombardy became Austrian provinces. Parma, Modena, Lucca and Tuscany were restored to local princes. The states of the Catholic Church were restored to the Papacy (Papal States) and ruled directly *by* the pope. Naples and Sicily, often known as the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, were restored. Under local rulers, dominated by Austria.

Napoleon had provided an impetus for the Italian and German unifications He created two republics in Italy (Cisalpine and Ligurain). He also consolidated the German principalities into the Federation of the Rhine. But the congress of Vienna disintegrated them and by doing so delayed the unification of Italy and Germany as nation states, i he presence of foreign powers like France and Austria aroused national feelings but hindered unification for the time being. The negative position and role of the Papacy worked against unification, too. Church leaders believed a United Italy would end the Pope's rule over the Papal States.

Unification and independence movements in Italy were started by educated Italians before 1848. Giuseppe Mazzini (1805 - 1872) organised the Young Italy movement, a movement aimed at creating a democratic republic in-Ualy. Mazzini •inspired young Italians through his poems, by reviving memories ot&ttie glories of Ancient Rome, the great contributions of the Renaissance to the world culture and

■1

called for a rebirth, (a "risorgimento"). Mazzini visualized an Italian republic with its stable government and strong army like Prussia.

In 1848 there were wide spread revolutionary movement in many parts of Europe. The Revolutionary movements in Italian states, during the 1848, revived Italian nationalism. Moreover, Piedmont-Sardinia got its Constitution in 1848. This later became the Constitution of the Italian Kingdom.

Fig. 1 Giuseppe Garibaldi Fig 2. Count Camilo Cavour

How was Italian Unification Realized?

s

The unification of Itaiy went through several stages. Before unification, there had been eight separate petty states in Italy. Piedmont-Sardinia took the lead in the movement to unify Italy. The skillful diplomacy of Count Camilio Benso de Cavour (1810 - 1861), the Prime Minister of Piedmont - Sardinia, greatly Contributed to the unification of Italy. Cavour allied with France and Britain in the Cremean war (1853-1856) against Russia. In 1859, in a short conflict with Austria, France came to the side of Cavor and helped him regain Lombardy and united it with Piedmont. Popular uprisings of the Young Italy in the northern states of Parma, Modena, Tuscany and Papal Romagna resulted in the unification of these states with Piedmont-Sardinia in 1859. Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807 - 1882)

1. Did the Roman Catholic Church support Italian unification? Why?

2. Does the presence of foreign powers in a state hinder national unity? How?

1)

led a military campaign against Francis II (1859 1861), the r uler of the Kingdom of the two Sicilies in 1860. Garibaldi's force known as the "Red Shirts" or the "Thousands". His successful campaigns crushed every resistance to unification in the south. Naples and Sicily were joined with Piedmont-Sardmia and the kingdom of Italy was proclaimed in Turin in 1861. In the Austro Prussian War of 1866, Italy allied with Prussia got Venetia frorti Austria, by the peace agreement after the war. Only one foreign power, France, remained with its troops still stationed in Rome. Bismarck's success in the Franco - Prussian Wat of 1870 ended the reign of Napoleon III and his Second Empire (1852-1870) in France This success of Prussia completed the unification of Germany on one hand and forced French troops to withdraw from Rome. This final event completed Italian

unification. The capital city of united Italy was transferred from Turin to Rome.

1. How did Bismark Unite Germany?

2 What is real politics? How did Bismark Apply?

Unification of Germany

In the first-half of the 19th century, the Germans were as divided as the Italians. They lived under several different states. There had been several factors that preceded the unification of Germany.,These included:

- The wars of Napoleon Bonaparte arose German national feeling. The Congress of Vienna tried to restore stability and redrew the political map of Europe. German lands were given back to feudal German princes. The congress kept the German confederation of the Rhine as a loose confederation under Austrian auspices.

- The ideas of liberalism and nationalism developed in due course and favored German unification.

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• The Revolution of 1848 helped Prussia, the future nucleus for German unification, gain a constitution, although the monarchy and the land owning *Junker nobilii*\ still remained dominant.

Austria dominated the German confederation There was religious dissension between the Protestant north east, and Catholic south. There were also political differences between the autocratic north and the more liberal south. Economic disagreements between an agrarian east, dominated by the Junkers (lands lords) and thr i>ore industrialized west was also a problem to German unification

Austria, which was an important member of the German Confederation, had great influence over and dominated northern German states. She used her dominant position to abolish patriotic German societies. She tried to check

the growth of liberalism and nationalism in Germany through strict control and supervision over the German states. France was against the creation of a united German and strong nation-state that could become a rival to French power in Europe. France had influence over the Catholic German states in the south.

How was Germany United?

German unification was achieved gradually and by different methods. Economic Unity was promoted before political unification was achieved. With Prussia as a nucleus, a customs union called *Zollverein* was set up in 1819. By 1840s the union included most German states, but not Austria. It eliminated tariff timers in the trade among German states. Manufacturers and merchants benefited Tom such a union. This paved the way for political unification.

The systematic elimination of foreign powers facilitated unification This was achieved gradually through diplomacy and wars. Otto Von Bismarck became *Chancellor* of Prussia in 1862 in 1&6&, he started a war agaiDSt Denmark in alliance with Ausfe Formerly Denmark was in control of die two German lands of Holstein and > ■ deswig With Austrian support, Bismarck won the Danish war



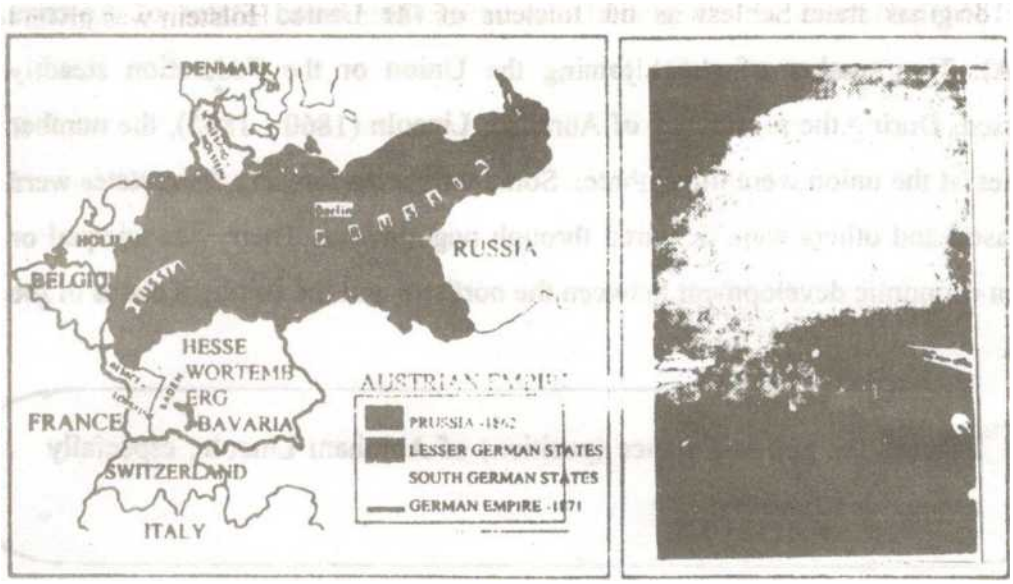
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of (1864) and freed Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark. Holstein was given to Austria, and Prussia gained Schleswig

In the Austro-Prussian War the army of Prussia defeated Austria at the battle of Sadawa in 1866. By the peace treaty after the war, Holstein was given to Prussia- Italy gained Venetia. Austria agreed to dissolve the German Confederation which had been dominated by herself. In 1867, Prussia organized a new German Confederation under her domination.

The last decisive war in the course of German unification was the Franco - Prussian War (1870 - 1871). The issue that sparked off the war was the question of succession to the Spanish throne. A royal relative to the Prussian king was proposed to ascend to the Spanish throne. France, however, rejected it and Napoleon III sent his ambassador to the Prussian king. The king refused to accept French demands. Emperor Napoieon III declared war on Prussia in 1870. The French forces were defeated by the Prussian army at the battle of Sedan. France was overrun by Prussian forces. The southern German states were able to unite with North Germany, with no fear of France. In January, **1871,** at Versailles (in France). Bismarck proclaimed William 1 as Emperor (Kaiser) of the German Empire. The Treaty of Frankfurt signed after the war in 1871. By this agreement France ceded tl c coal and iron rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. France also agreed to pay a huge war indemnity to Germany. The German army was to stay in France until this war compensation was paid. This treatment by Bismarck humiliated French nationalists.

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Map 2 Ths Unification of Germany Under F10.3 Otto von Bismarck

Prussian leadership

German unification was achieved through "Blood and Iron", as Bismarck planned. This method involved ihc diplomatic skills of Bismarck, wars and economic integration through the customs union. German unification was achieved with Prussia serving as the nucleus. This careful and effective . ihod is often called *realpolitik* which means careful weighing of every factor and without misting the course by sentiment, emotion or by principles in political work.

The American Civil War (1861 - 1865)

What were conditions like in the U.S.A. before the Civil War?

After it won its independence from Britain in 1783, the United States developed economically at a relatively faster rate. The colonists made continuous expansion westwards beyond the Allegheny Mountains. They cultivated new lands, exploited mineral resources and developed their economy. The thirteen <• colonies that became independent from British rule strengthened their union.

IS

These original states served as the nucleus of the United States of America (U.S.A). The number of states joining the Union or the Federation steadily increased. During the picsidcncy of Abraham Lincoln (1860 - 1865), the number of states of the union vveic thi» tv-thrcc. Some territories forming these states weld purchased and others wen acquired through negotiations. There was unequal or uneven economic development between the northern and the $outhematatcs of jhe. union.

What were the Causes of the **American Civil** War?

- There were differences in the level of economic development between the North and South. The North had already started industrial development and used hired labour. Small independent farmers also existed in the North. On the other hand, the South's economy was based mainly on plantation agriculture using slave labour was used to produce cotton and tobacco.

- Political differences emerged between the North and the South on the question of slavery. The north wanted to abolish slavery hence they were* called abolitionists, while the south wanted to preserve it. When the issue became serious the southern states decided separation. Thus, eleven southern states broke away and established the Confederate States of America (C.S.A), but the North wanted to preserve the Union and committed to defend and maintain the supremacy of the US constitution. In March 1861 the unionists declared

f t

war against the separatists. The Confederates were led by Jefferson Davis (1008 - 1889). The Unionists were led by Abraham Lincoln (1809 - 1865), 16* president of US. Lincoln was an ardent opponent of slavery and anti- slavery leader.

Discuss the political stance (position) of Abraham Lincoln, especially as regards to slavery.

16

ACTIVITIES 1.3

What were on the views of the North and those of the Southern states regarding slavery, union, and separation? Discuss

V *S*

The Course of the Civil War

The Confederates scored military victories at the initial stage that is between 1861 and 1863. In 1863 Abraham Lincoln introduced two laws Emancipation Proclamation and the Homestead Law. The Emancipation Proclamation was a law enacted to free slaves in rebel-held territories of the South. The Homestead Law gave the right to a plot of land in the West to whoever was ready to work on it. This allowed slaves to own plots of land in the western part of the United States and cultivate them. I

These laws had the effect of weakening the economic strength of the South. In consequence the military balance changed in favour of the Federal army. The effective military leadership of General Ulysses S.Grant and William T.Sherman along with the dedication of A. Lincoln to the abolitionist cause ended the war in the victory of Unionists. Jefferson Davis was captured and on May 26, 1865 the last

_ _ , . , Fig. 4 Abraham Lincoln ,

Confederate troops surrendered, ihe role

played by the black regiments in the Unionist army is also a contribution worthy of note. These regiments were largely made up of liberated slaves f rom Ihe South.



Fig. 4 Abraham Lincoln

\1

Consequences of the Civil War

- High military casualties
- Agricultural devastation; that led to disease; and starvation in the south.

Social bitterness between the North and the South etc. Slavery was officially abolished.

- Politically the Union was preserved.
- Abraham Lincoln was assassinated at Ford's Theatre in Washington D.C by an agent of the defeated slave owners, named John Wilkes Booth, on 14 April 1865.
- The Civil War, by preserving the national unity, paved the way for the rise of the U.S as a major global power.
- Slavery was abolished, though racial discrimination survived in USA right tip to the 1960s.

## 2. Colonial Rivalries of European Powers

Why did European Powers Colonize Africa?

European colonial penetration into Africa passed through several stages and involved different methods.

The nature of contacts between Europe and Africa changed from time to time depending on the changing interests of the Europeans. Before 1500 Europeans did regard Africa as "Dark Continent". Africa was not explored and well known. The Mediterranean coasts of Africa and some other shores are exceptions to this. When the early Euro -African contacts of the fifteenth century began, the major interest was trade in profitable commodities - gold, ivory, and slaves.

With the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of new powerful nationstates, however, the interests of European powers towards Africa changed



significantly. The new colonial interests of the European powers brought them both into conflict and cooperation among themselves. This was the era

of imperialism or empire- building territorial conquest for exclusive economic

control.

Why was industrial Europe in search of colonies?

Two major developments in Europe of the later nineteenth century arose European interest in the scramble for and partition of Africa.

i. European capitalism (industrial capitalism) in the nineteenth century needed overseas colonies mainly for economic reasons. This was the basic factor at the root of the colonial rivalries among European powers. Industrial Europe needed new sources of raw materials and markets for manufactured goods. Europeans also needed new areas for investment. In Africa there were opportunities to investors i.e. reach deposits of gold, diamonds, copper and other metals, which could be profitably sold in the industrial world. Raw materials were in abundance in Africa. Chance for investment in Africa was higher than Europe because land and labour were cheap.

ii. The emergence of Germany and Italy as newly united nation-states changed the balance of power in Europe. This was followed by international competition. Several European powers wanted to acquire large colonies. For instance, the British were very keen on enlargening their colonial possessions. Indeed, they were so successful at last, that by the end of the nineteenth century they were able to boast of their large empire saying "The sun never sets on the British Empire"

With these driving motives, European powers were in constant rivalry

among themselves. The British intended to build a colonial empire that extended

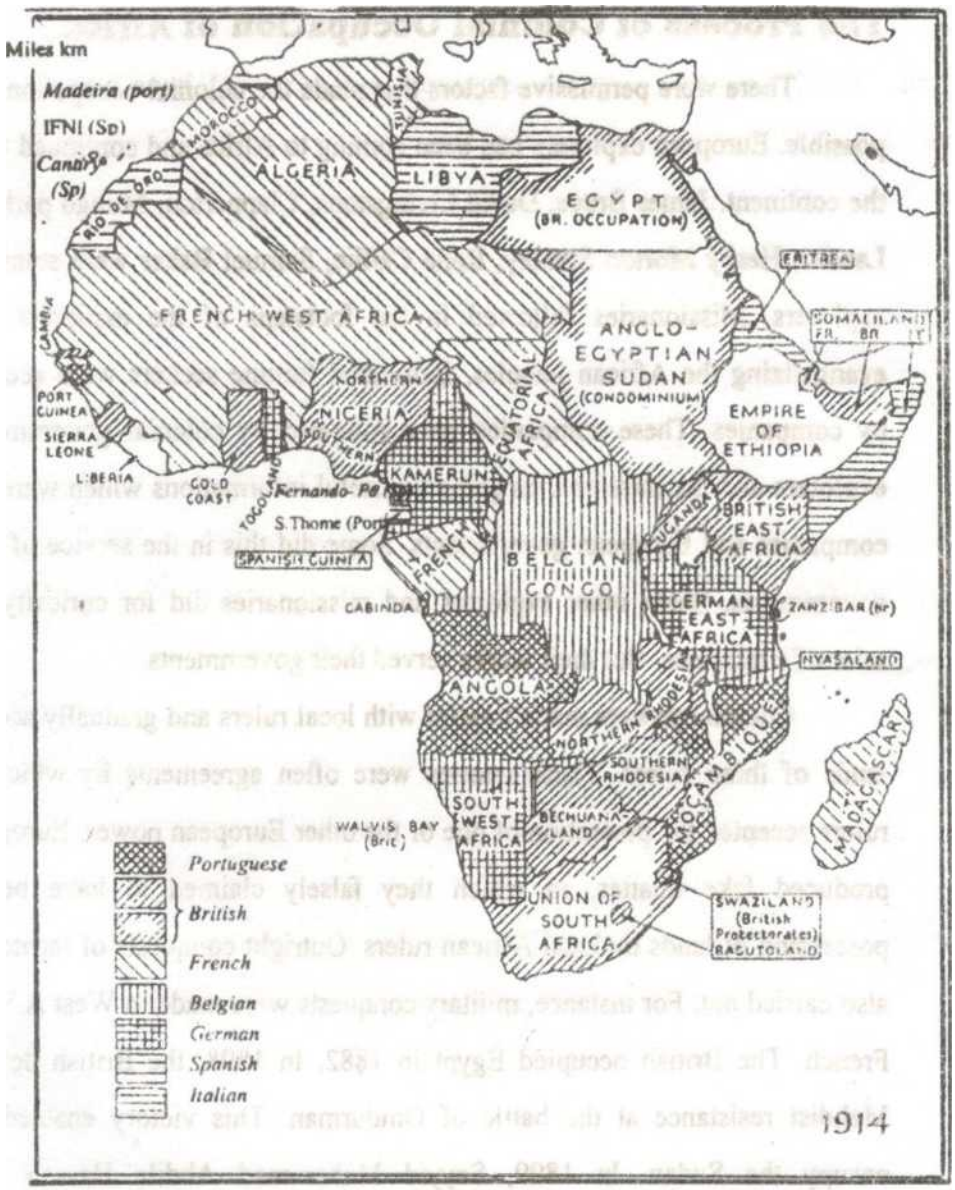
from Cairo in Egypt to Cape Town in South Africa by conquering territories in **;—**

between. The French had a similar ambition and wanted to have a vast colony extending from Djibouti to Dakar in Senegal, from east to west. These two powers had been very near to war at Fashoda, in the Sudan, in 1898. This was known as the Fashoda Incident. The two colonial powers avoided war by making an agreement, and the French forces withdrew, leaving the British to establish their ascendency over the vital waterway.

European Conflict and Cooperation in the Scramble for Africa

The rush for acquiring colonial territories in Africa often referred to as the scramble for Africa. The following were the immediate factors for the start of the scramble for Africa, at the time it did in the second-half of the nineteenth century. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 made Egypt and the nearby countries, center of rivalry between Britain and France. Following the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, Britain and France became bitter rivals in the rest of the continent, each trying to upset the colonial designs of the other. The direct involvement of King Leopold II of Belgium and Germany in the colonization of Africa aggravated the on going rivalry for colonies.

In the Hom of Africa, Italy. France and Britain were involved. In order to check French advance beyond Djibouti, formerly called Obock, the British invited the Italians to control Massawa. After the Egyptians evacuated the port, the Italians occupied it in 1885.




**Map 3 European colonial possessions in Africa 1914.**

The scramble gradually led colonial powers to come to an understanding. There was a need for agreements on how to partition Africa without going to war. Such an agreement among European powers was reached at the November 1884 to 26 February 1885. The Berlin Conference was arranged by Otto von Bismarck, *Chancellor* of Germany, in order to partition Africa peacefully. Berlin conference (1884-5).

2

The Process of Colonial Occupation of Africa

There were permissive factors that made the colonial occupation of Africa possible. European explorers had been coming to Africa and continued to explore the continent. James Bruce, David Livingstone, Clappcrton, Mungo park, Richard Lander, Henry Morton Stanley, Rene Caillie, Samuel Baker were some of these explorers. Missionaries followed in the footsteps of the explorers aimed at evangelizing the African peoples. Individual fortune seekers were accompanied by companies. These companies were followed by colonial governments. The explorers and the missionaries gathered useful informations which were used by companies and European governments. Some did this in the service of European governments. Some other explorers and missionaries did for curiosity and true scientific missions. But their works served their governments.

Colonial powers made treaties with local rulers and gradually acquired the lands of these rulers. These treaties were often agreements by which African rulers accepted the protection of one or the other European power. Europeans also produced fake treaties, in which they falsely claimed to have been given possession of lands by local African rulers. Outright conquests of territories were also carried out. For instance, military conquests were made in West A Sea by the French. The British occupied Egypt in 1882. In 1898, the British defeated the Mahdist resistance at the battle of Omdurman. This victory enabled them to occupy the Sudan. In 1899, Seyyid Muhammad Abdile Hassen organized Somalian combatants and confronted British colonizers. In this encounter, Abdile Hassen called for a united Somalia to stand against the common enemy. Although he was defeated by the British force in 1920, he had laid foundation for a united Somali nation. It was only in Ethiopia that successful resistance against the European colonial conquest was carried out during this period. The European success could be attributed to many factors.

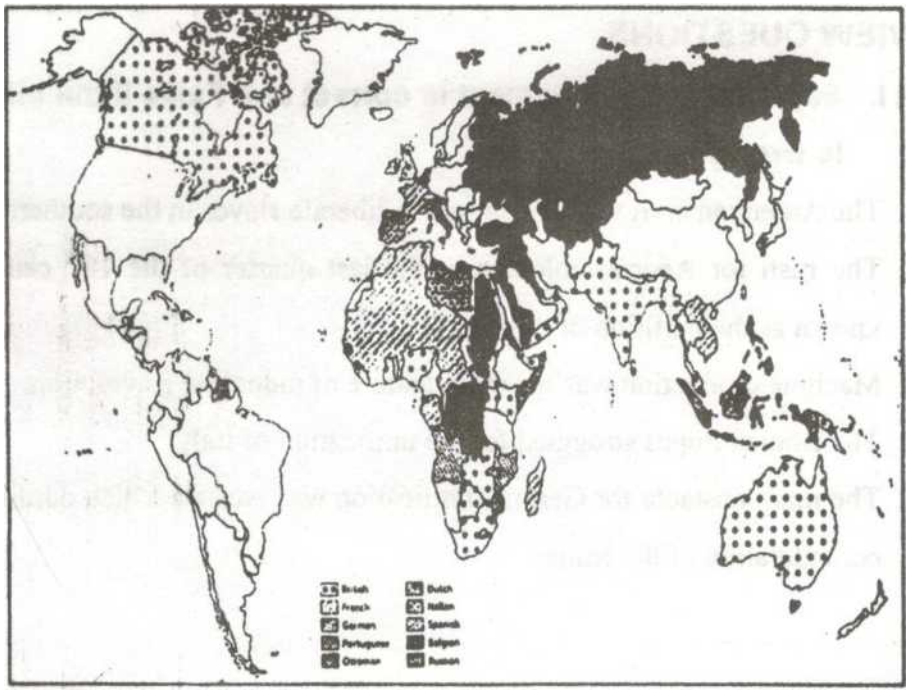


Europeans had modem weapons and trained professional armies. Unlike the Europeans, Africans were. technologically backward and could not

manufacture firearms. They also found it difficult to acquire firearms through purchase. African resistance were not coordinated.

After treaties and military conquests, colonial powers drew African boundaries in line with their own interests arbitrarily and hastily.

European colonial rule denied self-government to Africans European colonizers exploited African mineral and agricultural resources. They used Africans as a source of cheap labour. European colonial rule varied in form. The British made local chiefs obey their wishes often by giving them instructions. The French mainly preferred to give direct orders. The British kind of administration has come to be known as indirect rule, and that of the French kind as direct rule.



Map 4 Colonial powers In the world, 1914



# Summary

The advancement of industrial capitalism m the second half of the 19*C had far reaching effects in the western world. The emergence of the bourgeoma **ad** the proletariat as two distinct classes with different worldviews enhanced social reforms in the western world. Nationalism resulted in the unification of Italy and Germany as nation states and contributed a lot to the industrialization of the theae nations. The ci\i! w ar in America resulted in the integrity of the country and abolished slavery which had inhibited the industrialization of the south. The grm.ih *b* and technology resulted in mass production of commodities.

Wber. markets were sanitated, hurepeans were induced to look for colonies where they could set markets anu opooriunities for investment. Hence by 1914 all of Africa except Ethiopia and Liberia were under colonial rule

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# REVIEW QUESTIONS

Part I. Say True if the statement is correct and False If the ~~sta~~tement Is wrong

1. The American civil war was fought to liberate slaves in the southern states.

2. The rush for African colonies in the last quarter of the 19$^{th}$ century was known as the partition of Africa.

3. Machine production was the main feature of industrial Revolution.

4. The Roman Popes struggled for the unification of Italy

5. The main obstacle for German unification was Austria which dominated the confederation of the Rhine

Part II. Match the following items under column A with those under column B.

A

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **1.** | **Renaissance** | **a)** |
| 2. | Utopia | b) |
| 3. | Utilitarian | c) |
| 4. | Pluralism | d) |
| 5. | Steam engine | e) |
| | | g) |

B

run by electricity

Pleasure for the greater majority

"risorgimento”

ideal

revolutionized production in the 19t$^{h}$ real

multiparty system

Part III. Choose the best answer

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1. European powers colonized Africa to get markets for theif.

a. raw materials c) gas and oil i

b. coal and iron production d) finished commodities

2. The Vienna Congress

a. Consolidated the German states into the confederation of the Rhine

b. restored Italian states to Austria and the Bourbon dynasty of Spain

c. established the union of Italy under the auspices of Austrian

d. approved the unification of Germany and Italy.

e. none of the above

3. Names like ".Ivory coast" "Gold coast" "Slave Coast" coined by the colonizers are generally located in

a. Benadir d) the Congo Basin

b. Swahili coast e) All

c. the Gulf of Guinea

4. Bismarck fought against the French to

a. designate thd Prussian prince as the king of Spain.

b. make William I, emperor of united Germany

c. occupy the Rhine River

d. unite Catholics and Protestant

e. none of the above

25

5. After the Fashoda incident

a. Fiance and Britain fought war in the Sudan.

b. France and Britain made an agreement to partition Africa peacefully.

c. The British occupied Egypt and the Sudan.

d. Britain and France partitioned the Sudan between them selves.

e. East Africa became part of the French empire.

Part IV. Fill In the blank space with correct answers

1. During the Franco- Prussian war, Italy sided with and reclaimed

2. Mazzini was the leader of the

3. What are the signs that indicate the existence of democratic rule in a country?

4. The inventions of steam engine and telegraph revolutionized and

5. was the only state that successfully resisted European colonial conquest during the scramble for Africa.

Part V. Give short answers

1. Railway and telegraph was installed in Ethiopia in the early 20th century.

What are their contributions to the different aspects of the country's development?

2. What were the aims of nationalism in the 19th century[7]?

3. Unification accelerated the rate of industrialization in Germany and Italy.

Discuss the advantage of unity from the point of view of your country.
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# UNIT TWO: THE FORMATION OF THE MODERN ETHIOPIAN EMPIRE (1855-1906)

This unit presents the making of the modem Empire state of Ethiopia whose process of formation was completed by the end of the 19th cen tury.

Objectives

After studying this unit you will be able to:

- identify the main features of the long-distance trpde in the Ethiopia region;
- analyze the interaction among the peoples and states of the E7thiopian region connected with the long distance trade;
- explain the attempts made at the restoration of the power of the central government after the political instability of the Zemene Menafmt;
- explain the different internal and external challenges to the central government during the reign of emperors Tewodors n and Yohannis IV;
- explain the social economic and political factors behind the territon al expansion of Menelik II and the methods he followed to incorporate th e various peoples, nations and nationalities.
- examine the consequences of the incorporation of the different Nations, Nationalities and peoples in the Ethiopia region;

- explain the nature of colonial interest and aggression in Ethiopia in the last quarter of the 19th century.

27

# 2.1. The Ethiopian Long Distance Trade in the 19th Century

*Key Concepts*

- Ajkala
- Autonomy « Barter
- Caravan trade
- Custom posts
- envoy?
- Inland outlets
- Jelaba

*Jabarti

- Luxury
- *NagadrUs*
- *$ afar re*
- imiary life
- Trade routes

What do you suggest about

- the reasons for trading among peoples?
- Is it possible for people to live without a trade interaction? Discuss
- At what stage of human history trade relations had started?

The Nature of Long Distance Trade

Trade as an human activity, has a long history, it was mainly the outcome of sedentary hfe, surplus production and social division of laboui. Basic? $^{M}$v the exchange of goods involve peoples of either the same or different regions

Based on its geographical coverage, and peoples and regions involved, trade can be divided into local trade and long distance trade. The former refers to local exchange of goods mainly among peoples of the same region This kind of trade was conducted at markets usually held weekly on fixed days. The days tor such markets varied from one district to another in order to help people attend different markets

On the other hand, long distance trade involved different markets, peoples, regions and variety of trading items. It was mainly conducted by caravan

merchants who traveled fir and wide distances *mad* traded in Mb Import *mad*

export tent. Long distance trade wee conducted by local and merchants.

ACTXVXTXSS 2.1

1. Identify the role of long distance trade in a aociety?
2. What were the factors .fir the revival of long distance trade in Ethiopia during the 19* century?

There was a revival of long distance trade in the 19* century Ethiopia.

This was due to different factors. First the rising power of the niler of Egypt, Mohammad Ali, in the 1830s resulted in the political stability of the region. This in turn, contributed to the revival of trade in the Red Sea basin and Arabia. As the most valuable items of export along the Red Sea could only be found in the Ethiopian interior, the internal long distance trade of Ethiopia got new stimulus.

Secondly, the conquest of the Caucasus by Russia had closed the supply of

some goods of high demand and concubines to the Ottoman Turks. This resulted in an increased demand for Ethiopian slaves and luxury goods such as civet,

gold and ivory.

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Thirdly, In the 19th century European interest in Ethiopia was revived. This was after about two centuries of Ethiopia's lack of interest in diplomatic relations with Europe. The coining of Europeans into Ethiopia, since the first decade of the 19th century, was part of their commercial competition in the Horn of. Africa.

Since the first decade of the 19" century, European envoys visited the courts of different Ethiopian rulers. The Englishman Henry Salt met die ruler of Tigrai. Ras Woldeselqssie in 180S. His countryman W.C. Harris signed a Treaty

of Commerce and Friendship with King Sable Selassie of Shot in tS41. Two years later, the same king signed a trade treaty with the Frenchman, Rochet dTierricoort. Another Englishman, Walter Plowden, did the same in 1849 wfth *Mas* Ali Q. Farther more, different European nations established their control over a number of the ports of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. An Italian private shipping company bought the port of Assab from local chiefs in 1869. The port was transferred to the government of Italy in 1882. The French controlled the port of Obock in 1862. The British were already in control of Adda since 1839. Incidentally the Ethiopian long distance trade was accelerated by the above foreign intervention. Eventually, however, the

three European nations France, Britain and Italy added further ports and territorial possessions along the Red Sea and Indian Ocean coasts in the 1880s.

The rise of Oromo Monarchical states in the Gibe region was partly the result of the rivival of long distance trade during the 19th century. The resulting political stability they ensured also encouraged caravan traders to travel deep into the interior of the south-western Ethiopian regions in search of export items. The local rulers of the region welcomed merchants and gave them patronage as they paid tax and imported luxury goods for them.

Merchants of the Long Distance Trade

The long -distance trade of the 19th century involved different groups of merchants. The two most dominant merchants were known as the *Jabarti* and the *Afkala.* The Jabarti were Muslim merchants of northern Ethiopia trading as far as the Red Sea Coast The Afkala were from southwestern Ethiopia. By the middle of the 19th century, the *Afkala* dominated the trade of the southwest and surpassed the *Jabarti* in the region. Along the east-west lines of the long- distance trade, Afar and Harari merchants run a brisk trade between Shoa and the ports of Djibouti and the Gulf of Aden respectively. Likewise, Somali and Bonne merchants dominated the trade between southern Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia.

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1. Why was the 19th century long -distance trade dominated more by Muslim than Christian merchants? Compare this situation with the present -day commercial engagement of the two groups in your region.

2. What were the roles of women in the long distance trade? Identify the factors that discourage women's participation in trade.

The long-distance trade of Ethiopia was dominated by Muslim merchants, though one could find some Christian merchants as well. Two factors seemed to have accounted for Muslim predominance in the trade of the 19th century. These are:

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First, Ethiopian long- distance external trade was linked mainly with the Muslim Middle East. This made it easier for Muslim merchants than Christians to deal with their co-religionists.

Secondly, trade as an occupation was sought by Muslims since they did not have as much access to land as the majority of Christians who rather preferred agriculture to trade. For Muslims, trade was also used as one of the mechanisms for expanding their religion.

Caravan merchants usually traveled in-groups, often consisting of up to hundred merchants, for the sake of safety and security. They had leaders of their own. The title of the leaders of merchants was known as *Negadras* (means head of merchants). The Negadrases were responsible for mobilizing the group, fixing the date of departure, choosing camping sites for rest. Settling disputes among merchants and paying taxes at custom posts were also the responsibilities of the Negadrases. Caravan traders consisted entirely of men. Women did not take part in long- distance trade as merchants. But they were involved in local transactions

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Women's role in the long -distance trade was largely helping husbands or parents in packing goods, taking care of stores of goods and preparing provisions for) merchants. Taking over homestead management m the absence of men was also their responsibility.

Caravan tra lers usually started their march each day at dawn and stopped for rest at places where they could find water and pasture. They traveled on foot, though few rich merchants rode mules, horses or camels The distance they had to cover was very long.

Foreign merchants consisting of Greeks, Arabs, Armenians, and Indians dominated the external trade at the ports and in coastal regions In the northwest, Sudanese merchants known as the *Jelaba* played a leading role. The southern trade of Ethiopia linking the country with Somalia and Kenya was mainly dominated by a group of merchants known as the *Saffare.*

Items of Trade

Long-distance trade was based on exchange of both import and export goods. During this period, Ethiopia imported different items from outside. Ethiopian import items of this period included copper, brass, spices, clothes, beads, silk, silver, firearms cartridges etc. The major export items of trade in foe 19$^{th}$ century were ivory, musk, wax, gold, skins and hides, incense, coffee, and, most of all slaves. These were collected and brought to local markets by producers or local merchants who had to sell them to caravan traders in person or through brokers. Though some of these items of trade were available in different regions, the major areas of supply were the regions of southwestern Ethiopia.

32

/T Explain the consequences of trading in ivory and slaves. ^

2. Group Work -Students; would you please visit a market in your locality. Try to register the differe~~n~~t items of trade and identify their place of origin. Identify the group of merchants Selling local and imported goods (by gender, age, nationality)

3. Examine what markets could tcU about the way of life, culture and

technology of a given region. /

. The various items of trade listed above were only those in wider circulation Gold was extracted from such gold-bearing regions in western, southern, south* western and northern Ethiopia. The extraction and export of gold has a very ok! history in Ethiopia. It was mainly extracted by local peoples through panning is

streams.

Musk is a secretion of Civet-Cats. Its main source was the dense forest regions of south-western Ethiopia. It had high demand among the drug and perfrime factories of Europe and the Middle East. The same Ethiopian region waa a mqjor supplier of ivory. However, as ivory was obtained from hunting elephants, it was mainly the class of hunters or warriors that profited most.

Coffee seems to have been indigenous to south-western part of Ethiopia. It grew wild originally, but later it was domesticated with little cultivation. Its domestication is said to have been started in the 15$^{th}$ century, during which it was also introduced to Arabia probably by merchants. Coffee export showed a dramatic increase only in the last quarter of the 19$^{th}$ century, following the rise in the number of consumers abroad.

The other major item of export were slaves, indeed human 'commodities' so to say. Slavery and slave trade had a very old history in Ethiopia. The economics of slavery had two dimensions:

Firstly, slaves served their masters in households and agricultural fields locally.



Secondly, they were sold to merchants to be shipped off mainly to Arabia. The practice continued throughout the 19$^{th}$ century. Every year, thousands of Ethiopian slaves were sent to the Sudan and the Middle East.

Some of the ways through which slaves were acquired were.

- They could be prisoners of war.
- Others were victims of slave-raids.
- Still others were reduced to slavery for failure to pay their debts or tribute.

Slaves could be found in different regions and ethnic groups. However, the major areas of supply were the south-west. The majority of the slaves were young females. Female slaves could be easily captured. They had growing demand in the Arabian markets. Young and beautiful Ethiopian slaves were sought as concubines and wives. Some of them ended up as wives of princes and prominent personalities. Therefore, young slave girls brought higher prices than boys. The price of slaves was also related to age, and physical fitness. The young and strong brought higher prices.

$Z^3$

a. Can you mention some modem social practices in our country'

resembling the $19^{th}$ century trading m young Ethiopians?

b. Explain contributing factors for the expansion of these practices and
suggest solutions.

Tips of cases

Student consider the following public cases that could provoke a discussion in your class. The situation in which

- children below age 14 hired as baby-seaters, house-servants, shep herds weavers, beggars, shop-keepers etc. with a nominal pay and under very severe working conditions. Girls are often exposed to rape and abduction

- Police reports on inhuman practice of kidnapping rural children

*

and making them instruments for begging in big cities. .

How do you account to these crimes? Discuss on ways of fighting

them?

Once gathered from different local markets or villages, slaves were exported along the trade routes. The adult slaves, often men, were chained together during the march as this was thought to be the best way to avoid escape. Slaves suffered many atrocities. They were forced to carry loads and to clear camping sites. They had to travel long distances on foot and exposed to dangers that threatened their lives. Female slaves also suffered from sexual harassment of their owners or their companions all along the way. The separation from parents, husbands, wives or children was another source of deep grief to slaves.

The last quarter of the 19th century saw a boom in the slave trade as a result of:

- The frequent wars of conquest and territorial expansion. .
- The introduction of modem firearms and their use in slave raiding expeditions that made the defenseless peoples fall easy prey to raiders and

warriors

- Territorial expansion was often accompanied by slave-raids. That was the reason for members of the nobility of the conquering group to possess thousands of slaves. To such nobility, possession of many slaves was also

a measure of their status.

Some of the outcomes of slavery and slave trade are:

- First, depopulation of regions.
- Secondly, the insecurity of life and property due to frequent slave-raids had discouraged the local population to produce and store more.

- Thirdly, persistent slave-raids on certain regions and ethnic groups became source for ethnic animosities and regional frictions. Finally, the slave trade and slavery is partly responsible for Ethiopia's economic backwardness because it discouraged productivity as it targeted on the most productive age groups of society.

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Although the slave trade and slavery were widespread throughout the 19th century, some attempts had made io check the practice. Ethiopian emperors as Tewodros n, Yohannis IV and Menelik n had taken some steps to check slave trade. However, those attempts were not successful largely because they were half-hearted. Indeed, the slave trade and slavery survived in Ethiopia until it was outlawed in the 1920s.

Markets, Trade Routes and Mediums of Exchange

Markets are very important institutions serving different social, economic and political functions. In the 19th century, Ethiopia, markets usually held weekly, on a fixed day. Different villages and districts geographically close to each other, held their markets on different days. People visited markets primarily to buy or sale goods, Besides these, however, they went to markets to:

- look for their lost cattle or property,
- select a would-be lover,
- settle disputes, and
- send or receive messages* from far away relatives. In the absence of modem media, people also visited markets to follow current affairs and check if there were new orders and decrees from authorities.

The major markets of the long distance trade were those located along the major trade routes. The most prominent markets were: Bonga in Kaffa, Hirmata in Jimma, Sakka in Limu-Enarya, Assendabo in Wollega, Basso in Gojjam, Darita and Yifag in Begemidir and Adwa in Tigrai. These markets linked the southwestern regions with the northern regions of Ethiopia. The trade routes they used joined in one major trunk route that ended at the port of Massawa in the north. Likewise, the market of Mettema, located on the Ethio-Sudanese border/ was a northwestern inland outlet and was linked with the above trunk route at Gondar.

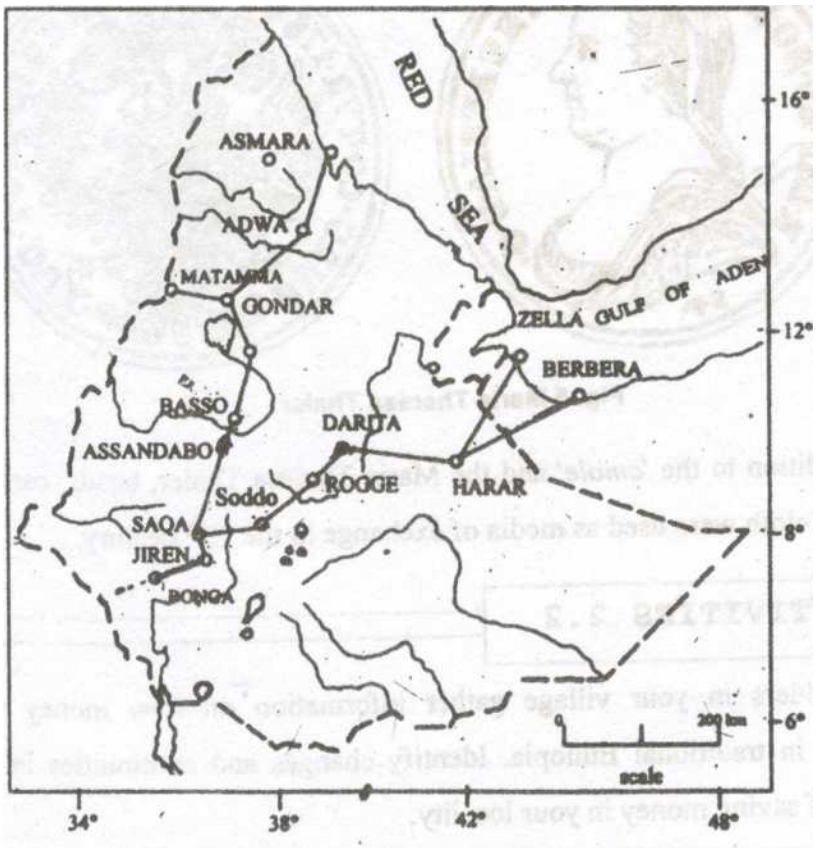
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Markets located along the east-west long distance trade included Sodo in Gurage, Ankober, Aliyu Amba and Abdul Rasul in northern Shoa, Ancharo and Dawe in Wollo, and Dire Dawa and Harar in Hararge. These markets served the trade routes leading to the ports of Tajura and Obock in Djibouti, and Zeila and Berbers in Somalia.

Nowadays, several markets in the Ethiopian countryside are held on . weekends. Explain the advantages of having markets held on weekends. ^

The major trade routes of the long distance trade in the 19$^{th}$ century connected the market centers along north-south and east-west axis. The origins of the routes were mainly in south-western Ethiopia. These trade routes passed through different environmental zones. They are shown below on the map.



Map 5. Long distance trade routes of the 19th century

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In the 19th century, there was no uniform use of a single medium of exchange in the markets of the 19th century trade of the Ethiopian region. The tradition of barter was complemented with the use of a currency or some other medium of exchange. This was practical at least on the ports and principal markets. One of the widely used medium of exchange in the local markets was a salt-bar known at *amole.* Amole was also used as a medium of tribute payment. Despite its wider acceptance however, *'amole'* was easily breakable and it was heavy for transportation.

The other medium of exchange was a currency called the Maria Theresa. It was a silver coin of Austria, named after the queen of that country. Maria Theresa was first imported into Ethiopia by foreign merchants in the late 18th century.




Fig. 5 Maria Tharasa Thalar

In addition to the *'amole'* and the Maria Theresa Thaler, beads, cartridges and pieces of cloth were used as media of exchange in the 19th century.

**ACTIVITIES 2.2**

Asking elders in your village gather information on how money was deposited in traditional Ethiopia. Identify changes and continuities in the practice of saving money in your locality.

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Long Distance Trade as a Factor in the Interaction Among Peoples and Among States

The long distance trade of the 19th century affected Ethiopian society in different ways. Firstly, it served as a major means of economic ties and interdependence among different peoples and among states in the region. Peoples of different environmental zones or different means of livelihood exchanged valuable items through the agency of caravan traders. Added to

exchanging of goods, peoples of different areas also exchanged views, cultures and technologies through trade. Trade also encouraged division of labour and specialization in production among different peoples with different skills by providing markets for their produce.

Secondly, trade was a major source of income to rulers in control of resourceful regions and through whose territories the trade routes passed. By safeguarding markets and protecting trade routes, they levied taxes in their respective regions. They also benefited from involving in the trade through Commercial agents. They imported luxury items and firearms through merchants. All of these helped rulers of different states to consolidate their economic and political powers.

Thirdly, long-distance trade contributed to the political and religious transformation among the Oromo of the Gibe region. It hastened the formation of feudal monarchical states in the late 18,v* and early 19th centuries by consolidating the economic and military powers of successful war leaders. Even more, Muslim merchants of the long-distance trade introduced Islam into the Gibe region. Islam helped rulers to legitiihize their authority through adopting Muslim laws, customs, taxes and other practices. ' ^ *'**•■

Fourthly, the introduction of money resulted in the increase of statef' income. Rulers began to collect taxes in the form Of cash. Moreover, silver coins

were ~~prefe~~rred as they were easier to store in great quantity and for long years than *amole* or other goods.

Fifthly, the main driving force, behind the southern expansion of foe Central Christian state, in foe last quarter of the 19th century, was foe search for land, tribute, trade commodities and control of trade routes. Indeed, conquest of wealthy regions brought about wealth with which the conquerors could import arms. The possession of firearms, in turn, enabled rulers to consolidate their power. Consequently, control of resourceful regions and trade routes became a ma jor source of rivalries and contention among rulers in the period under study.

# 2.2. The Revival of Imperial Power in the Christian Highland Kingdom and the Process of Empire Building 1855-1900

- Aggression
- Convention
- Delimitation
- Incorporation
- Mobilization
- Protectorate

Key Concepts

Regionalism

Revivalism

Restoration

Solidarity

Subversion

The two major themes in the 19th century history of Ethiopia are the formation of the Ethiopian Empire and the struggle against foreign aggressors. The first was the strengthening of imperial authority in the Central Highland Kingdom, and the expansion of the kingdom to incorporate states and peoples of southern, southeastern and southwestern Ethiopia. The second is foe successful struggle against foreign aggressors (Egypt, Mahadist Sudan and Italy). The struggle saved Ethiopia from colonial control despite the loss of *Mereb*

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*Heilash,* the northern most province of the country, to colonial Italy.

... - ^ . Consequently, Ethiopia entered the 20 century politically united, her boundary

defined, and above all, victorious over colonialism.

The process of Empire building took about half a century. It was

undertaken using different methods and approaches. The process began with the

efforts of Emperor Tewodros IT (r 1855-68) aimed at restoring imperial power

over the regions of the Christian Highland Kingdom. It was completed by Melik's conquest and incorporation of the peoples and states of the south,

southwest and southeast to the Christian highland state.

1. Compare and contrast empire and kingdom. \
2. What were the major problems of the Christian Kingdom during the *Zemene Mesafint!*
3. What were the contributing factors for the failure of Tewodros in strengthening monarchical power ?
4. What better measures, do you think Tewodrose could have taken to achieve his end.

I) The Attempt of Emperor T ewodros II (1855-68)

For about a century, before the rise of Emperor Tewodros II (r. 1855-68), the Christian Kingdom went through a period of great crisis called *Zemene Mesafint.* The *Zemene Mesafint* was characterized by the decline of imperial power the growing and strength o[r] regionalism. The period was also characterized by endless civil wars. Peasants had been impoverished and made insecure as a result of the frequent wars The Ethiopian Orthodox Church suffered from internal division caused by doctrinal issues. Foreign threats against the survival of Ethiopian independence had been another feature of the Era of Princes. This period of general crisis came to an end with the rise of Kasa Hailu from Quara, a district of Begemidir province, to royal power.

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Though not bom to a royal family, Kasa, who had an aristocratic background, fought his way to power. He gained successive military victories over powerful warlords between 1852-55. *Dejazmach* Goshu of Gojjam was defeated at Gur Amba in November 1852. Biro Aligaz and three other war leaders were subdued at Gorgora Bichen in April 1853. Ras Ali II (the last members of the dynasty of the *Waraseh)* was crushed at Ayshal in June 1853. Finally *Dejazmach* Wube of Semen and Tigrai was beaten in February 1855. Kasa was then crowned Emperor as Emperor Tewdros II in February, 1855

Tewodros wanted to restore imperial power. He wanted to become a ruler

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of an empire that was politically united, properly administered and free from foreign threats.

Tewodros seemed to have appealed to the society that he was the long awaited prince capable of bringing an end to the prevailing injustice and mal

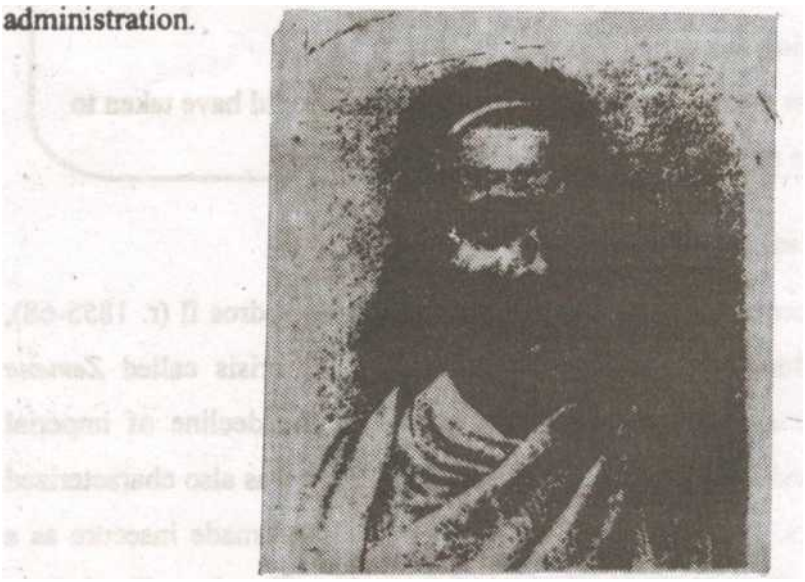



Fig 6. Emperor Tewodros II (r. 1855 -1868).

The first program of Tewodros thus became restoring imperial powef over the Highland Christian Kingdom. As a precondition for political unity he sought to bring religious unity first. Early in his reign *Tewodros* worked in collaboration with the bishop. He declared the Orthodox *Tewahdo* as the official faith. He



expelled leader «i me Catholics in Ethiopia, (De Jacobis). Following this he set out to create a centralized unitary state by conquering the different independent and semi- independent regional rulers. To this end, he made series of military expeditions to Wollo, Shoa, Gojjam and other northern provinces. In all these campaigns, he was militarily victorious. He assigned governors of his own choice for vanquished regions. Hence he tried to establish a centralized administration run by appointed officials. He also tried to establish a national salaried army which was recruited from different regions. But he found it practically difficult to pay them their salaries. Ultimately it turned out to be very difficult to establish supreme political and military power over the Christian Kingdom.

Indeed, his dream of restoration soon failed. Regional lords fought hard against the emperor's centralization drive. They did not want to loose the

political and economic rights they used to enjoy. This made Tewodros and his army busy fighting to subdue rebellious lords and regional governors. The more the rebellions multiplied the harsher Tewodros had become. He cut off the limbs and legs of rebels as punishment His invading troops raided and burnt villages to ashes. These measures exhaust his resources and made him unpopular. People could not see real changes and allied with the regional lords. His army, too, was exhausted by the frequent wars.

Tewdros entered into conflict with the clergy due to his plan of redistributing church lands. He reduced the number of priests and *deacons* in each church to 2 and 3 respectively, and the clergy were ordered to cultivate their own fields and pay due tribute to the state. He took these measures as one solution to

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the financial constraints his plans of modernization and reforms met. The clergy

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meted strongly and enticed the masses against him. The anti -Tewodros propaganda of the clergy became morfe effective among the masses when the mperor imprisoned die bishop Abuna Selama in 1864. The bishop died in prison in 1867. The conflict with the clergy further isolated Tewodros from the people.

In 1866/67 Tewodros stationed «t Gafat, near Debre Tabor, where he tried to manufacture modem arms with missionary labour. He then moved his centre to the Meqdala fortress in Wollo. Eventually, all the regions of his kingdom slipped out of his hands. His policy of strengthening imperial authority failed completely.

However, the idea of a strong imperial power Tewodros initiated survived him. After his suicidal death at Meqdala in 1868, there was no return to the *Zemene Mesaflnt* as expected by many. His rivals all hoped for the throne, to become emperor over a politically united empire. Of the three power contenders *Wagshum* Gobeze Gebre Medhin of Lasta, *Ras* Kasa Mirtcha of

Tigrai and *Negus* Menelik of Shoa Wagshum Gobeze, who had been a rebel against Tewodros in Lasta took the throne and became Emperor Tekle Giyorgis, immediately after the death of Tewodros. The reign of Emperor Tekle Giyorgis was very brief. He ruled from 1868 - 1871. During these years Kasa Mircha of Tigrai was challenging Tekle Georgia and was fighting for imperial power.

ii) Internal Political Development and External Challenges Daring The Reign of Yohannis IV (1872-89)

In July '171, Ras Kasa Mircha defeated Emperor Tekle Giyorgis at the battle of Assem, in Tigrai. Then he was crowned Emperor Yohannis IV on 21 January 1872, six months after the Battle of Assem. As a successor of Tewodros, Yohannis only inherited regional oppositions and foreign threats. Yohannis began his reign with efforts at strengthening his imperial power. As soon as he ascended to the throne, he launched military expeditions to Gojjam, Begemidir, Hamasien and Yejju, to get the submission of local chiefs. However, Yohannis did not persist with the use of force for building imperial authority. Instead, he recognized the local hereditary chiefs so long as they accepted him as an overlord and- paid him annual tributes. Thus, he shared power in the Kingdom with vassal rulers including those who were once rebels. The local rullers of two regions, Shoa and **44** ——— —

Gojjam, were recognized at longs. lb 18fl, die anpoor crowned Adal Tetsema of.Gojjam as *Negus* Tekle Haymanot of Oojjjam and Kaflk He might have done this to check the advance of the king of Shoe, MeneHk, to the regions of southwestern Ethiopia.

Menelik was competing for the dime since die death of Tewodros. He lost -twice with the coronation of Gobeee and Kasa Mircha, in 1868 and 1872 respectively. Yet, he continued struggling for the throne. Above all Menelik did not recognize Yotytnnis as an emperor, at the beginning. Instead, he used to call himself "king of kings". He had foreign Illations with states like Egypt, Britain, France and Italy as an independent rutor. He used these contacts to import firearms with which he could fight for the throde. He did not pay tribute to Emperor Yohannis up to the year 1878. Even more, he was expanding to the

direction of Wollo, causing political and military threat to Emperor Yohannis whose political center was in Tigrai.

Yohannis realized the challenge of Menelik, from the start but was unable

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to take actions immediately. In the first three yean of his reign, Yohannis was busy strengthening his power in the northern provinces. In 1875 and 1876 Ethiopia was invaded by Ejypt. His war with Egypt did not allow Yohannis to work on the submission of Menelik. However,' in 1878, Yohannis secured a peaceful submission of Meniiik and^Shoa. The* Emperor and Menelik made a

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formal agreement at a place called Lichf, near Ankober in Shoa, on 20 March, 1878. By the Treaty of Liche Menelik agreed to pay annual tribute to Yohannis, to drop the title "king of kings" and use only the title king, and to stop independent contacts with foreigners. On his pari, Emperor Yohannis recognized king Menelik and his descendants as hereditary rulers of Shoa. He also accepted Menelik's. control over Wollo. Both Yohannis and Menelik agreed to help each other agaiast common enemies.



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!. Compare and contrast the policies and methods used by Tewodros and Yohannis to revive imperial authority?

2. Who do you think was the greatest beneficiary of the Liche Treaty? V Why?

The Liche Treaty put an end to the Shoan administrative autonomy, without bloodshed. Yohannis got the submission of the strongest regional rival to hit

throne. Menelik recognized the emperorship of Yohannis. The Liche ~~agreement~~t also saved Menelik's Shoa from possible destruction by the imperial army. Menelik also realised the fact that he needed time to build a strong army if he was to see his dreams come true.

In spite of the Liche agreement, Menelik continued his secret contacts with foreigners. In 1883, the Italians had promised to help Menelik in importing arms through the port of Assab. The import of arms demanded wealth and fhuaicia! resource. He could get this wealth from the rich regions of the south, Southeast and southwest towards which he expanded and controlled the profitable trade routes. To this end, the Shoan army commanded by *Ras* Gobena crossed the Gibe river and moved to the Oromo states of the region. Simultaneously, the army of Gojjam under *Dejazmach* Dereso had already begun collecting tributes from the local peoples of some of the Oromo areas in the southwest. Shoa and Gojjam became rivals with contending interest in the southwest. Despite the emperor's

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order, to avoid fighting, the two kings, Menelik and Tekle Haymanot went war.

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They forces of the two rivals fought at the Battle of Embabo, in Wollega, on 6 June 1882. The forces of Tekle Haymanot were defeated, himself wounded and made captive by Menelik.

The news of Embabo was disturbing to Yohannis. He realized that Menelik's challenge was a serious threat to his imperial power. He wished to subdue Menelik. Yet, he wanted to look fair, too. In August 1882 Yohannis called * ——- —

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the two kings to Wars Illu in Wollo. He punished them both for fighting, ignoring

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his warning. He took away the province of Kaffa and Agewmider (in Gojjam)

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from king Tekle Haymanot's control. He took away Wollo from MenelilL However, he made a marriage arrangement between Menelik's daughter, Zewditu with his son, *Ras* Araya Selassie. This arrangement between political marriage aimed at binding the two dynasties of Shoa and Tigrai and win the loyalty of

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Menelik. Yohannis also allowed Menelik to expand into the southwestern regions.

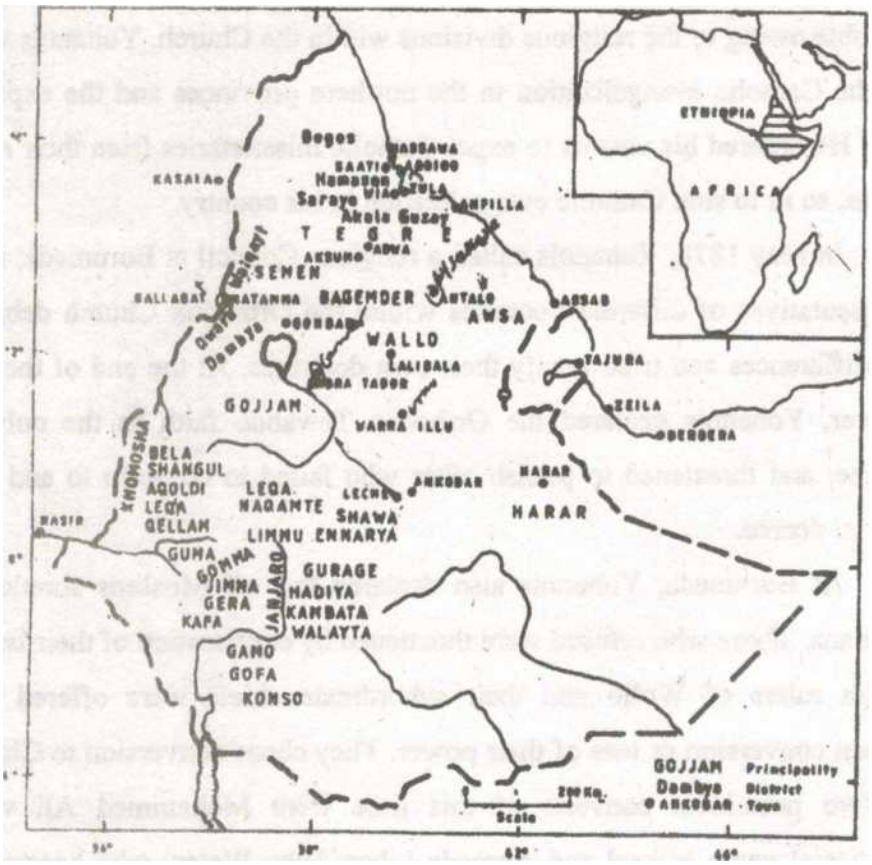
Political centralization under the monarchy envisioned by Yohannis also contained an element of religious unity. Yohannis saw religious uniformity as an essential precondition for building a strong imperial state. Yet, his kingdom was in trouble owing to the religious divisions within the Church. Yohannis wanted to stop the Catholic evangelization in the northern provinces and the expansion of Islam. He ordered his vassals to expel Catholic missionaries from their respective regions, so as to stop Catholic evangelization in his country.

In May 1878, Yohannis called a religious Council at Borumeda, in Wollo. Representatives of different doctrines within the Orthodox Church debated over their differences and tried justify their own doctrines. At the end of the Council, however, Yohannis declared the Orthodox Tewahdo faith as the only official doctrine, and threatened to punish other who failed to conform to and obey the imperial decree.

At Borumeda, Yohannis also declared that all Muslims should become Christians. Those who refused were threatened by confiscation of their land. Local Muslim rulers of Wollo and their subordinate chiefs were offered a choice between conversion or loss of their power. They chose conversion to Christianity. Thp two prominent converts of this time were Mohammed Ali who' took a baptismal name Mikael and Ahmade Liban/Abba Watew who became Haile - Mariam. Mohammed Ali later became the ruler of Wollo, first as Has' and later 'Negus'. The ordinary masses followed the example of their rulers. They were

Christianized for fear of persecution. Still, some people in Wollo refused conversion and were exiled to such far off regions as Gurage, Jimma, Metemma and Arsi, while those who remained in Wollo rose in rebellion under prominent religious leaders like Sheikh Talha of Argoba. Their rebellion was, however, crushed by the joint army of Yohannis and Menelik.

In the end, the policy of strengthening monarchical power during the reign of Emperor Yohannis seemed to have been more successful than that of Tewodros. All the old provinces of the Christian Kingdom were brought under his imperial control Newly conquered territories in the south, southeast and southwest by Menelik made up part of the empire.




Map 6. Ethiopia In tha 19* contury



The Expansion of Egypt in th« Horn of Africa

In 1798, Egypt was invaded by Napoleon Bonaparte of France. French occupation of Egypt lasted for only three years, but it had influenced the course of Egyptian history in the years ahead. Firstly, it led to the fall of the Mamluk Dynasty that ruled Egypt for six centuries. Secondly, it led to a joint Anglo* Ottoman military operation which expelled the French army from Egypt in 1801.

How did the rise of Mohammed Ali affect the history' of Egypt and the Horn of Africa?

Why did Sudan fall easy prey to Egypt?

Liberated Egypt, however, soon fell under the control of Mohammed Ali who founded a new dynasty that ruled Egypt up to 1952. Mohammed Ali was a general who originally came to Egypt in command of an Albanian contingent in the Ottoman army. Once he seized power, in 1805, his first goal was to establish a firm economic and political basis for his rule The next plan of Mohammed Ali was the modernization and transformation of Egypt to a powerful state. This, he believed, would enable Egypt to meet the challenges posed by European powers. The successful implementation of this major program demanded skilled manpower and strong financial basis This was how the idea of Greater Egypt, or Egyptian expansionism in the Middlr Fast and the Horn of Africa was conceived. However, the expansion to the Middle Bast was resisted by Britain from the very beginning.

Thus, Mohammed Ali saw bright prospects in the southward expansion towards the Sudan and the neighboring regions in Africa. He hoped to control the gold mines in the region and the upper waters of the Nile as well as the areas for slave raids. Besides these, Mohammed Mi’s expansion to the Red Sea region was



aimed at controlling the lucrative trade of the Ethiopian region. This was also true of his ambition to control Arabia.

In 1821, the Egyptian aimy_ overran the Sudan. There were protracted Sudanese resistance to Egyptian aggression under the leadership of local chiefs. However, the Funj Kingdom fell easily to Egypt mainly due to the conquerors' military superiority and internal disunity in the Sudan. Egypt used occupied Sudan as a stepping stone to attack the border western Ethiopia regions of Semen, Dembiya and the Sheikdoms of Assosa and Beni Shangul.

Ethio-Egyptian Relations from 1820s - 1872

Ethiopia and Egypt had had religious, commercial and diplomatic relations going back to several centuries. Mohammed Ali's expansion into the border

regions of Ethiopia was a revival of an old Egyptian ambition to control the source areas of the waters of the Nile.

The Egyptian thrpat to Ethiopia coincided with a period of economic, political and religious crisis of the Zemene Mesafint (1769-1855) in the Central Christian Kingdom. Due to the weakness of Imperial power, the responsibility of checking Egyptian expansion fell on the shoulders of local chiefs and peoples along the Ethio-Sudanese border.

Thus, the Ethio-Sudan border became an area of continuous cross-border conflicts. In the provinces of Semen and Dembiya, the Egyptians faced strong resistance by local notables. *Dejazmach* Wube of Semen, *Dejazmach* Kinfu of

Quara, and the then rebel Kasa Hailu, (half-brother of Kinfu) fought against the

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Egyptian expansions. Egyptian expansion was more successful among the Sheikdoms of Assosa, Beni Shangul, Guba and Khomosha.

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1. Why did Egyptian incursions into Ethiopia first come through the Sudan rather than through the Red Sea?

2. Discuss the impact of border clashes on the lives of the local peoples.

Ethio-Egyptian conflict continued during the reign of Emperor Tewodros II (r. 1855-68), the former Rasa Hailu. Before he was crowned, when he was a rebel in the lowland of Quara, Tewdrosc was defeated by Egyptions at Dcbariri in 1848. The Battle of Debarld left a lasting impression on Kasa. The incident was at the root of Tewodros* unfailing hatred for Egypt. His great interest in the modernization of the army and manufacture of modern

arms in Ethiopia was also partly related to the Egyptian threat Of course, his military reforms were also partly aimed at subduing regional forces.

To this end, Tewodros planned to establish a national and salaried army. He introduced a hierarchy of command in hit army. He prohibited looting of

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peasants by soldiers, but he was inconsistent in hit polices. Even more, he planned to manufacture modem firearms in Ethiopia by bringing in skilled craftsmen from Christian Europe. The skilled personnel, he believed, would teach his countrymen the skills of manufacturing and operating modem arms. He wrote letters to

Britain and France, in which he informed them of Egyptian aggression, pleaded them to share his sorrow over the Muslim threat and requested them to send him skilled technicians. These letters admitted the technological backwardness of his country and the urgent need for training and educating his people.

Despite his eagerness for skilled personnel, Tewodros was unable to get

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what he needed from Europe. Firstly, the Europeans were not impressed by Tewodros's appeal to religious solidarity less attractive compared with their economic interests in, and the strategic significance of, Egypt. Secondly, the Europeans themselves were engaged in commercial competitions in the Red Sea region. They did not want to see the rise of a powerful nation in the region.

Unable to get help from Europe, Tewodros gathered some Europeans of different nations in his kingdom, and ordered them to manufacture mortars and munitions for him at Gafat, a place near Dcbre Tabor.

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Fig. 7 European prisoners of Tewodros II.

These Europeans were not skilled in the manufacture of weapons, However, they did their best to produce some Cannons and munitions. The emperor detained the Europeans because he could not get a response to his letter of 1862. He refused to release them, despite repeated European requests and warnings. This led to the British military expedition, led by Gencr\ Robert Napier to Ethiopia in 1868. Napier's army was superior in number, arms, and organization. The Napier expedition also exploited the internal political turmoil in Ethiopia and recruited some powerful local allies. Tewodros h$^{M}$ ' :'$^{lrr}$Nuly lost nearly all power in his country before the British forces arrived.

On 10 A/pril 1868, the Battle of Eroghe was fought between the British and Tewodros. Tewodros's troops were completely defeated. Tewodros released the prisoners When the British stormed Maqdala and rushed to capture him,

Tewodros committed suicide on 13 April, 1868. The British had no plans for
permanent occupation and they left out.

Egyptian Aggression on Ethiopia, 1872-1885

The Ethio-Egyptian conflict reached its peak during the reign of Emperor Yohannis IV (r. 1872-1889). Already in 1846, Egypt had taken over possession-^
the port of Massawa with the official consent of the Ottoman Sultan. Egypt had
officially taken Massawa by a lease contract of 1866. She prevented the import of
arms to Ethiopia and levied heavy taxes on Ethiopian merchants. Even worse, the
Egyptians started to make attacks on areas further inland in Mereb Mellash mainly
after 1872. The early phase of Egyptian expansion into the border regions of
north-western Ethiopia and the Red Sea coast gave way to a more aggressive
general invasion and attempt at occupation of Ethiopia.

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1. What were the major factors for Egyptian aggression on Ethiopia?

2. Were there changes in the European policy towards the Ethio-Egyptian crisis in the 1870s?

3. Discuss the sacrifices paid by the Ethiopian peoples in the defence of

their country from Egyptian aggression?

The Egyptian ruler *Khedive* Ismail Pasha (r. 1863-79) inherited the policy
of aggressive expansion adopted by his predecessors. Under Ismail, the idea of

building Greater Egypt in North-East Africa was giver, a new momentous. He
hoped to establish mastery over the Nile Valley and its sources. Indeed, *Khedive*
Ismail wanted to rule the region from the Mediterranean Sea to the Equatorial
Lakes and from Chad to the Indian Ocean. As the source of the Blue Nile,
Ethiopia became a major target of Egyptian expansion.

Ismail sought the riches and lucrative trade routes of North-East Africa as a major source of income to Egypt. To his credit, Ismail had indeed introduced

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modem institutions and technical services into Egypt. He also effected the opening of the Suez Canal/in 1869. For all these and other programs, Ismail borrowed millions of dollars from Europe. The need to pay back this Egyptian debt encouraged territorial expansion into Sudan and Ethiopia.

Egyptian aggression was also encouraged by developments in Ethiopia and

Europe.

First, because of the success of the 1868 British military expedition, Egypt considered Ethiopia as a weak country.

Secondly, the Egyptians believed that the internal political turmoil and the regional rivalries, following the death of Tewodros n, had further weakened Ethiopia. Thirdly, Ismail saw Europeans as friends to Egypt, who would not give military support to Ethiopia. The opening of the Suez Canal, considerably added to the strategic and economic value of Egypt. Even more, Egypt had also opened her doors wide to European investment and trade.

EXERCISE

1. Why was Egypt interested in controlling the sources of the Nile?

2. Explain how internal conflicts could facilitate foreign aggression?

3. Why did Christian Europeans show little concern for religious solidarity with Ethiopia?

All of the above mentioned factors encouraged Egypt to take offensive measures on Ethiopia. The architect of Egyptian aggression in Ethiopia was a Swiss-German named Werner Munzinger. Munzinger had served as a French Consul at Massawa, but entered into Egyptian service in 1871. His profound knowledge of the economic, political, diplomatic and religious conditions of Ethiopia and the Red Sea region enabled him to become a major agent of the Ismaili expansion. In 1871 the Khedive appointed Munzinger as govemer of





Massawa. In 1872, Munzinger led an invasion into the region of Bogos, in present day Ertirea. At the same time, Egyptians followed a policy of trying to get fh$ support of Ethiopian dissatisfied nobles against Yohannis IV. Nevertheless, they failed to enlist many collaborators. * .

On his part, Emperor Yohannis had already felt the Egyptian threat before his coronation. However, he was not ready for a military confrontation with Egypt. For the first three years offeis feigfi, he hatfto bring local rebellions under control and strengthen his imperial power. Yet, Sie did not remain passive. The first reaction of Yohannis was a diplomatic campaign aimed at seeking a peaceful solution to the Bogos crisis. To this end, he wrote a letter to *Khedive* Ismail, late in July 1872. In the letter he protested Egyptian occupation of Bogos; defined his boundary in the north-east and demanded the withdrawal of Egyptian troops from Ethiopia.

*Khedive* Ismail ignored the protest and continued to take control of more territories. Yohannis continued to look for a diplomatic solution. In August 1872,

Yohannis sent letters to the rulers of Britain, France, Germany, Austria and

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Russia. He informed the European powers of the unlawful invasion of his country by Egypt, whom he accused of planning to Islamize and enslave his people. He expressed his belief and hope that the Christian nations of Europe would defend his country from Egyptian aggression.

Unfortunately, Europe was not prepared to help Yohannis. Europeans did not want to risk their trade and investment in Egypt by a direct conflict with that country. On the other hand, *Khedive* Ismail had taken some diplomatic measures, N

too. He told Europe that his expansion in Ethiopia was motivated by a desire to expand Western civilization arid to end slavery and slave trade. The Europeans were inclined to believe Ismail. Hence, Yohannis was diplomatically isolated, and'

Europeans remained indifferent towards his protests. They remained silent when Ismail launched a military attack on Ethiopia in 1875.



**Fig. 8 *Khedive* Ismail**

In 1875, the Egyptian invasion came from the direction of the sea along three fronts.

- An Egyptian army led by Mohammed Rauf Pasha moved from the port of Zeila and controlled the Emirate of Harar in October 1875.

- Munzinger led a small Egyptian army of about 400 men from the port of Tajura into Afar territory in Ethiopia. The aim of his expedition was to control the trade routes of Wollo and Shoa. However, almost all the soldiers of Munzinger including himself were killed in late November 1875 by the Afar people who were fiercely resisting the invaders.

- An Egyptian army of about 2500*3000 men under a mercenary from Denmark, named Colonel Arrendrup, entered *via* Massawa, in the north. Though small in number, His army was well armed and had modem training. It reached the region north ot the Mereb River with little resistance. Yohannis found no other alternative but to mobilize his army and defend his

Empire. He declared war on Egypt on 23 October, 1875. Within two weeks, he mobilized about 20,000 to 30,000 soldiers. On 16 November, 1875 E oiopia and Egypt fought at the Battle of Gundet, near the Mereb River. The Egyptiaxt army 54 —

was encircled and the Ethiopians scored a complete victory at Oundent A large number of Egyptian soldiers, including Arrendrup were killed. The Ethiopians captured arms and prisoners. For Egypt, the Ethiopian victory was a serious blow

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to her grand ambition of imperial expansion.

Ismail determined to avenge his defeat and began to mobilize a strong force in 1876. He recruited European and American generals and officers for hi* army.
In the same year, about 15,000 Egyptian soldiers equipped with modern arms were sent to Ethiopia under the commander Mohammed Rattib Pasha Second-in-command of this army was The American General Loring.

On his part, Yohannis did two things following his victory at Gundet Firsi, he continued to try to find a peaceful solution through European arbitration. Secondly, he warned Ismail to respect his borders. When diplomacy failed to bring peace Yohannis, once again, mobilized his army for a second time. A more bloody war than that of Gundet was fought between.7-9 March, 1876 at Gura. The Battle of Gura resulted in heavy losses on both sides. Ethiopia achieved a resounding victory, once again. Egyptians lost a significant number of arms and prisoners to

the Ethiopians.

Ethiopia scored two victories within a matter of four months. Yet, she could not clear the Egyptians out of her territories. Yohannis left the Egyptians in some of the occupied regions of Ethiopia. He did not want to endanger his military victory by advancing against them with an exhausted army. His army consisted of volunteers, the majority



**Fig. 9 Emperor Yohanis IV**

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of whom were peasants who had to return home to cultivate their fields. As a result, Ybfihnnis postponed further military confrontation with Egypt to the end of *Kiremt* (rainy sesaon), and returned once again to seek a peaceful solution.

The Aftermath of Gura

The military victories of Etiiiopia at the Battles of Gundet and Gura destroyed Egyptian plans of expansion in Ethiopia. Yet, despite her equal concern for a peaceful resolution to the crisis, Egypt behaved like a victor. The Egyptians requested Yohannis to return arms captured from the battles and to free the prisoners of war. Of course, Egypt agreed to free trade with Ethiopia. Yohannis released the prisoners of war, but refused to return the captured weapons. Egypt was unwilling to restore Ethiopian territories. She also turned down Yohannis's demand for war indemnity. Thus the first peace initiatives failed.

In 1877, *Khedive* Ismail sent the British General Gordon to Yohannis to

negotiate peace on behalf of Egypt. However, his mission, too, remained fruitless.

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Despite his agreement to the term on free trade, Ismail expressed the need to limit the import of arms to Ethiopia. Moreover, he was not willing to restore occupied areas of Ethiopia. A period of "no peace, no war" set in. This situation lasted up to 1884. In that year, however, Britain abandoned her indifference to the Ethio- Egyptum crisis and intervened as a peace negotiator on behalf of Egypt.

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The Hewitt Treaty and Ethio-Mahdist Conflicts

British involvement in the Ethio-Egyptian crisis was the result of two developments. First, Egyptian rule in the Sudan had met a very serious challenge since 1881. It came from a religious revivalist and nationalist movement of the Sudanese people known as the *Mahdia* or the *Mahdist* Movement. By late 1883, Egyptian control of the Sudan was over and some Egyptian troops were trapped in the areas along the Ethio-Sudanese border. The fate of this army fell in the hands of Ethiopia, *i.e.* it could only be saved if it were allowed to escape through the Ethiopia territory. Secondly, Britain intervened on behalf of Egypt her colony

since 1882. The orgeat concern of Britain was to save the ~~ja~~pdwkhad Egyptian garrisons in Eastern Sudan. She wstad to achieve this goal by wfeMglbeta# ofYohasmis through a peace treaty.

Britain sent her envoy, Rear Admiral William Hewett, to Ethiopia to negotiate with Yctaumis, on behalf of Egypt The Hewett Treaty or Adwa Treaty at it was call -xi v« signed on 3 June, 1884, at Adwa. Among the articles in the

treaty, the Erst three stipulated

- the right of free transit through the port of Massawa for all goods including firearms to and from Ethiopia,
- restoration of Bogos to Ethiopia, and
- Ethiopian agreement to help in the safe evacuation of the trapped Egyptian army *via* Massawa.

The Hewett Treaty might appear to have been a diplomatic victory for Ethiopia. In reality, however, it had disastrous consequences on Ethiopian independence.

Firstly, in fulfillment of his promise Yohannis sent his general *Mas* Alois to western Ethiopia to help in the evacuation of the Egyptian troops. Alula accomplished his mission at a very great cost. He fought against the Mahdists *M* the Battle of Kufit in September 1885 and other battles. By so doing, Ethiopia was considered as an ally of Egypt, hence an ardent enemy of Mahdist Sudan.

Secondly, though Egypt finally lost control of all regions of Ethiopia, Ethiopia did not regain Massawa. Added to this, while Yohannis was expecting for the restoration of Massawa through the help of Britain, the latter secretly invited Italy to take the port Italy was invited to

Massawa, in order to stop the possible expansion of France to that area. Italy occupied Massawa on 5 Fehnusy 1885.

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Discuss the consequences of the Hewett Treaty.

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> Ethio- Sudanese relations across the border had a long history. They were

characterized by both hostile and friendly relations. The commitments Ethiopia ’ ■, . * entered Wifh the Hewett Treaty set off animosity and armed clashes between the

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two’countries. The offensive came from Mahdist Sudan. The Mahdists attacked

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Ethiopia, invaded the border lands, and‘raided the local peoples. They enslaved some of the people and forced the payment of tributes. Resides, they undertook

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forceful Islamization of the peoples.

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, The main theatre of war in the Ethio-Mahdist conflicts was the region of

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*i* north-westam Ethiopia, along the Metemma-Gotldar area. Mahdist invasion in that direction was destructive, and it reached as far as the city of Gondar. In the

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mean time; Emperor Yohannis IV was busy trying to check Italian territorial

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encroachment in the Mereb Mellash. Thus, he ordered his vassal in Gojjam, *Negus*
Tekle Haymanot to defend the north-western region (the Metemma-Gondar
areas). The *tiegus* attacked Metemma in January 1887. But soon, the Mahdists
fought and defeated his army at the Battle of Sar Wuha, north of Lake Tana.
Encouraged by this victory, Mahdist soldiers burnt down churches, and carried out

mass enslavement. The efforts of Yohannis to check Mahdist advance through his

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vassal kings including Menelik failed. Instead, Menelik and Tekle Haymanot were .
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romoured to have plotted against the emperor in mid-1888.

Consequently, Emperor Yohannis was forced to postpone his

confrontation with the Italians and marched south to deal with his two rebel

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vassals. He first punished Gojjam, and got the submission of Tekle Haymanot.

After this, h^ marched on to Shot but was persuaded to make peace with Menelik.

He, then, turned his attention towards the Mahdists. Though too late, Yohannis

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tried to make peace with the Mahdist rulers, too. The latter were, however,

unwilling. Instead, they required him to embrace Islam as a precondition for

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peace. War became inevitable. On 9 March, 1889 the force of Yohannis met the
Mahdiste at the Battle of Metemma. Despite an initial victory, Ethiopians lost the

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day, after Yohannis was wounded. Yohannis died the next day. The Mahdists captured his dead body and beheaded it. Despite their victory, the Mahdists did not follow the retreating Ethiopian army deep into the country Nor was any other major war fought between Ethiopia and the Sudan afterw ards.

## 2.3. Expansion to the South-West, South and South East

The process of expansion and formation of the modem Ethiopian Empire was completed during the reign of Emperor Menelik II (rl 889-1913). Menelik used the methods of both forceful

subjugation and peaceful
submission by influencing
local rulers Menelik hoped
for revival of imperial authority with wider

Fig. 10 Emparor Menelik II

territorial coverage, a vast empire. He pursuaded a policy of territorial expansions at an increasing scale and great magnitude. Menlik's policy of political reunification went beyond the old provinces of the Christian Kingdom. It included the other peoples and states of the southern, southwestern and southeastern regions of Ethiopia. Menelik had already begun Mansion into these regions, whert he was King of Shoa But, he completed the expansion as emperor.

During the years from 1875 to 1889, Menelik succeeded in subduing and

incorporating the regions of Gurage, IJlubabor, Wollega, the Gibe s^ues, $_{A}$ .tsi and 61

. Harar. Most of the Oromo of western Ethiopia and Christian Gurage were incorporated through the peaceful submission of local rulers who were promised local autonomy. On the contrary, the Muslim Gurage, Arsi and Harar were subjugated after bloody wars with the invading armies of Menelik. The Muslim Gurage and the Silte resisted Menelik under their leader named Hasan Enjamo, for over a decade, until they were totally subdued in 1888. The Arsi Oromo fought the expanding army of Menilik with great valor fiom 1882-86. Finally, they were defeated at the final battle of Azulc in 1886. Hie resistance of the Harriari and the Oromo of the southeast were subdued after a bloody encounter at the battle of Chelenqo in January 1887.

1. What were the motives behind the territorial expansion of Menelik as Negwj of Shoa?

2. Compare and contrast the fate of peoples and rulers who submitted peacefully with those who resisted the conquest of

Menelik.

3. Discuss the impact of Menelik's expansion on the conquered regions. [Group work]

Three events facilitated the success of Menelik's expansion as king of Shoa. These are:

- The Liche Agreement (1878) reduced the tensions with Emperor Yohannis. It freed Menelik to concentrate on the conquest of new areas.

- The Battle of Embabo (1882) eliminated a strong rival of Menelik, king Tekle Haymanot of Gojjam, from the resourceful regions of the southwest Following the battle, Menelik got royal recognition to his expansion in that direction.

♦ His commercial relations with the Italians, mainly after ihe treaty he

signed with Italy in 1883, enabled Menelik to import firearms which his troops used for suppressing rebellions and local resistance.

Fig 11 Abba Jifar H df Jlmma Fig 12 ***Emir*** Abdullah) of Harar

Menelik's expansion also continued after he was crowned Emperor. His imperial expansion coincided with the outbreak of the Great Famine also known as the *Kifu Qan (*1888-92). The cause of the famine was cattle epidemics that killed hundreds of thousands of cattle. This made farming difficult, and gradually led to famine. Famine in turn paved the way for epidemic diseases as the result of which large numbers of people died. Many northerners moved to the relatively less affected regions of the south. Some northerners also joined the army of Menelik, participated in his wars of expansions and settled in the conquered regions of the south. Emperor Menelik's expansion was also motivated by the need for mobilizing resources for the eventual war with the Italians, as we shall see below. A ,v

Wolayta, Bale, and Sidamo (other than Borana) were incorporated the coronation of Menelik. Of these regions, Wolayta had a bloody experience with the army of Menelik. The Wolayita under *Kawo* Tona, fought against a huge army of Menelik in 1894. After great human and material destruction, accompanied by enslavement, slaughtering, burning and raids of local people, *Kawa* Ton* w«* defeated and taken as captive to Addis Ababa.



Fig. 13 ***Kawo*** Tona, King of Wolayta.

Emperor Menelik completed his expansion in the subsequent years after

Adwa, between 1896-1900. Then, the main motive was to create buffer zones

between the Ethiopian interior and the adjacent European colonies. During these years, Menelik incorporated the border areas of Ogaden, Assosa, Beni-Shangul,

Borana and the Kingdom of Kaffa. Kaffa was a strong feudal kingdom that

survived long history of repeated attempts at subjugation by the Christian

Highland Kingdom and the rulers of the neighboring Oromo states. The peoples of **64 [1] -**

Kaffa under their local king *Tato* Gaki Serocho strongly resisted the army of

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Menelik. *Rets* Wolde Giyorgis supported by some local Oromo rulers of Southwestern Ethiopia, eventually crushed Kaffa in 1397



Fig. 14 ***Tato*** Gaki Serocho king of Kaffa.

Menclik's territorial expansion enlarged the sine of his empire. The present shape and map of modem Ethiopia is the result of the military expansion discussed above and the demarcation of the country's boundaries with the



neighboring colonial powers in the years 1896-1908. The formation of the modem Ethiopian Empire had become an accomplished fact by 1900.

The fates of the peoples and rulers of the newly incorporated regions were decided based on the nature of their reactions to the expansion of Menelik. Areas whose rulers had peacefully submitted to the conquerors were saved from raids, devastations and enslavement of the local peoples. They were, at least initially, spared from the quartering of Menelik's soldiers known as the *neftegna.* Ix>cal rulers of these regions were allowed to keep their positions and exercise autonomous administrations. They were required to pay fixed annual tributes to the central government. On the contrary, wherever the royal army met resistance, there was harsh treatment of the local people. Besides bloodshed and destruction during the wars of conquest, the local people were looted and many were enslaved Many others were compelled to flee their regions. Local rulers were removed and replaced by appointees of Menelik from among those who played vital roles during the process of expansion. The conquerors were quartered over peasants. The peasants had to supply the conquerers with all their domestic needs. They had to render them a variety of labour services on their farm fields and households. Thus, an excessively exploitative and harsh *neftegna-gebbar* relations developed in these regions.

In both cases, however, the incorporated regions faced harsh feudal exploitation. They had to pay heavy tributes.-They suffered ethnic and religious oppression The conquerers worked at suppressing local traditional institutions, beliefs and practices. These attempts were partially successful in some regions.

# 2.4. Italian Colonialism in the Horn of Africa

You have seen the Egyptian and Mahdist invasions and the Italian aggressive expansion into northern Ethiopia. Already, in 1869, an Italian private shipping company had bought the port of Assab from local chiefs. Thirteen years



later, the possession of the port was transferred to the Italian Government. On February 1885 the Italians Landed at the port of

Massawa. After landing at the port, Italy used Massawa as a springboard to her colonial expansion into Ethiopia.

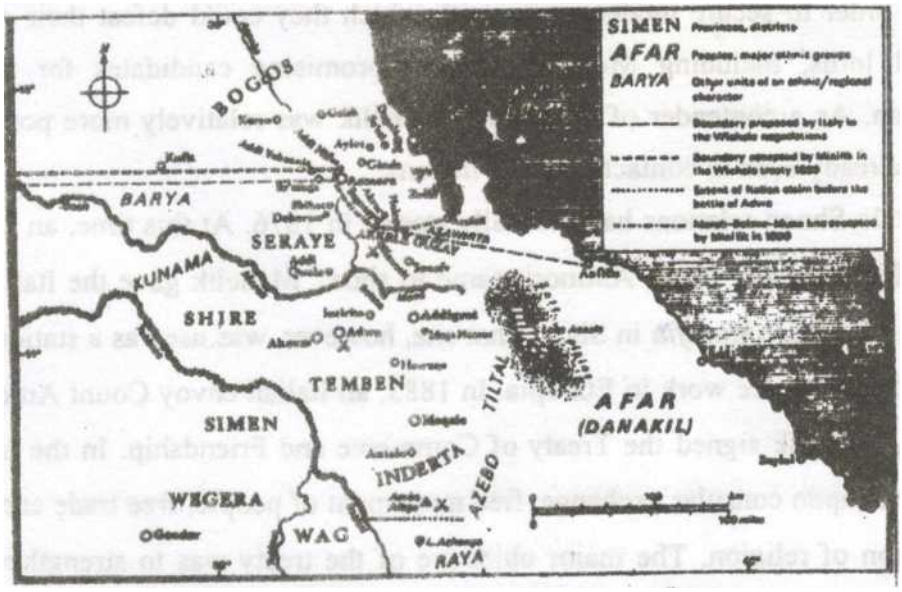
1. Why was Italy a iate-comer to the scramble for Africa? (Refer to sub unit Two.)

2. What was the reaction of Emperor Yohannis to the violation of the Hewett Treaty and the coming of the Italians?

3. Compare and contrast Italian and Egyptian colonial projects in Ethiopia.

At the early stage of their expansion, Italians occupied the coastal regions of Aylet, Wia and Saati with inland extensions up to 30-40 kilometers. Their expansion headed to the direction of the highlands of *Mereb Mel lash.* In violation of the Hewett Treaty of 1884; Firstly, they took control of Massawa. Moreover, they blocked the import of firearms into Ethiopia. Then, began demanding heavy

taxes from Ethiopian merchants.




Map 7. Italian colonial ponatratlon of Ethiopia, 19* cantury

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Emperor Yohannis complained to the British government about the violation of the Hewett Treaty and Italian occupation. At the same time, he requested the British to help in the restoration of the occupied regions and the port. The British government's response to Yohannis was not satisfactory. Queen Victoria of England wrote to Yohannis advising him to live in love and peace with the powerful Italians.

Meanwhile, Italians continued their expansion into *Mereb Mellash.* The then governor of the *Mereb Mellash*, *Ras* Alula Engida *(Aba Nega)* warned the Italians to clear out of the Ethiopian tenftory. The Italians were not willing. To stop their further advance, *Ras* Alula marched to Saati and attacked their fortress on 25 January, 1887. The next day, he ambushed and destroyed a force of about 500 Italians sent to save Saati, at a place called Dogali. The event came to be known as *the victory of Dogali.*

The Battle of Dogali created a deep shock and an urgent desire for revenge in Italy. To this end, the Italian imperialist government alloted an additional budget. The Italian troops of Massawa were reinforced with additional contingents. In Ethiopia, Italy began to recruit collaborators. Internal conflicts in Ethiopia laid the ground for divisive activities. Regional lords welcomed foreign allies in order to secure modem arms with which they could defeat their rivals Regional lords, including Menelik, became promising candidates for Italian subversion. As a contender of the throne, Menelik was relatively more powerful and had already been in contact with the Italians.

Italo-Shoan relations had officially started in 1876. At this time, an Italian Geographical Society under Antinori, came to shoa. Menelik gave the Italians a camping site at *Let Marefia* in Shoa. That site, however, was used as a station and a base of intelligence work in Ethiopia. In 1883, an Italian envoy Count Antonelli and King Menelik signed the Treaty of Commerce and Friendship. In the treaty, they agreed upon consular exchange, free movement of people, free trade and free propagation of religion. The major objective of the treaty was to strengthen the

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Assab - Shot trade. The Battle of Dogali had increased the value of Menelik to the Italians. The Italians wanted Menelik to fight Yohannis from the south. However, Menelik was not willing to fight Yohannis. Instead, he preferred to mediate between the Italians and Yohannis. The*Italians were not interested in mediation, but at least they wanted his neutrality in the event of war with Yohannis. Italians approached Menelik by promising him 5000 rifles. Menelik signed the Convention of Neutrality in October 1887 on condition that the Italians would not take an inch of land in Ethiopia.

Meanwhile, Italy sought British intervention to fulfil her colonial ambition in Ethiopia. The British government intervened as a negotiator by sending Sir Gerald Portal. Portal me! Yohannis in November 1887. By the Portal mission, Yohannis was asked to apologize for Alula's "unjust attack" on the Italians. It also demanded the retention of the regions of Saati and Wia by the Italians. The Portal mission also proposed Italy's protectorate right over Assawrta and Habhab and occupation of Saati. Yohannis was not at all ready and willing to accept these peace terms. Thus. Portal's mission failed. Yohannis was highly offended by British diplomatic dishonesty. He sent a letter to Queen Victoria of Britain, in which he made clear his anger over the violation of the Hewett Treaty, and Italian aggressive expansion. He also informed Britain of his readinness and preference for war rather than let the Italians take Ethiopian territories.

Yohannis also wrote to the French government about British diplomatic

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mischief. Meanwhile, he'dcclarcd war on the Italians and called his people to arms.

The response of the Ethiopian peoples was immediate and whole-hearted. Within a short time, the emperor mobilized about 70.000 .troops He n airshed north to fight the Italians at Saati in March 1888 The Italians had

built a strong fortification at Saati. The Ethiopian army provoked the fortified Italians, but the

Italians refrained to come out of their fort and face the numerically superior army of Yohannis. The situation lasted for about a month that way.

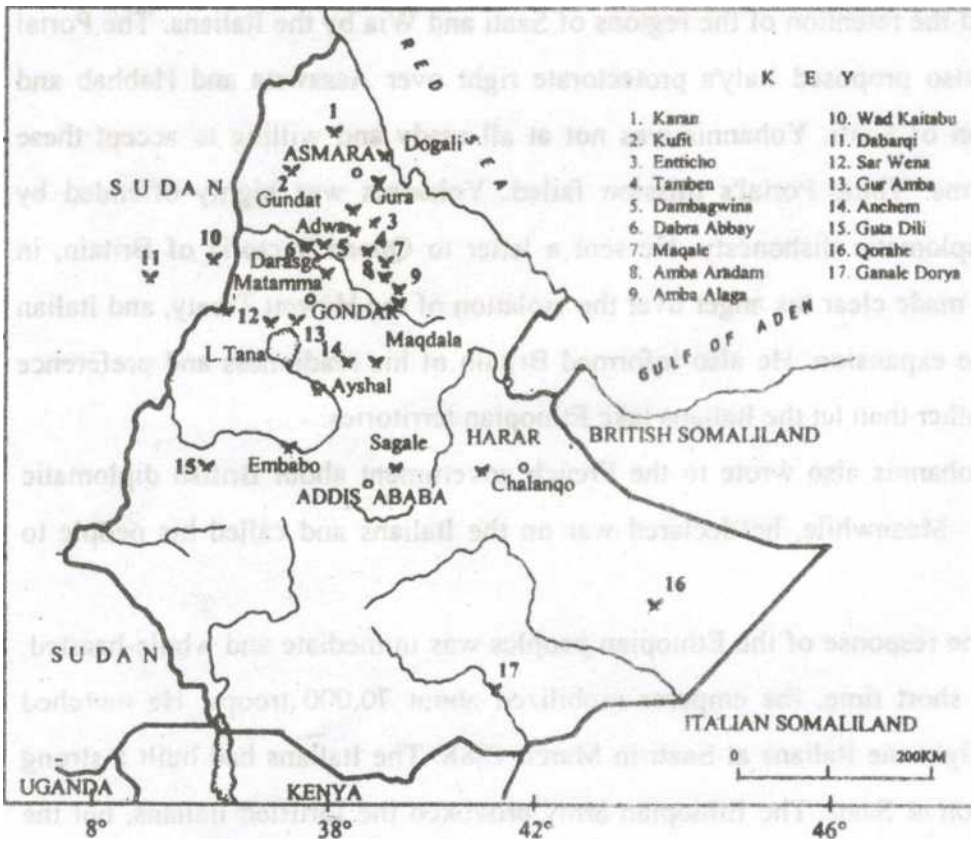
The Ethiopian army began to suffer from shortage of food. The majority of the troops were peasants who wanted to go back home to work on their fields. Meanwhile, Yohannis received news about fresh Mahdist invasions of Gondai. He also heard the plot of his vassal kings, Menelik and Tekle Haymanot, again* his imperial power. Italy's refusal to engage in battle combined with internal rebellion and Mahdist threat, drew the attention of the Emperor to the South He first attacked Gojjam and got the submission of its king. The plan to fight Menelik was dropped. Instead, Yohannis went to Mettema where he died fighting against the Mahdists. King Menelik of Shoa declared himself Emperor of Ethiopia. The Italians viewed the removal of Yohannis as a great opportunity for further expansion. Indeed, they occupied many districts of the Mereb Mellash.

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Map. 8 Major battla fields In Ethiopia, 19"' century




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The Treaty of Wuchale, The Birth of Eritrea as an Italian Colony, and the Battle of Adwa

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The Wuchale Treaty was signed on 2 May 1889 between Italy and Menelik. The treaty was so named after the place in northern Wollo where it was signed. Count Pietro Antonelli represented Italy.

What were the reasons for Emperor Menelik's to seek a treaty with Italy? The Italians had already occupied a considerable pa«t of the Mereb Mellash region

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before the signing of Wuchale Treaty. As he had not yet established a firm imperial power over his empire, Menelik seemed to have found it difficult

to dislodge Italians by force. Secondly, Menelik feared that any disagreement with the Italians would result in their subversive activity among his rivals for the throne, mainly the Tigrean princes like *Ras* Mengcsha Yohannis.

Article Three of the Treaty of Wuchale deals with the boundary delimitation between Ethiopian and Italian occupied of Merb Melas'n. By this article, the Italians were promised considerable territories in the region of the Mereb Mellash as far as Asmara Yet, they were not satisfied with this Additional Convention was signed in October 1889 between Italy and *Ras* Mekonnen who went to Rome to get the ratification of the Wuchale treaty. The Italians inserted in the convention the clause of "Effective Occupation". This clause stated that boundary demarcation would depend on the basis of actual possession This allowed the Italians to occupy rtiorc and advance further south as far as the Mereb river. By late 1889 they had taken control of all areas north of the Mereb river which they declared to be their colony of Eritrea on 1 January 1890. Menelik's protest over the violation of the boundary agreement bore no fruit.

Article seventeen of the Wuchale Treaty was about the role of Italy in

Ethiopian's foreign relations. The Italians wanted to use this Article as a legal

document for their claim of protectorate over Ethiopia. Article Seventeen of the

Treaty was written in two contradictory versions. I he Amhanc version says - J *71*

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Ethiopia could use the services of Italy in her foreign rc'ations with Europe, whereas the Italian version bound Menelik to make all his foreign contacts through the agency of h -d* Bv implication, the Italian version of Article Seventeen reduced Ethiopia to the status of an Italian m nectorate. Accordingly, in October 1889 Italy notified the major powers of Europe that Ethiopia had become her protectorate. Most of them recognized tl e

Italian protectorate claim based on Article Seventeen. Only Russia and France had reservations.

Emperor Menelik was unwilling to accept the loss of his sovereign right. He requested the Italian King Umberto of Italy to correct the Italian version of Article Seventeen. Italy was not willing to change the Italian version and tried its best to convince Menelik to accent it. Menelik, however, notified European powers the fact that he was a ruler of an independent nation and that he had no obligation to use Italy in foreign relation^ Nor did he accept the Italian version despite repeated attempts to convince him. In February 1893, he declared the abrogation of the Wuchale Treaty, and notified major European powers including Italy.

In the meantime Italians were engaged in subverting local peoples and above all the Tigrean princes. In December 1891, they met *Ras* Mengesha Yohannis and other Tigrean local rulers near River Mereb and managed to conclude what to called the Mereb convention, in which they swor an oath of friendship. Generally, however, the Italian policy of subversion failed. The Eritrean people including collaborators were against Italian racist activities and above all their policy of white settlement on peasant iands. The Tigrean regional rulers, too, soon broke their allegiance. *Ras* Mengesha and *Ras* Alula left the Italians and renewed their loyalty to Menelik in June 1894. In December of that year, the Italians faced a peasant rebellion in Akale Guzay, in Eritrea, under the leadership of their former collaborator, *Dejazmach* Bahta Hagos. The rebellion was crushed, but it led to further resistance to Italian colonialism. The Italians also fought with *Ras* Mcnegsha at the battles of Qoatit and Senafe in 1895.



1. Why did Menelik agree to give away territories to the Italians?

2. Why was the Italian government unwilling to correct the Italian version of Article Seventeen of the Wuchale Treaty?

3. What were the reasons for the failure of Italian subversive activities?

Til* Battle of Adowa

Italians were unwilling to abrogate the Wuchale treaty and to renounce

their colonial ambition. Emperor Menelik and his wife Empress Taytu preferred

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war rather than surrender the sovereignty of their country. Menelik mobilized human and material resources for the eventual war with Italy. His wife organized women and engaged them in making utensils, clothes, and stock traditional medicines.

In September 1895, Menelik issued a general mobilization order.



Fig. 15 Empress Taytu Bitul

At the command of more than 100,000 soldiers and camp-followers of both sexes, Menelik marched northwards to fight the Italians that had already controlled Tigrai. The peoples of Ethiopia rose against the invaders.

Menelik, led a united Ethiopia against the Italians. Contingents were sent from almost all

regions.

On 7 December 1895, Menelik's advancing troops crushed an Italian army at the Battle of Ambalage in southern Tigrai. The surviving Italians retreated to

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the noith and joined with an army that was fortified at Mekele On the basis of empress Taitu’s proposal, the Ethiopian army besieged the Italian fortification of Mekele and closed Italian access to water and provisions for two weeks. Italics suffered a lot from shortage of water, and eventually surrendered the fortress to the Ethiopians They w< u driven out of Mekele.

The decisive engagement was the battle of Adwa, fought on ‘1 March, 1896. The battle of Adowa lasted for one full day. Ethiopian troops displayed a high degree of courage and unity. Local people, including former collaborators, showed their support to the Ethiopian fighting force in different ways. Some supplied misleading maps urn! infottnation to the Italians. The Ethiopian women supplied water and amis to the fighters and encouraged them to fight with determination. They carried the wounded to camps, and some joined their menfolk in actual combat. Empress Taytu commanded her own contingent. The battle of Adwa was extremely bloody The Italians lost the baUlc.

The battle of Adwa claimed the lives of thousands of fighters on both sides. The .Italians, indeed, lost one third out of the total number of their 20,000 troops, that included native recruits from their colony of EritTea. About 2000 Italians were taken as captives of war and about 1500 troops were wounded. Ethiopia, too, lost about 7000 soldiers dead out of a total of about 100,000 troops. The war was concluded with complete Ethiopian victory. The Italians were

cleared out of all Tigrai and confined themselves to their colony of Eritrea. Thus, their plan of colonizing the rest of Ethiopia failed.

ACTIVITIES 2.3

1. What were the major contributing factors for Ethiopia's victory at Adwa?

2. What were the major consequences of the Adwa victory?

3. Explain the role of women at the battle of Adwa. [Group work]

The Consequences of the Victory of Adwa

The victory of Adwa had far reaching consequences both at domestic and international level. The Adwa victory guaranteed the political independence of Ethiopia. Major colonial powers, including Italy recognized the independence of Ethiopia. European legations were opened in the capital, Addis Ababa. A series of treaties were signed between Ethiopia and her neighboring colonial powers. These treaties delimited the country's boundaries within about a decade following the Adwa victory.

- In Italy, the defeat at Adowa arouse internal oppositions against the government of Francesco Crispi (Italian Prime Minister at the time). These wide spread public oppositions led to the downfall of Crispis government. The Treaty of Addis Ababa was signed between Italy and Ethiopia on 26 October, 1896. By this treaty, Italy recognized the absolute independence of Ethiopia and accepted the total abrogation of the Wuchale Treaty. Ethiopia and Italy also agreed to observe the boundary along the rivers Mereb, Belessa and Muna. The boundary between Ethiopia and Eritrea was formally delimited later in 1900.

- The Adwa victory became a symbol of black dignity and self-rule. It inspired further black solidarity and nationalism. In countries of southern

Africa, it sparked the emergence of "religious separatist" movements

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kno'» *‘. as Ethiopianism. This was a preference for African churches independent from European missionary churches. The churches formed part of the general anti-colonialist struggle. The echo of Adwa also inspired the early Pan-Africanist movement.

Nonetheless, Italians were not totally driven out of all Ethiopian regions. Eritrea remained in the hands of the Italians up to 1941. Ethiopia lost her Red Sea Ports and access to sea. Moreover, Italy used Eritrea not only as a base for her subversive activities against Ethiopia but also for another invasion of the country in 1935.

In December 1906, the three colonial powers-Britain, France and Italy, signed what has come to be known as the Tripartite Treaty. In this Treaty, the colonial powers defined their respective interests in Ethiopia. Accordingly, the signatory powers rccogni7ed French interests m the Djibouti-Addis Ababa Railway. British micro’ ncr the Nile Ba$^{c}$*^ ant! Italian plans of constructing a railway that would link her colonies of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. The treaty was signed without the know ledge of Ethiopia.

# Summary

Two major historical processes of the second-half of the 19$^{lh}$ century pertaining to Ethiopia had been the formation of the modem Ethiopian empire and the struggle against foreign aggressors lhe first began with the attempt of Emperor Tewodros II to restore imperial power over the old provinces of the Christian Highland Kingdom Tew odros failed to achieve it but his policy of reestablishment of a strong monarchy survived him. His successors followed his example but used different methods in the process. In the last quarter of the 19 $^{h}$ century, empire building was undertaken at an extraordinary scope and dimension. Territorial expansion into the southern, southwestern and southeastern regions in

the 19th century gave Ethiopia its present shape. The formation of the empire was completed by the end of the 19th century.

Simultaneous with the process of empire building was the struggle against foreign aggressors namely Egypt, Sudan and Italy. Ethiopia scored magnificent victories over its enemies one after the other. Of all the anti - colonial confrontations, Ethiopia's victory at Adwa on Italian colonialism remains a symbolic event for the whole black race at large. This success confirmed the survival of Ethiopian independence in the era of colonialism.

# REVIEW QUESTIONS

*Instruction*: All students are required to attempt the following questions on individual basis. Then exchange your answers for correction. Discuss the answers with your teacher.

Part I. Say True if the statement is correct and False if the statement ia wrong

1. The long distance trade of the 19th century had no negative effect on the Ethiopian society.

2. Emperor Tewodros II could be said to have started the practice of centralized administration under imperii.' power.

3. Yohanms IV was the only Emperor that allowed Regional dynasties to administer their respective regions

4. The military vtctoncs of Ethiopia over the army of Egypt led to the immediate liberation of all occupied territories in the north.

5. The regions of southwestern Ethiopia were entirely relieved from the feudal exploitation of Menelik's state since they submitted in peace.

Part II. Match the following items under column A with those under column B.

A

B

1. Yeju dynasty

2. Adwa Treaty

a. Religious manifestation of Blank resistance to

3. Battle of Chelenqo

4. Ethiopianism

colonialism.

b. Overthrown by Kassa Hailu's victory at Ayshal.

c. Concluded the Ethio-Egyptian conflict.

d. Marked the fall of ene of Harar.

**Part** III. Choose the best answer

1. One of the following had no relevance to the long distance trade of Ethiopia in the 19$^{tn}$ century.

a. The wide use of paper money.

b. Exchange of ideas and beliefs among peoples through trade relations.

c. Connecting the inland trade with sea out lets.

d. Generating armed conflicts for monopoly of trade-routes.

2. The reign of Tewodros II was characterized by

a. Politically united and peaceful Christian Empire.

b. British colonial occupation of Ethiopia.

c. Church -state conflict emanated from the land reform of Tewodros.

d. Completion of the process of empire formation

3. British diplomatic intervention in Ethiopia on behalf of the aggressor nation was evident in

a. Gordons mission Napier's expedition

b. Hewett treaty d) Portal's mission

4. One of the following regions did not experience a bloody encounter with the conquering army of Menelik *U.*

a. Wallaga c) Arsi

b) Kaffa

d. Wollayita

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The Ethiopian victory at Adwa has guaranteed Ethiopia

a. a sea outlet.

b. old territories beyond the Mereb river.

c. sovereignty.

d. restoration of territories occupied by Mahdist Sudan.

Part IV. Fill in tha blank space with correct answers.

1. Muslim merchants of northern Ethiopian origin who were actively

involved in the long distance trade were known as .

2. The two main internal challenges to the policy of emperor Tewodros II

came from and .

3. The outcomes of the Hewett treaty that proved to be disastrous tor

Ethiopia were and .

4. Peoples of southern Ethiopia known to have fiercely resisted the conqoest

of Menelike as a result of. which they suffered ruthless treatment include the inhabitant of and regions.

5. In response to the public demand of its citizens, following the defeat at Adw a the government of Italy w as forced to

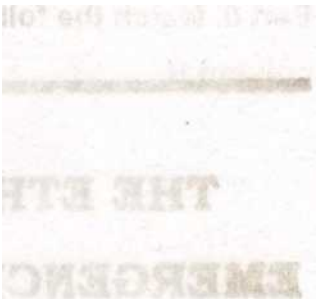
a c

b d .

Part V. Give short answers

1. Describe the main articles and outcomes of Wachale Treaty?

2. Explain the significance of the victory of Adw a for the black race at large?





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# UNIT THREE: THE ETHIOPIAN EMPIRE AND THE EMERGENCE OF AUTOCRACY 1906-1935

This unit deals with the political crisis in the ruling circles of the Ethiopian Empire during the first three decades of the 20'h century. The major themes of the unit are internal power struggle and foreign intervention in the domestic politics. The unit also deals with the rise and character of the autocratic state. At the same time, different socio-economic developments of the period are discussed.

Objectives

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

- analyse the causes, nature and consequences of the internal power struggle and political instability of the Ethiopian state.
- examine the reasons behind foreign interventions, and
- describe the main features of the emerging autocracy
- explain the contemporary socio- economic developments and reforms.

Key Concepts

- **Absolutism**
- **Diarchy**

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|---|---|
| • **Absolutism** | • **Diarchy** |
| • Autocracy | • Imperial Body Guard |
| • Conservative party | • *Mehal-sefari* |
| • Crown council | • Mutiny |
| • Cetra i /ed adn unistration | • Nobility |
| • Chamber of Deputies | • Political marriage |
| • Chamber of Senate | * polygamy |
| • Coup d’etat | • Progressive party |
| • Demonstration | • Regency |
| • Decentrali zation of power | • Tripartite Treaty |

# 3.1. Internal Power Struggle and Foreign Intervention in the Early Twentieth Century

The Pr«M«n> of Succest ion and the Tripartite Treaty

TV Fmrwe of Ethiopia entered the twentieth century centralized, victorious over colonial aggression and politically stable. However, internal peace and stability lasted only for a short Period. It was disturbed by internal power struggle and the revival of foreign threats.

1. What were the factors for the power struggle of the last days pf Emperor
   Menelik? Identify the groups (parties) involved.

2. Why were the Tripartite Powers worried about the illness of Menelik?

   What steps did they take?

3. How did Emperor Menelik react to the internal and external challenges that had begun to surface following his illness?

In 1906 Menelik suffered a stroke and his personal control there after was somewhat weakened and was not able to give effective leadership. In the same year *Rax* Mekonncn Wolde Mikael, a cousin of the Emperor and his right hand man died. This person was expected to become Menelik's successor. Consequently, power struggle in the palace and political instability in the empire began.

The internal crisis mentioned above drew the attention of the neighbouring imperialist powers, who had colonial territories adjacent to Ethiopia. Britain, France and Italy partly worried by the opening of the German Legation in **Addis** Ababa in 1905, became more anxious about Ethiopia's internal development. They worried about the political empire uncertainly following the death of

Menelik that might affect their economic and political interests in Ethiopia. These imperialist powers were in vigorous competition for larger spheres of influence in the Horn of Africa. The combination of all these factors led to the signing of an agreement known as The Tripartite Treaty. The treaty was signed between Britain, France and Italy in December 1906. As discussed in unit two, the treaty partitioned Ethiopia into three spheres of influence belonging to each of the three European countries. Nonetheless, the treaty

remained on paper and Ethiopia did not disintegrate; but it posed quite an imaginable danger .on the country's independence.

Despite the deterioration of his health, the Emperor took some steps to solve the internal and external problems of his country. Firstly, he wrote a letter to the signatories of the Tripartite Treaty, in which he underlined the need to maintain the unity and independence of his country. Secondly, in an attempt to ensure the normal running of his government in the event of his illness, he established a Council of Ministers in October 1907. The introduction of the ministerial system for the first time in the history of the country was thus partly a response to foreign pressures. Y£t the minSteria! system remained to be more symbolic than real. The same old palace officials were given new titles to perform* more or less the same tasks they were in charge of in the traditional administrative system.

Thirdly, as q solution to the problem of succession, in May 1909. the emperor officially announced *Lij* Iyasu as his heir. The prince was a grandson of Menelik from his daughter Princess Shewaregad and *Ras* Mikael (“formerly.*Imam* Mohammed Ali) who was the ruler of Southern Wollo. The heir was, however, a minor of about 12 years of age and could not exercise power by himself. Thus Menelik appointed a Shoan aristocrat, *Ras* Bitwadad Tesemma Nadaw as regent to *Lij* Iyasu.

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Fig, 16 ***UJ*** lyasu with his rsgsnt /fas 8ftwvd(a</Tss*$ms Nskw

Power Struggle Between Empress Taytu and the Shoan Nobility ||

Emperor Menelik's arrangements as regards to his future succession won the disfavour of his own wife, Empress Taytu. The Empress had no child of her own to succeed to the throne. She was worried about her political future following the death of Menelik. She feared that the accession to power of a ruler with no blood or marriage ties to her might affet her and her family's role in the future politics of the country. Thus, the Empress come up with her own choice for imperial succession aimed at guarantwing the continuity of her political influence. To this end, she preferred Prince* Ztwditu, the daughter of Menelik by another woman, to *Lij* lyasu. Zewditu was married to Taytu's nephew, *Ras* Gugsa Wolle Bitu!. Thus, Taytu was resistant to the selection of *Lij* lyasu as this would evidently erode her political significance. The office of regency, was given to *Ras* Tesemma.

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Using her position as the wife of the Emperor, Empress Taytu hurried to buiid a power group centred around her blood and marital relations. Menelik was still alive and *Ras* Tesemma and members of the Council were

respectful to Taytu This enabled the Empress to exercise great power. She, indeed, overshadowed the power Of the regent and the Council. She arranged series of political marriages among her relatives and important political figures, families and local dynasties. She appointed her close allies and relatives to high ranking positions, while she dismissed or demoted her political opponents including members of the Council of Ministers. Eventually, Taytu's measures threatened the political supremacy of the Shoan nobility. The latter could not tolerate Taytu's and her relatives' monoply of power.

The father of*X:ij* lyasu, *Ras* Mikael, allied with the Shoan nobility, in order to defend the position of his son. *Ras* Mikael was already in conflict with *Ras* Wollc, Taytu's brother in northern Wollo. While opposition against the growing political power of the Empress was underway, she tried to dissolve the Council of Ministers. This attempt united her opponents and speeded up her downfall. In March 1910, Empress Taytu was removed from government duties, and was told to limit herself to taking care of her dying husband Her request for self-exit to her birth place was not accepted by her opponents. Her appeal for the intervention of the legations and the churches of Addis Ababa too bore no fruit. She thus had to take cure of the ailing emperor. Menelik died in December 1913 Tayitu was then exiled to Entolo where she stayed until her death in 1918.

The removal of Empress Taytu from political dominance was immediately followed by political rearrangements. Taytu's appointments and dismissals were cancelled The powerful relatives and close aliics of Empress Taytu were detained and lost power

1. Explain the motives behind making political marriages and the role it
   played in Ethiopian feudal society.

2. Discuss die Gender impact of political marriages Do you think that the

effects are similar and equal for both the women and men?

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The Challenge of Iyasu

A year after the removal of Empress Taytu power struggle revived once again. This time the struggle was between the old nobility and palace guards of Emperor Menelik on the one hand and *Lij* Iyasu on the other. It began following the death of *Ras Bitwoded* Tesemma in April 1911. To begin with, the Shoan nobility did not fully support *Lij* Iyasu, as he was the son of non-Shoan regional ruler, *Ras* Mikael of Wollo. They welcomed his selection half-heartedly because, it was the wish of Menelik. They were also hopeful that their own man, Tesemma would protect their interests. But the death of the regent gave rise to new tensions. Iyasu refused to accept any other regent to replace Tesemma, and publicly declared that he could lead the country by himself.

ACTIVITY 3.1

1. What were the effects of the downfall of Empreaa Taytu?

2. Explain the causes of the conflicts between Lij Iyasu and the Shoan nobility?

3. Explain the reasons that drew foreign powers to intervene on the side of the anti-I/asu group

The brief reign of Iyasu (1913 - 1916) was heavily strained by internal problems and external pressure. However, Iyasu had introduced *?* range of
positive reforms to his credit.

*Lij* Iyasu introduced several modem reforms.

- He modified the traditional methods of tithe *(Asrat)* collection. Formerly,
  the amount of the tax to be paid had been determined by an official before
  havesting.

- He also outlawed the traditions of *Lebashay* or method of criminal
  detection and the *Quragna* system, by which an accused and the accuser

were chained together until justice was given.

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- Iyasu established a modem municipal police consisting of former soldiers that served as Italian colonial troops in Libya. They were nicknamed as *Trunbulle* from the name of the capital of Libya, Tripoli.

- *Lij* lyasu also formed a separate department of education that had formerly been attached to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

- He introduced an auditing system meant to protect public property Moreover, *Lij* iyasu followed a more liberal policy towards Ethiopian

Muslims. He encouraged the building of mosques. He established marriage ties with local Muslim dynasties. Muslims were shown positive gestures and, indeed, there rights [u]etter respected under *Lij* Iyasu's rule.



Fig. 17 Tha *Qungna* tradition

*Lij* Iyasu met strong internal and external oppositions, internal opposition came mainly from the old Shoan officials of Menelik. In their struggle to 86

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overthrow lyasu, his opponents made advantageous use of his personal weaknesses, polygamous marriages, and lack of attention to government affairs in the capital. His marriages with Muslims were interpreted as his abandonment of Christianity and an attempt at weakening the Orthodox Church.

Yet, the root causes of the internal opposition to *Lij* lyasu were his attitude towards the old nobility of Menelik and his political measures that were seen as threats to Shoan political supremacy. Indeed, *Lij* lyasu had no respect for the old officials. He dismissed many old Shoan noblemen and replaced them with his young friends and relatives.

Of all his measures, the one that was considered to be the most serious

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political threat to the Shoan establishment was the coronation of his father *Ras*

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Mikael. In 1914, *Ras* Mikael was made *Negus* of Wollo and Tigrai. The provinces of Gojjam and Begemider were added to him later in 1915 . *Lij* lyasu thus, made his father the Icing of the northern provinces. The more lyasu promoted his friends and relatives to key positions, the more the old officials of Menelik lost their former economic and political privileges. Consequently, they united in opposition against lyasu.

Equally disasterous to the young ruler was the method he used in his foreign policy, which provoked external powers, namely Britain, France and Italy. Two policies of lyasu antagonized these powers. First, lyasu was strengthening

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friendly relations with Germany and Ottoman Turkey, which as you will see in Unit Four were the major enemies of the three countries mentioned above in the First World War (1914-18). Even worse, in the eyes of Britain and Italy, *was Iyasu's moral* and material support to the Somali nationalist Sayyid Mohammed Abdile Hassan, who had waged a war of resistance against British and Italian colonialism in Somaliland. Both of these were seen as great offences to the interests of the three colonial powers. These powers, eventually formed a unity

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with the internal enemies of *Lij* Iyasu in the move to depose him. lyasu was on his usual visit to Harar and Jigiga regions while his opponents decided to depose him.

The Shoan nobility appealed to *Abune* Matheos to excommunicate *Lij* lyasu whom they charged, above all, with a pro-Muslim policy. The bishop was persuaded to support their cause, and on 27 September, 1916 lyasu was ofTicially deposed. On hearing the coup lyasu headed to the capital to avert the coup. The army of his opponents met Iyasu and his men at Mieso, near Asebe Talari (Chiro) town. *Lij* lyasu was defeated and fled to Wollo, and then became a fugitive for five years until he was captured in Tigrai in 1921. He was in detention at Fiche up to 1921 and then transferred to Garamulata in Hararge, where he stayed in detention until his death in 1936.

Meanwhile *Negus* Mikael had made an attempt to restore his son to power, and to this end he led a huge army from Wollo to the capital. On 27 October, 1916

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his northern troops met the army of the central government at the *battle of Segelc* near Sheno town in shoa. He was defeated and captured. He died in prison two yean later. The administration of Wollo fell directly under the central government. The bloody *coup* against *Lij* Iyasu, ended up with the restoration of Shoan political supremacy.

The *coup* makers chose their new leaders from among the family of Menelik. They proclaimed Zewditu, the daughter of Emperor Meuelik, Empress. The empress was crowned on February 11,1917. To avoid possible problems of succession, they nominated the son of *Ras* Mekonnen, *Ras* Tafan, as heir to the throne, but shortly afterwards he also assumed the power of a regent. A woman took the imperial crown for the first time in Ethiopian history The new arrangement was made so that the ruler would work in harmony with the newly re-organized Council of Ministers. For the Shoan nobility Zewditu was a suitable choice. She was politically less ambitious; and as a daughter ot Menelik, she could maintain their interests.

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Fig. **18 Empress** Zewditu Menelik **sMhor** attendants The Diarchy (1916-30)

The term diarchy in Ethiopian politics refers to the period of dual rule between 1916 and 1930. Two centers of power existed during this period. These were Zewditu and *Ras* Tafari. Zewditu was the empress, but her heir and regent, *Ras* Tafari, exercised extensive powers Thus the period has often been referred to **as** the diarchy. «

1. What were the main features of the diarchy?

2. How did the dismissal of the members of the Council of Ministers help the rise of Tafari to supreme political power?

3. Discuss the methods *Ras* Tafari employed in his struggle against the "traditionalists".

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At the beginning the diarchy appeared to be a period of political stability

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characterized by the uni&y 6f Shoati forces. The Council of Minsters plainly consisted of the old Shoan nobility. The War Minster, *Fitawrari* Habtc Giorigis Dinagde was appointed Chairman of the Council. Nonetheless, the diarchy was not free from political crisis. This was the out come of a persistent power struggle between two political groups who are referred to as the traditionalists and the progressives. The traditionalists consisted of the old nobility, represented by the Empress and the Council the progressives consisted of the commercial strata, the young and the educated as well as the enlightened nobility rallied around *Ras* Tafari. The traditionalists defended the old order of religious, social, economic and political system. They were above all opposed to the growing power of *Ras* Tafari This group was also opposed to modernization, extensive diplomatic relations and foreign investments in Ethiopia. On the other hand, *Ras* Tafari and the group around him were the prime-movers of progressive ideas.

*Ras* Tafan realized the importance of recruiting domestic and foreign allies and the need to eliminate internal challenges to his power. He dismissed the members of the Council of Ministers in 1018. Only the War Minister, *Fitawrari* Habte Giorgis remained in power. The ministers were removed through underground agitation against their corruption and the public demonstration of the *Mehal Sefari*, who were soldiers and civil servants closely attached to the palace. The Council of Ministers was replaced by a new council known as the Crown Council staffed mainly by Tafari's favourites and allies. The Crown council was only an advisory body. The young educated allies of Tafari criticized the feudal order, heavy taxation, corruption, slavery. These intellectuals called for the development of their country through the expansion of modem education. They also insisted the expansion of veterinary services, health services, the expansion of infrastructure, abolition of the *gebbar* system and slavery, *etc.* A news paper named Berhanena Selam served as a forum of their critics.

*Ras* T&fari patronized the idea of the intellectuals and made many reforms.

- Modem education was expanded young Ethiopians were sent abroad for further education. He established printing press, and welcomed foreign investors and missionaries.

- In 1923, he won Ethiopia's admission to the League of Nations. As a precondition to her membership, an anti - slave trade decree was issued in the country in the same year. The next year, a decree on the gradual eradication of domestic slavery was issued, it was, indeed, the first serious and consistent attempt to put an end to slavery and slave trade. However, both practices continued up to the 1930s.

- In 1924, *Ras* Tafari and some of ihe nobility made an extensive tour in Europe. This gave Tafari a wider exposure to western civilization. He earned sympathy and popularity in many countries. Europeans saw bright prospects for investment in Ethiopia under the leadership of *Ras* Tafari.

- In 1926, the deaths of *Fitawrari* Habte Giorgis and *Abune* Matheos removed serious obstacles to *Ras* Tafan and his allies. *Ras* Tafari took over the lands and troops of the late War Minister and farther strengthened his power.

- In 1927, *Ras* Tafari obtained the unconditional surrender of one of the powerful opponents to his power, *Dejazmach* Balcha Safo, a veteran of Adwa and a governor of Sidamo. He was then made a prisoner; but he later died fighting against Fascist Italy in 1937.

- Similarly in 1928, *Ras* Tafari succeeded to get the submission of *Dejazmach* Abba Wuqaw, the commander of palace guards, who rebelled in defence of Zewditu. Abba Wuqaw was sentenced to death though this was later changed to life imprisonment. Meanwhile, the supporters of *Ras* Tafari and above all the *Mehal Sefari* demanded that the heir should be

crowned *Negus.* The empress conceded to this demand and crowned him in October 1928 w ith a ceremony attended by foreign diplomats..

The last confrontation of Tafari was with the ex-husband of Empress Zewditu *Ras* Gugsa Wolle, the governor of Begemidir (1918-30). Though divorced from Zewditu at her coronation, he continued to get her support and was made governor of Begemidir from 1918-30. The conflict between *Ras* Gugsa and *Negus* Tafari had personal, political and economic causes. Naturally *Ras* Gugsa had to defend the power of Zew ditu, as his own fate was closely related to her stay in pow er. *Ras* Tafan's plan to centralize the customs of the Metemma trade was the source of their economic conflict. Eventually the two fough each other. The army of *Ras* Gugsa was defeated at the battle of Anchim, in Begemidir, on 31 March 1930 by the imperial army. Gugsa himself died in the battle.

Two days later Empress Zewditu died, Tafari was crowned Emperor Haile Selassie I on 2 November 1930. The Dual rule thus came to an end. It was replaced by a monarchy headed by Haile Selassie as an undisputed autocrat.

## 3.2. Emergence of Autocracy in Ethiopia (1930-35)

The term autocracy refers to a political system in which power has vertually concentrated in the hands of one ruler. The government of Emperor Haile Selassie was an autocratic state. Haile Selassie built his government with a highly centralized system of rule. He exercised unlimited power. The coronation of *Ras* Tafari *Negus* by 1928 and Emperor in 1930 marked the beginning of Haile \

Selassie's autocracy. Once he secured virtual control of power, the emperor

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introduced ma.$_{v}$ changes and reforms aimed at laying the foundation for an autocratic rule

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- Read the FDRE's constitution of 1995 and explain the functions of
- the legislative, executive and judiciary branches of the Ethiopian state.
- compare and contrast the civil rights stated in the constitutions of 1931

and 1995.

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The Constitution of 1931

The first written constitution of Ethiopia was introduced in 1931. (A constitution is a document that contains basic laws and principles by which a country is governed). The 1931 Constitution served as a legal basis of the incipient autocratic state. According to one of the Emperor's speeches of the time, the reasons for its introduction were the need for:

- regulating the relations between the monarchy and the nobility,
- establishing friendly relations with foreign powers, and
- keep 'fair rule' and guarantee 'justice' for the people.

These reasons point to a combination of internal and external factors behind the need for the Constitution. Internally, the Emperor wanted to resolve the challenge of regional forces to the central government and the problem of succession. Externally, he wanted to demonstrate his interest to modernize the country. The concern for fair justice for people, however, was more of a whitewash of the Constitution than a genuine conviction. Above all, the Constitution was intended to be a legal instrument of Haile Selassie's incipient autocratic rule.

The Constitution gave extensive powers to the emperor. He was empowered to:

- appoint and dismiss civil and military officials,
- declare or end wars,
- establish a parliament which he could convene or disband at his own will,
- decide on the size of the army and command it,

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♦ issue decrees and sign treaties in the absence of Parliament.

The Constitution reserved the imperial throne only for the family of Haile Selassie 1 and his descendants.

The Parliament then established had two houses, known as the *Chamber of Senate* and the *Chamber of Deputies*. Members of the Parliament were not elected through universal adult suffrage. The masses of the Ethiopian peoples were not given the right to vote in elections. Instead, the Senators were appointed by the emperor from among the nobiiity, princes, judges, ministers and other high- ranking civil and military officials. The Deputies were nominated by the nobility and local chiefs. The Constitution stated that this was to continue until the Ethiopian peoples were able to elect members of Parliament.

The 1931 Constitution greatly reduced the political power of the hereditary nobility of provinces. However, it still respected their economic privileges, such as the rights over tributary lands. They were not allowed to sign treaties with foreigners, and import arms and decorations without the permission of the Emperor. The nobility had the obligation of defending the throne and the Constitution.

The Constitution also consisted of the rights and duties of citizens. Ethiopians were granted the right of free movement, security of private property, appointment to civil and military posts and due process of law to those accused of crimes before any punishment. Conversely, all Ethiopian citizens had the obligation of paying government taxes and tributes and of

giving military service when the need arises. Civil rights, however, remained on paper. The Ethiopian masses were not really represented in the Parliament set up. The dominant feudal mode of production continued to be highly exploitative The only beneficiary of the Constitution was the ruling class Most of all the Constitution was chiefly aimed at legitmizing the autocratic rule of Haile Selassie



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Administration

The emergent autocratic state adopted a policy of monarchical control over the provinces. The objective of this policy was to eliminate the possiblity of regional challenges to the central government. It also aimed at establishing complete control over human and material resources of all provinces in the empire. To this end, local hereditary chiefs were dismissed one after the other and replaced by loyal appointed officials.

The process of building a strong monarchical authority in the modem period begun from as far back as the 19$^{th}$ century. A more direct control over Wollo was established following the defeat of *Negus* Michael in 1916. After the defeat of *Ras* Gugsa in 1930 Begemidir came under the direct control of the central monarchy. The local dynasties of Gojjam and Jimma lost their autonomy in 1932 and 1933, respectively. The only region that was allowed to continue to be ruled by descendants of local hereditary chiefs was Tigrai. It was governed by the grandsons of Emperor Yohannis IV, *Ras* Seyoum Mengesha and *Ras* Gugsa Araya. Emperor Haile Selassie tried his best to win the loyalty of the Tigrean princes through political marriages.

At the centre, state was committed to the improvement of its bureaucracy and consolidation of power. To this end, efforts were made at the expansion of modem education in Addis Ababa and the provinces. Graduates from local schools, and foreign educated Ethiopians were appointed to different administrative, financial, diplomatic and military posts. Other than Ethiopians, a

number of foreign advisors were also employed in different ministries.

Economy

To revitalize the economy, me incipient autocratic state centralized the financial resources. Reforms were introduced in the collection of the two major sources of state income-land tax and tax on goods. Under the new state, land sale became a common practice. In the southern provinces, the process of land sale **95**

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farther reduced peasants to landless tenants. The tenants had to pay rent for cultivating the land which formerly belonged to them. They had no right on the land, and eviction from land was common in these regions. The government also encouraged settlement on uncultivated lands through exemption from tax for some years. This gradually increased the size of lands that paid taxes. Finally in 1935, the government began the prac. ice of collecting fixed taxes in cash at the rate of 30 Maria Theresa talers *per gasha* (40 hectares of land). Tributes in kind and labor gradually changed to cash payment.

Likewise, the land tax and the income from goods tax were centralized. Traditional customs posts were reduced in number. The government established its own customs posts, at which its own officials were in charge. Rules and regulations were set for the collection of taxes. Customs officials were regulated and supervised by the central administration of customs and commerce.

Military Reforms

The attempt at creating a national and modem army could be traced back to Emperor Tewodros II. Nonetheless, significant achievements were made, particularly, under the emerging autocratic state of Haile Selassie. The elimination of regional forces, one after the other, helped Emperor Haile Selassie to embark upon the creation of a national army. The army could serve the autocratic state as a major force of control over its own people. The state also reorganized military training. In 1930, the Ethiopian

government began the training of the Imperial Bodyguard by Belgian officers. Their main unit was stationed in Addis Ababa, but sub-units were also formed in the provinces. The troops of the Imperial Bodyguard were the most privileged ground troops in the country.

In 1934, the first modem military academy for the training of officers was opened at Holeta Gennet, on the way to Ambo, the province in Shoa. The trainees were recruited from schools to be trained for three years. Instructors of the



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officers' school came from Sweden. However, the outbreak of the Italo - Ethiopian War in 1935 soon forced the closure of this school. In addition to this, few young Ethiopians were sent to Europe for advanced military training.

## 3.3. Socio-Economic' Developments 1906 -1935

Despite the protracted political crisis that emanated from internal power struggle, the modem Empire of Ethiopia also saw wide range of socio-economic developments, during the first three decades of the 20$^{th}$ century.

One significant development was urbanization. The process had already begun in the last quarter of the 19$^{th}$ century. During that period, the expanding army of Emperor Menelik established many garrison centers in the newly conquered and incorporated regions. These garrison centers gradually evolved into *Ketemas,* (towns). These later grew into provincial towns. The capital of the Empire itself, Addis Ababa, was founded in 1886. The site was Empress Taytu's choice. The expansion and development of Addis Ababa was, howevei, a post- Adwa phenomenon. Different factors contributed to the development of Addis Ababa as permanent capital.

1. Enumerate the types of crafts practiced in your respective regions and

investigate the social attitude towards this occupation. [Group work]

2. Why was the eradication of slave trade made a precondition to

Ethiopia's admission to the League of Nations?

The relative peace and internal stability that followed the Adwa victory,
encouraged settlement of different social classes in the capital. Job seekers and
foreign nationals, diplomats and merchants were settled. As the result of this
settlement churches, markets and different modem institutions were established.
This contributed to the expansion of Addis Ababa The Completion of the
construction of the Djibouti - Addis Ababa railway, in 1917, contributed to urban



development. Ln the provinces crossed by the railway line, a number of stations like Dire Dawa, Miesso, Nazreth (Adama), Modjo and Debre Zeit (Bishoftu) grew into big commercial centers.

The introduction of the railway also brought about the revival of external trade through Djibouti. Railway became an important channel for the introduction of foreign technology, ideas and culture. It also facilitated transportation and efficient administration in the regions along the railway. The European powers which had colonies adjacent to Ethiopia were all interested in maintaining and expanding commercial relations with the country. However, a Ethiopia's external trade was dominated by foreign merchants consisting of Indians, Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians.

Some members of the ruling class began to involve in business undertakings such as money lending, hotel, taxi transport, cinema, banking, *etc.* These members of the ruling class saw changes in their way of life.

They adopted a new mode of consumption, leisure and easy life This was accompanied by privatization and sale of land, cash payment of taxes and tributes, and accumulation of capital. The new transformation worsened the condition of the peasantry more than ever. The amount of tribute peasants hau to pay in cash, kind and labour grew' quickly. Land sales drove away peasants from their own farms, or reduced them to tenancy. Life became increasingly difficult, particularly, in the new ly incorporated regions of the empire. The state attempt at the eradication of slave trade and the abolition of *corvee* labour were continued. Yet, these reforms brought no significant improvement on the life of the common people.

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ACTIVITIES 3.2

1. Visit a near by village of farmers. Investigate the existing landownership pattern. Examine the impacts of illegal land sales lease or other practices related to land on the life of local people and on the economy of the country. Discuss the issue in the class in the light of the land policy of

FDRE.

2. How did the traditional system of landownership contribute to the economic and technical backwardness of Ethiopia?



To ensure the efficient administration of the vast Ethiopian empire emphasis was first given to the import of modem communications technology.. Telephone, telegraph and postal services were introduced before the close of the 19$^{th}$ century. These were followed by the introduction of the motor car in 1904. The railway and the airplane were introduced in 1917 and 1929 respectively.

Bank of Abyssinia was introduced 190S; Menelik II School was opened in 1908; Menelik II hospital was established in 1910 and different small scale industries and public services were introduced.

Generally, modern technology was not an outcome of indigenous inventions The main agents of technical innovation in the country, the craftsmen, were ostracized, looked down upon and associated with evil spirits and practices oy traditional Ethiopian society. There was no incentive for creativity. Hence, modem technology was totally imported from advanced countries. Even then, it was only the few urban centers, which benifited from the changes introduced.

# Summary

The Empire of Ethiopia underwent a period of political crisis in the first three decades of the 20th century. The major factor for the crisis was internal power struggle that began with the illness of Emperor Menelik.

- The struggle was between the Shoan nobility and the different political factions that confronted the former's political supremacy.
- The first two challenges to the Shoans came from Empress Taytu and *Lij* Iyasu, hence a northern challenge.
- In both cases, the Shoans were victorious and restored their supremacy through two *coups*, staged in 1910 and 1916.
- In the case of the struggle against *Lij* Iyasu, internal anti-Iyasu forces obtained the support of the neigbouring colonial powers.
- The third challenge to the Shoan aristocracy came from *Ras* Tafari, who was their own choice and a descendant of the Shoan dynasty. The struggle

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was then between two opposing groups within the state-the traditionalists

and the modernists. The latter had the support and sympathy of foreigners.
Tafari's group emerged victorious after several years of struggle.

Once he ascended to the throne following the death of Empress Zewuditu,
the new emperor set out to establish an ideal autocratic rule in Ethiopia. The effort
began with laying legal, economic, bureaucratic, administrative and military
foundations for the autocratic state. However the new rule was interrupted by the
fascists invasions of 1935.

Despite political crisis and foreign threat to Ethiopian independence, the
first three decades of the 20"! century had also witnessed some degree of socio,
economic developments.

- The *Gabar* system and slave trade fell under serious criticism. The former
  was modified while the latter abolished.

- Urbans developed and external trade revived.

- Modem institutions were introduced. Hence the foundation for modem
  Ethiopia was laid.

# REVIEW QUESTIONS

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Part I. Say True if the statement is correct and False if the statement
is wrong

1. The power struggle in the last days of Meniike II was only among members of the royal family.

2. Britain, France and Italy supported the anti-Iyasu campaign because they Were not happy with his Pro-Muslim policy.

3. As a pre-condition to her admission to the League of Nations, Ethiopia was forced to abolish the *Gebar* system

4. The 1931 constitution provided Ethiopian citizens with the right of electing their representatives for parliament.

5. It was only the dynasty of Tegrean chiefs that continued to administer its own area under the emerging Absolutist State.

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Part II Match the following items under column A with those under column B

A

B

a. Royal advisory established in 1919

b. Tax-collection system

c. Method of criminal detection

d. Minsters of Menalik

e. Marked the fall of Negus Mikael

f. Defined the colonial interest of Europeans nations

!. Tripartite Treaty

2. Battle of Segele

3. *Mehal Sefari*

4. *Lebashay*

5. Crown Council

in Ethiopia

Part III. Choose the best answer

1. Which of the following did not belong to the reforms introduced by the emerging Autocratic state of Ethiopia?

a. Reinforcing the political power of the local nobility.

b. Military modernization.

c. Establishing legal basis for the absolutist monarchy.

d. Centralization of regional administration.

2. One of the following opponent of the growing power of Ras Teferi was removed by natural death in the 1920s.

a. *Ras* Gugsa. *c) Dejazmach* Balcha.

b. *Fitawrari* Habte Giorgis. *d) Dejazmach* Aba Wuqaw.

3. The period of Diarchy in Ethiopia did not see

a. economic reforms by the state.

b. civil war due to a political conflict.

c. the end of hereditary administration over provinces

d. symptoms of colonial threat to Ethiopia.

4. The Council of Ministers was were dismissed under the pretext of public request presented by

a. Empress Zewuditu. *c)Mehal sefar.*

b. *Ras* Teferi. d) Crown council.

5. Empress Taytu's political influence following the illness of Emperor Menelik was a serious threat to the

a. neighboring colonial powers. c) Ethiopian bishop and the clergy.

b. Shoan nobility. d) local chiefs of Yeju and Semen.

Part IV. Fill in the blank space with correct answers.

1. Two events that precipitated the power struggle among members of the ruling class in the first decade of the 20,h were

a

b

2. The two battles to restore the deposed Lij Iyasu to power were fought at

and

3. Among the modem reforms of Lej Iyasu, the one that was aimed at the betterment of theft-detection system was seen modifying the

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system. *f*

4. Among the rights of citizens included in the 1931 constitution, two of

them were include and

Part V. Give short answers

1. What were the main factors for and contents of the Tripartite Treaty? \

2. Explain the response of the Autocratic state to the critics on the *gabar* system and slave trade

# UNIT FOUR: AFRICAN RESISTANCE TO COLONIALISM AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIAL RULE

The First World War and the Russian Revolution (1877s- 1939)

This unit focuses on African resistance against European colonialism and the struggle for independence. Exemplary resistances against colonial expansion, and the different forms of struggle against colonial rule, are treated here. The First World War and the Russian Revolution of 1917 are other topics of discussion. The impact of World War I on the struggle against colonialism has also been analyzed.

Objectives

After studying this unit students will be able to:

- explain the African resistance movements against colonial expansion and the struggle against colonial rule between the 1870s and 1939,
- discuss the causes, course, and consequences of the First World War and describe its effects on colonial Africa,
- analyze the Russian Revolution,
- explain the exemplary role of the Ethiopian struggle against colonialism in

the 19th century, and

- point out the emergence and development of nationalism in Africa prior to World WarD.

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- Colonialism
- Empire
- Entente
- Liberation

*Key Concepts*

- Mandate
- Protectorate
- Resistance
- Self - determination

# 4.1. The Africans Peoples' Resistance Against Colonial Expansion from the 1870s to 1914

The struggle against colonialism had passed through different stages. Methods of resistance in different parts of Africa were equally different. Resistance to colonialism began early in the course of European colonial expansion. This military resistance can be called early resistance. Resistance to colonial expansion was organized by peoples and states that already existed at the time of colonial conquests. These early resistance were successfully subdued by colonialists before the outbreak of first world war. The struggle for independence from colonial rule in the inter-war period was the second

stage of African resistance against colonialism. The success during this period was very little. The last and decisive stage came after World War n. This was the stage which witnessed the emergence of organized national liberation movements that freed the continent from the yoke of colonialism.

In which parts of Africa did European colonizers met serious resistance to

their expansion between the 1870s and 1914?

8amori Toure of the Mandlnka

Samori Toure was one of those leaders in West Africa who set out to build empires a little before European colonial conquest in Africa. Several such states were created by *jihads* led by local rulers. Samori Toure emerged as a leader in

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the 1870's. He built an empire that encompassed areas in the present states of .
Senegal, south-eastern Mali and Guinea. He had admirable military skills and

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leadership qualities which earned him the praise "the Napoleon of west Africa". The period of his empire building coincided with growing European, particularly French, colonial expansion in West Africa. In 1886-7, Samori Toure had to make peaceful arrangements with the French after a short military encounter. Samori Toure acquired weapons through his tradfc with coastal towns. His fellow tribesmen, the Man^linka metal workers were also engaged in manufacturing and repairing rifles and muskets for samori. In due course of time, he added new territories to his former lands. However, his former territories started to be gradually conquered by the French who now intensified their colonial conquests between 1891 and 1894. Samori Toure fought back the French for several years. Finally a French army

succeeded in capturing Samori in 1898, and exiled him to the French **colonv of** Gabon where he died two years later at the age of seventy.

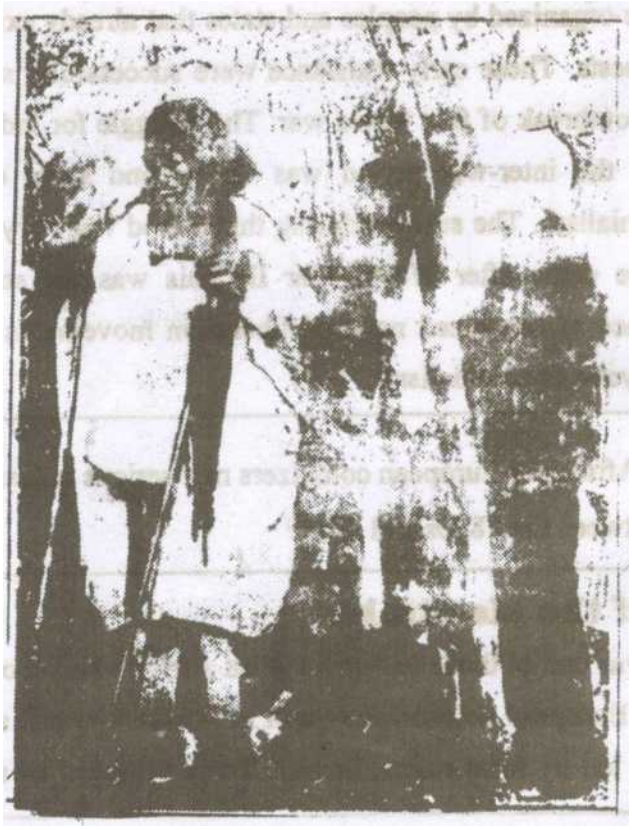


Fig. 20 Samori Toure after his capture by the French



The Ashanti Empire

The Ashanti (Asante) emerged as a nation in late seventeenth century, and were able to build a large and strong empire by the nineteenth century. Their empire stretched in the area of the present state of Ghana, in West Africa. The empire was governed by kings who used the title *Asantehene.* The British began their colonial venture by annexing a coastal strip of land in what has later became Ghana. They called it the British Gold Coast Colony in 1874. Of course the coast was not part of the Ashanti Empire. However, the British did not intend to remain only on the coast.

Later in the same year 1874, trying to take the hinterlands, beyond their Gold Coast Colony, the British fought against the Ashanti Empire. The Ashanti, who had a well-organized army defended this British attempt to seize their empire. In 1896, the British made the first military in 1896 and occupied the Ashanti Empire. The second campaign was fought in 1900. The Ashanti had bravely fought against the British, paid immense sacrifices, but unable to fend off British colonialism. By 1900 the Gold Coast, under the rule of the British, was made up of all the areas of present-day Ghana.

The Urabi Pasha's Rebellion in Egypt

Following the opening of the Suez canal in 1869, colonial powers were

attracted to this vital waterway. Britain was determined to get safe passage for‘her

ships sailing to and from India. British and French Imperialism dominated Egypt.

Egyptian finances came under the control of Britain and France, who wanted to

collect loans that they had given to Egypt. As the result the Egyptian government

faced financial constraints. It tried to take took several measures to save

government expenditure. The cuts in the pay of officers of the Egyptian army was

one of the measures taken by the Egyptian governments. Urabi Pasha was a

colonel in the Egyptian army when British and French imperialism dominated

Egypt. The colonel organized a nationalist army revolt against British and French



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imperialism and the puppet Egyptian rulers. He carried out a strong war of resistance against the imperialists. In 1881, the army of Urabi Pasha was finally defeated at the Battle of Tel El-Kabir by British forces. The rafter, Britain took full colonial control of Egypt since 1882. The French never thought earlier that the British had intended to colonize Egypt. When British took-over Egypt the French felt cheated. This became part of the causes of bitter British-French colonial rivalries in Africa. Furthermore, acting as protector of Egypt, Britain also moved into the Sudan where it had to face another strong resistance organized under the Mahdist movement. The Mahdist Movement had started a war of national liberation against Egyptian rule in 1881.

## The Mahdist Movement in the Sudan

The Mahdi (which literally means the one- that shows the correct way of practicing Islam) in the Sudan began a religious revivalist and anti-colonial resistance movement against Egypt in 1881. The person that came to be known as the *Mahdi* was Muhammed Ahmed Ibn Abdallah. As the colonial master of Egypt, Britain took over the Sudanese problem. The Mahdists had defeated the forces of Gordon who had been assigned as a colonial governor in the Sudan. Gordon was killed and beheaded. Some of the Egyptian an y in the east was subsequently trapped. It was to help the safe escape of this army that the British Rear Admiral Hewett signed the Hewett Treaty of 1884 with Emperor Yohannis IV. As you learned in unit three, Sudan achieved indepedence until it was invaded again in 1898. This time, it was General Kitchner that led the joint Egyptian and British forces. Finally, after a heroic resistance under the leadership of *Khalifa*

Abdullahi (the successor of the *Mahdi*) against General Kitchner, the *Mahdists* were defeated at the battle of Omdurman in 1898. Form 1898 onwards, Sudan fell under joint British and Egyptian control. This joint control was known as the

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Fig. 21 The ***Mahdi*** Muhammed Ahmed ibn Abdallah **The *Maji Maji* Rebellion**

In 1885 the *Sultan* of Zanzibar leased the coast to the German East Africa Company for fifty years. Then, the Germans began to set up trading stations along the coast. Right from the start, faced resistance from the local population. One of the early resistance to the Germans in Zanzibar was led by Bushiri ibn Salim (an Arab sugar planter). Bushir organized the resistance by calling to arms the different ethnic communities there. The Germans tried to overcome this problem through 600 Sudanese mercenaries recruited from Egypt. The

resistance was crushed and the leader Bushiri was killed in battle in 1889.

After their victory on the coast, the Germans advanced into the interior of the mainland Tanganyika where they met politically disorganized communities.

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Anglo Egyptian Condominium rule. But the real masters of Sudan were the British.

At the outset they were able to control the region without much difficulty. Germany declared a protector over the Tanganyika mainland in February 1885. But widespread revolts soon broke out in 1905. The *Maji Maji* revolt broke out as • reaction to the oppressive colonial policy of the Germans. The rebellion began when the local people in southern Tanganyika resisted the attempts of the colonial government to force them into growing cotton for export. This broad based peasant rebellion later come to be referred to as the *Mail Maji* revolt. The term *Maji* means water, in the Swahili language. As strategy, leaders of the movement gave the revolt a religious dimension. They claimed that German bullets could be made ineffective when warriors sprinkle their bodies with Majic water, People believed them. The *Maji Maji* revolt continued to 1907. This mass resistance was brutally suppressed and the Germans continued with their harsh colonial rule.

# 4.2. The First World War (1914-1918)

*Key Concepts*

- Boers • Ottoman Turkish Empire
- Entente • Trench war,
- Multi national empire • Ultimatum

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1. How did World War I affect the struggle against colonial rule in Africa?

2. World War I was fought mainly in Europe. Why is it called a world

Cause* of the First World War The Rivalry among Imperialist Powers

The Industrial revolution was one of the major causes. As industry expanded in western Europe the need for raw materials, many of which were not

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available in their countries forced them to look for colonies in backward areas of

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Nationalism also created tension between France and Germany. France wanted to avenge its defeat in the Franco- Prussian war of 1870-1871 and to regain its lost provinces of Alscace and Lorraine. Balkan nationalism was another source of tension. They struggled to be independent from the Ottoman Turks domination.

Crisis Preceding the War

**The Moroccan crisis of 1905 and 1911: In 1904, Britain and France**

concluded an anti-German cordiale in which France got a free hand in Morocco and England a free hand in Egypt and the Sudan. Germany opposed the agreement and sided with Morocco against French penetration into that land. The conflict was resolved by an international conference. Again in 1911, Germany challenged French claim over Morocco. The

disagreement was finally resolved when France allowed Germany to control some parts of the Congo, formerly belonging to France. Then France was given a free hand in Morocco. France then established a protectorate over parts of Morocco in 1912.

The Balkan Crisis

The Bosnian Crisis: Bosnia Herzegovina had been part of the Ottoman

Empire. But it was seized in 1878 and annexed in 1908 by Austro-Hungarian Empire. Serbia, who claimed the territory opposed the action bitterly. Enemity cropped up between Serbia and Austro-Hungary. Following this, the subject nations in the Balkan rose up against the religious and national oppression imposed by the Ottoman Turks and this led to the Balkan war of 1912 and 1913. The out come of the war was that Turkey was ousted almost from the Balkan Peninsula.

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Military Alliances

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The formation of alliances was another development that added tension on

tfie eve of the First World War.

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Triple Alliance: The Triple Alliance when originally formed in 1882, Comprised Germany, Austro-Hungary and Italy. Later named *Central Powers,* which included Germany, Italy, Austro-Hungary and Ottoman Turkey in 1914. Bulgaria joined the central powers in 1915. Italy, however, left if and joined the Triple entente in 1915.

Triple entente: First Britain and France formed the entente cordiale in 1904. It was transformed into Triple entente when Russia joined the alliance in

1907. More than twenty countries, including the USA, Japan, the Union of South Africa, Portugal and Rumania joined the Triple entente, renamed the *Allied Powers* in the course of the First World war.

Owing to the mutual suspicion

European powers were engaged in arms race. This was a persistent competition among European powers to get ahead of others in terms of quantity and quality of weapons. Germany had increasingly built her industrial and military power since 1871. Between 1898 and 1914, Germany built a naval power (hat was able to challenge British naval supremacy. Mutual suspicion and fear of one another reigned among the nations of Europe.

**What were the basic causes that led to the outbreak of the First World War?**

The assassination of Francis (Frans) Ferdinand at Sarajevo (Bosnia) was the immediate cause of the First World **War.**

This was an event triggered the tensions built over the past years to

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explode. The Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince (Archduke) Francis Ferdinand was

assassinated by Gavrilo Princip, a Serb nationalist on June 28, 1914. It was **a** 112

direct challenge to the Austro - Hungarian Empire which reacted by sending an ultimatum to Serbia, demanding that, Serbia stop anti-Austrian propaganda and

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allow Austria to investigate the plot in Serbian that led to the assassination of Francis Ferdinand.

The Course of the First World War

1. Why did Germany declare war on Russia?

2. Why did Britain declare war on Germany?

Russia, in support of Serbia, started mobilization for war from July 31,

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1914. Germany, Austria's ally, declared war on Russia and then on France. When Germany invaded neutral Belgium, Britain declared war on Germany to help

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defend France. On August 6, 1914 Austria-Hungary declared war on Russia. This chain of events finally dragged members of both military camps in the war.

The First World War was fought on different fronts. The Western front was the most decisive of all fronts. The Germans followed the Schilieffen plan, which was designed by the German chief of staff Alfred Von Schlieffen some eight years back. It was planned to attack France through Belgium and occupy Paris within six weeks in a “Swinging Door" operation. Then to turn east against the Russians whom they contemptuously assumed to mobilize slowly. According to the plan the Germans advanced across Belgium into France and were hatted on the Massive Power not far from Paris.

Contrary to the German expectations, the Russians made rapid mobilization and attached the Germans. Then Germany was forced to transfer part of their army to the Eastern front. On the western front, started a protracted struggle between France, Britain and Belgium on one side and Germany on the

other. When opposing armies came to a stalemate, they dug trenches that run from the English Channel to Switzerland. The space between

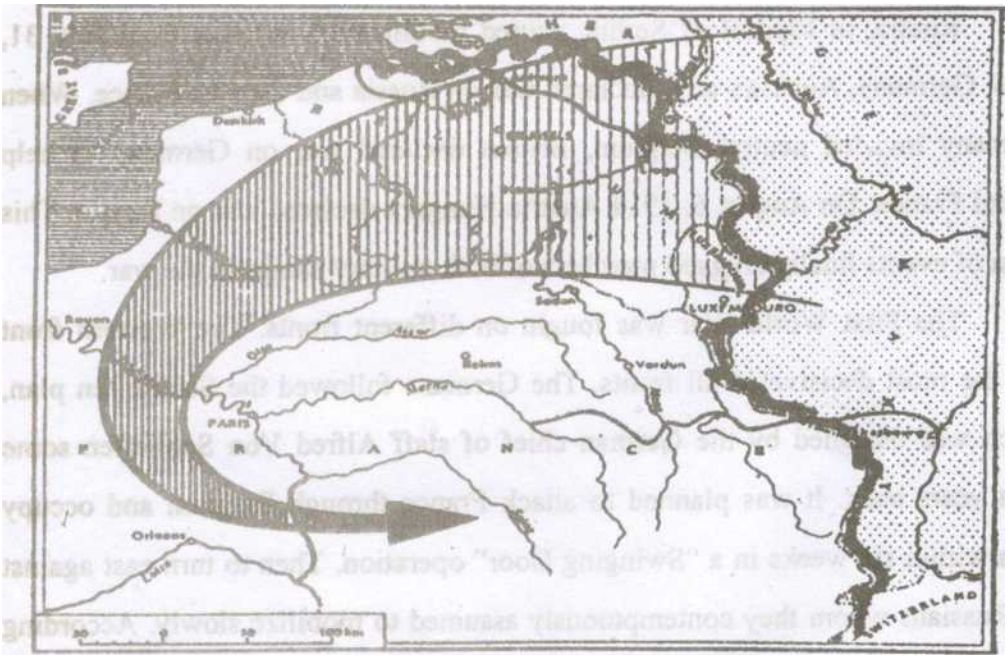
opposing trenches came to be known as “No man’s land” where they fought a battle of attrition using new

modem weapon such as poison gas, tank and airplane.

ACTIVITIES 4.1 .

1. Why did Germany strike on France quickly through Belgium?

2. Why did the U.S.A join the war in 1917?




Map 9 General Scheme of German offensive In the West according to the

Schllefen Plan

What made World War I more destructive than the wars of the nineteenth

century?

The military balance was changed when, the USA entered the war. Germany's attack on commercial ships bound to England in the pacific was **a** major factor for the change. On May 7, 1915, the German submarine (underwater boat) sank a commercial ship and caused the death of large number of people including many American citizens. In January 1917, the Germans started an all out campaign of sinking ships trading with the Entente powers (Allied powers). USA declared war on Germany on April 6,1917.

In 1918, allied forces were reinforced by fresh American troops of two million men. Then the allied powers started an offensive against the Germans and drove them from French soil. By late 1918, the German High command sued for peace and on November 11, 1918 the Germans ended hostilities by accepting armistice.

**The Consequences of the Pint World War**

Social:

- About lOmillion soldiers lost their lives and over twenty million wounded.
- Millions of civilians died as a result of hostilities, famine and disease

and families were dislocated. »

Economic:

- The total cost of the war is estimated over $300 billion
- Destruction of industrial plants, bridges and other infrastructure were destructed.

Political:

♦ The United States of America and Soviet Union became the leading world powers.

- Three major European dynasties were dethroned: the Hohenzollems of Germany, the Hapsbur.s of Austria-Hungary and the Romanous of Russia.

- New national states arose in central Europe.

- The Ottoman Turkish Empire disintegrated Turkey became a state, a state in which the majority of the population was composed of a single Turkish nation. Arab territories were taken away from Turkey. Arab states became independent later.

- The league of Nations was established to solve international problems and advance world peace.




Map 10 Europe following Wrold War I

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Scries of Peace agreements were concluded at the end of the war The major peace agreement was the Treaty of Versailles signed on June 28, 1919, with Germany. According to this treaty, Germany lost territories in Europe. Her overseas colonies, were divided among the Alii- ;s (chiefly Britain and (trance) as

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*mandates*. The American President Woodrow Wilson had forwarded his "fourteen points", to serve as a guide line at the peace settlement. One of his proposed point, was the right of *self-determination* for nations. The peace agreements failed to translate into action most of his important proposals for a lasting peace settlement.

The victors of World War I divided German colonies among themselves. They were to be given the status of a mandate. German East Africa to Britain, Rwanda and Burundi to Belgium; South-West Africa to the Union of South Africa. Cameroons and Togoland were divided between Britain and France. Samoan Islands to New' Zealand; New Guinea to Australia; Marshal Islands to New Zealand; Marshal Islands and Pacific islands north of the Equator to Japan The mandatory powers were entrusted to prepare these colonies for self- government and independence.

The Versailles Treaty put a strict limit on Germany's military power. The Rhineland, which was rich in mineral deposits w s taken away from Germany and occupied by the Allied troops. It was decided tf it the occupation was to last for fifteen years.

The unfair Treaty of Brest-Litovsk which Germany signed with Russia in 1918, was cancelled and the Germans were obliged to withdraw from Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and other occupied territories. Germany was also required to pay large amount of war reparations.



The First World War had a significant impact on the anti - colonial straggle in Africa. Colonial powers used Africa's resources and Africans to support their war efforts in Europe. Many Africans were recruited as soldiers by

their respective colonial rulers and these recruits fought in Europe and in the Middle East. This gave Africans opportunity to further develop their sense of identity, self-awareness and feeling of nationalism. These tra~~nsfo~~rmations infused the anti-Colonial struggle in Africa with new energy and vigour.

• Inflation

Causes of the Revolution

Russia had a long history of feudal relations. It was ruled by *Czar* (Russian Emperor). Since 1613 members of the Romanov Dynasty had been ruling Russia as absolute monarchs. Autocratic rule had prevailed in much of Russias past. The peasants did not own land until 1861. They had been living as serfs. Conditions only improved in 1861 after *Czar* Alexander II by his Edict of Emancipation freed all serfs and allowed some peasants to own land in Russia. Around 1900, there were only few industries in Russia. The workers then living around Moscow and Petrograd (formerly St.Petersburg) had to lead their lives under difficult working conditions. There were chains of workers protests, but governments did not respond.

Various other sectors of Russian society were discontented throughout the nuidUinth century by the autocratic rule of the czars. This gave rise to different 118

# 4.3. The Russian Revolution

*Key Concepts*

- Absolute monarch
- Aristocrat
- Edict of Emancipation

• White Armies

- Serfdom

- Totalitarian

political groups who woiked in secret. Some liberal groups demanded the replacement of *Czarist* absolutismbya democratic parliamentary government. The group called Social Revolutionaries thought that the peasants should rise up, and seize the land of all landlords. Such groups encouraged the peasants to rebel. Of all these die most radical group was that of the Marxists. This group followed the teachings of Karl Marx (1818-1883). These revolutionaries formed the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) in 1898. This party was later divided into the *Bolsheviks* and die *Mensheviks*. The *Bolsheviks* (majority) were led by Lenin, whose real name was Vladmir Dich Ulyanov. The *Bolsheviks* wanted to have a party with small numbers of selected and dedicated members only. The *Mensheviks* (minority) wanted to include all who were supporters of Marxist ideas. The Bolsheviks were more radical than the Mensheviks. The Mensheviks were rather reformists.

**What were the basic differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks?**

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, three revolutions unfolded in Russia

The 1905 Revolution. The prevailing popular discontent was rein forced

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by other factors. The defeat of the Russian army in the Russo - Japanese War of 1904-5 precipitated the outbreak of the Russian Revolution of 1905. On Sunday 21 January 1905, peaceful demonstrators led by p east Father Gapon and others marched to the *Czar's* Winter Palace to present a petition. Czar Nicholas H's troops fired on the peaceful and unarmed demonstrators. Many people were killed. This day came to be known as Blood} Sunday. This event eradicated the belief of the masses that the *Czar* was the "Father of the People." Then violent uprisings were staged from 1905 - 1907 discontented people that are determined to bring

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about changes. As a result of this popular pressure, Nicholas agreed to have a *Duma* (Parliament) established. Elections to the *Duma* were allowed.

However, with the passage of time the electoral laws were changed to allow the landlords and the rich, instead of the masses to have more members elected in the Parliament. Using his troops, Nicholas put down all opposition and restricted the power of the *Duma.* Absolutism continued until another revolution challenged it once again.

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- Outline the major causes of the 1905 Revolution.
- What were the cousequences of the first Russian Revolution? What was the bloody Sunday?"

At the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, popular attention was diverted away from internal discontent to external issues. Russia aided with the *Entente* powers. In 1915 Nicholas II declared himself Commander-in-Chief of Russian army. But he was not really an effective commander. Day to day government affairs were partially left in the hands of *Czarina* Alexandra, the German wife of Nicholas II. She was advised by a •holy man' called Gregory Rasputin (1872-1916) on important issues including appointments and dismissals



Fig. *22* Raspy? i

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of government officials. Rasputin's bad behaviour made him unpopular an4 disliked by the people. The state had been ran by incompetent ministers, which showed that how corrupt the regime had become.

The Road to the 1917 Revolution The March Revolution

In December 1916. Rasputin was assassinated by discontented people. Meanwhile, the Russian army lost battle after battle in the on going First World War. The military losses precipitated the outbreak of the Revolution. Living conditions in the towns worsened due to food shortages and inflation. In Petrograd, workers went on strikes, and riots become common. Soldiers in Petrograd, finally, joined foe people of the city. Eventually the *Czar* was forced on 3rd March 1917 *Czar* Nicholas II was deposed to give up his throne. Then, the rule of foe Romanov Dynasty came to an end.

Following the overthrew of the mon«ch. influential members of the *Dm** organised a Provisional Government. The new government however failed

tn meet demands of foe people. It was unable to solve the mqjor problems of **fog** people mainly shortage of food and bringing foe war to an end. The government

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lost popular support In foe meantime, peasants, workers and soldiers in Petrograd came together and formed *Soviets* (councils or co-ordinating bodies). The Bolsheviks under Lenin, who had just returned from exile, demanded that the ineffective Provisional Government be dissolved.

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The *Bolsheviks* held the popular slogans of the day, "All power to the *Soviets!"* and "Peace, Land and Bread!". With these slogans and their organizing skills* the *Bolsheviks* won popular support. In September 1917 a military take- ever was attempted by Genial Kornilov, the Commander-in-Chicf of the Russian Army. Following the failure of this attempt, the *Bolsheviks* strengthened their hold in Petrograd and Moscow where the *Soviets* were strong.

The October 1917 Revolution

The Bolsheviks of the Petrograd *Soviets* led a popular insurrection beginning from 25 October, 1917. The headquarters of the Provisional Government fell into the hands of the *Bolsheviks* within ten days. The Provisional Government came to an end. The Bolsheviks seized political power. They established a regime led by premier Lenin and war Minister Leo Trotsky. Soon after they secured state power, the Bolsheviks took the following measure:

- Organized the workers to take over factories and nationalized industry. An eight hour working day was introduced by law.

- Directed the peasant to ^eize the noble's estates by the decree passed in October 1917. It confiscated the land of landlords and gave to the peasants. This was an important measure meant to solve the age old agrarian problem.

- The decree on peace (October 1917) relieved the soldiers from the war that they were not willing to fight. Russia formally withdrew from World War I, after signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany in 1918.

By introducing these and other measures, the *Bolsheviks* tried to meet the demands of the people for "Peace, Land and Bread".

These *Bolshevik* measures were disliked by those who lost their lands, and Ihose who lost their high offices in government. West European powers feared that such an upheaval would set a bad example to their own peoples The internal — 123

enemies of the Revolution, led by the *cx-czarist* officers organized military operations and attacked the revolutionary government. Their forces were known as the "White Armies". A civil war broke out. It lasted until 1922. The Red army of the revolutionary government succeeded in crushing the rebel forces and saved

the revolution.

In order to solve the mounting economic problems, Russia was then facing, the *Bolsheviks* introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921. This policy restored smaller enterprises to their owners, allowed peasants to sell their grains for profit, and revived commerce.

A new state called the union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) was established in July 1918. A secret police called *Cheka* was also organized, in the same year to suppress counter revolutionaries. Lenin died in 1924 Joseph Stalin came to power after a duel with Leo Trotsky for supreme power. In 1929, Leo Trotsky was sent into exile. He was assassinated in Mexico in 1940. Between 1928-38 Stalin carried out purges within the Soviet communist party to strengthen his totalitarian rule and eliminate oppositions. He introduced series of economic plans, called 'Five Year Economic Plans'. The first of the five year economic plan lasted from 1928-32 All foreign influence in Russian industry was abolished Industrialization showed rapid progress resulting in high rate of production. But the process of forceful collectivization of farms faced serious reaction particularly from the rich fanners (kulaks) and as a result Russia faced severe food famine ii 1934. In the Second Five Year Plan, however, the situation was some wha alleviated. The third five year plan had just begun when Nazi Germany attacke Russia in 1941. By that time Stalin had already transformed Russia from backward agricultural nation into a modem industrial state. This economi strength enabled Russia to gain victory over Nazi Germany in the Second Worl War.

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The Russian Revolution as a whole became an inspiration for those fighting
against oppression. Colonial peoples of Africa and Asia were heartened in their
anti-colonial struggle by the successful example of the Russian Revolution. The
strengthening of the U.S.S.R. after the Second World War changed the
international balance of power. The U.S.S.R. became a strong supporter of the
national liberation struggle in Africa.

# 4.4. Anti-Colonial Struggle in Africa Between the Two World Wars

After World War I African struggle for independence against colonial rule gained momentum. The new forms of struggle against colonialism had regional
variations. The self-help or welfare associations and the political parties of this
period, the Wafdists in Egypt and the Neo-Dastur in Tunisia are treated separately
were at the forefront of the anti-colonial struggle at this stage. Africian self-help
associations demanded the restoration of the expropriated lands to the natives,
Emergent political parties mobilized Africans"for national independence. All
j prepared the ground for the more determined national liberation movements of the
H post World W'ar II Africa. Examples of the different forms of struggle are treated
r. in the following pages.

b 1. In what ways did political parties facilitate African struggle for
*n* independence in the mter-war period (1918-39)°

The Young Kikuyu Association in Kenya

The Kikuyu are one of the largest communities of Kenya. The young Kikuyu Association was a native association organized by African workers in urban areas and white farmlands. Their common stand against British colonialism

1. In what ways did political parties facilitate African struggle for

independence in the mter-war period (1918-39)°

brought Africans together. The British chose the Kenyan highlands for white settlement. The land formerly belonged to the Kikuyu had been given to white settlers. The Kikuyu became hostile to British colonialism and white settlers.

Moreover, in 1921 white farmers ganged up together in order to cut the pay of all their African workers, by one third. This initiated the Kikuyu to form the Kikuyu Association. The founding leader of the association was a young telephone worker named Harry Thuku. The association was formed in order to protect whatever little rights the Africans had and to continue the struggle against British colonial rule. A major demand was the return of lands expropriated by white settlers. The British reacted violently. They took repressive measures, and imprisoned Harry Thuku. in 1922.

The Bataka Association in Uganda

This was a native association established in the period between the two world wars in Uganda. Prior to the advent of colonialists to Uganda, there several Kingdoms had been formed. Ankole, Buganda, Bunyoro and Toro were the well- known. The name "Bataka" was drawn from the ancient history of the people of Buganda. *Bataka* had been the title used by clan heads that ruled the people of Buganda in ancient times. This was before the emergence of Bugandan Kingdom under the rule of *Kabakas* (Kings).

In the process of colonization in Buganda Christianity and its missionaries played a considerable role. Evangelization was carried on by European Christian missionaries since the early 1880s. The missionaries who had been successful in converting court officials faced serious opposition from the people in 1882 The rebellions were directed against the *Kabakas* and the missionaries. However, the European presence helped to control these rebellions. The British declared a protectorate over Uganda in 1900. The Bugandans were then converted in mass to



Christianity. The Bugandan rulers (the *Kabaka* and his chiefs) became accomplices in consolidating British colonialism in Uganda.

In 1900 there was an agreement between the British and Ugandan chiefs, the *Kabaka.* By the agreement the chiefs were allowed to represent the people in the colonial assembly known as the *Lukiko.* In the inter-war period, group of young and educated Africans began to oppose the *Lukiko* and the Government of the Protectorate of Uganda. They were both against being represented by the *Kabaka* and the chiefs in the *Lukiko.* To coordinate their struggle, formed the Bataka Association. The Bataka Association was the party of the common people, and became most prominent, especially in 1947-8.

The Emergence of Political Parties and the Struggle Against Colonial Rule

Anti-colonial struggle guided by political parties had been the experience. In some parts of Africa After World War I, anti-colonial struggle in some parts of Africa began to be led by political parties. In South Africa capitalist economic sectors had developed earlier than in the rest of Africa. Political awareness of the workers led to the establishment of political parties to guide and coordinate their struggle against white minority rule. In South Africa racial discrimination, minority rule and economic oppression had embittered the black majority. The African National Congress (ANC) was established in 1912 and had members from different sectors of South African society. It won significant concessions from big business owners. The ANC greatly influenced those workers from other parts of Africa that went to South Africa as migrant labourers. When these labourers returned to their countries, they took with them the ideas of organized struggle for both democratic rights and independence from colonial rule. Such was the case, for instance, with those workers that came from Basutoland (Lesotho) and Swaziland.



In other parts of Africa, political parties were formed with the express purpose of struggle to end colonial rule. This was true of Nigeria, Egypt and Tunisia.

As early as 1918, a Gold coast lawyer. J.E Casely Hayford founded the National Congress of British West Africa which spread to Nigeria in 1920.

This congress demanded that Africans should participate in the government to have a

saying in the local affairs.

Following World War I, the Egyptians waged a strong anti-colonial opposition against the British. This was the background to the emergence of an Egyptian nationalist party called the *Wafd*. The word literally means delegation. In 1919, the *Wafdist* leaders headed by saad Zaghlul Pasha led a delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference and demanded Egyptian independence. The British responded by deporting Zaghlul Pasha to Malta, the Mediterranean island colony of Britain. Pressed by these circumstances the British recognized Egypt's independence in 1922. However, the British troops did not evacuate Egypt until 1956. Therefore, the *Wafd* Party, which until 1922 had some legal problems with the British, was formally founded in 1923 and continued to struggle for full independence of Egypt.

In Tunisia, the Neo-*Datsur* Party which was a successor of the *Datsur* Party (which means Party of the Constitution) was formed with the major goal of winning the independence of Tunisia from French colonial rule. It was founded in 1934 under the leadership of Habib Bourgiba (who later became the first president of independent Tunisia, in 1956).

One exceptional case was the struggle of the Riff communities of Morocco against French and Spanish colonial rule. This was an armed struggle carried out without a political party but under a leader named Abd el-Kerim, in the 1920s. Abd el-Kerim was able to form an independent Riff Republic in Morocco. But,



the combined military might of France and Spain destroyed his republic which lasted only for a brief period.

# Summary

- The peoples in different regions of Africa had resisted against European colonial expansion.
- Due to modem firearms, people in almost all parts of Africa fell under colonial yoke.
- Only Ethiopia successfully resisted colonial domination and maintained her independence.
- The rest of Africans continued their struggle against colonial and became successful in gaining their independence after the Second World War.

# REVIEW QUESTIONS

Part I. Say True if the statement is correct and False if the statement **is** wrong

1. Samori Toure was defeated and captured in Gabon
2. The Ashanti Empire extended up to the Guinea coast
3. The Balkan nations fought against the Ottoman domination.
4. The act of sunking British ships by the Germans dragged the USA into WWI.
5. The Neo- Datsur party was founded with the aim of gaming independence for Tunisia from French colonial rule

Part II. Match the following items under column A with those under column B.

| **A** | **B** |
|---|---|

| A | B |
|---|---|
| *1. Entente Cordiale* | a) Dual Alliance |
| *2. Maji Maji* | b) Delegation |
| 3. Bloody Sunday | c) Trench warfare |
| 4. Soviets | d) Fashoda Incident |
| *5. Wafd* | e) Councils |
| | 0 Water |
| | g) The 1905 Revolution |
| | h) Understanding between two powers |
| | i) Triple Alliance |
| | J) Joseph Stalin |

**Part III. Choose the best answers.**

1. The major source of hostility between France and Germany was over

a. the possession of Morocco

b. the question of Alsace and Lorraine

c. the Congo Basin

d. the Camerons

2. The African struggle for independence became successful

a. Between tho two world wars.

b. After the First World War

c. After the Second \\ orld W ar

d. ftcr the Coid War

3. T he two main imperialist groups up to the First World War were

a. France and Britain c) France and Germany

b. Germany and Britain d) the Triple Alliance and Triple Entente

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4. The Egyptian delegates went to the Versailles Peace Conference to demand for Egyptian independence. As a result,

a. Egypt became independent in 1922

b. the League of Nations considered the Egyptian demands

c. the members of the delegates were deported to the island of Malta.

d. The delegates were able to demand for the independence of the Arab states.

e. all

Part IV. Fill in the blank space with correct answers.

1 The dominant powers m the Versailles Peace Conference were and

2. The royal title of the kings of the kingdom of Buganda was

3. The Russians withdrew from the First World War after signing the peace

treaty of with

4. A priest by profession but acted as chief advisor of Czarina Alexandra was

5. The League of Nations gave the mandate of administering the Germany

colonics of and to Belgium

Part V. Give short answers.

1. Why did European powers aligned into hostile camps at the eve of the First World War?

2. What was the immediate cause of the First World War?

3. Why did Germany planned to attack France through Belgium[9]

4. How did the USA entered into the **f** irst World War[9]

5 Why did almost all-African resistance at the early stage of colonial expansion fail?

# UNIT FIVE: ITALO-EHTIOPIAN WAR (1935 - 41) AND ITS AFTERMATH

This unit is primarily concerned with the period 1935-41. It deals with the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1935-36 and its aftermath. It highlights the revival of Italian colonial interest in Ethiopia, Fascist invasion and occupation of Ethiopia, and the patriotic resistance. It also touches briefly on the Second World War, and shows how the Italo - Ethiopian war became part of the global war and the unity of internal and external forces in the liberation struggle.

Objectives

After studying this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the causes, the course and the consequences of the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1935 - 36;
- account for the failure of the League of Nations to pass a just resolution;
- discuss Fascist Italy's occupation, and the nature of fascist administration in Ethiopia;
- elaborate on the sacrifices paid by the Ethiopian peoples in defence of their country;

‘ ♦ describe the causes and course of the Second World War, nd how Italy's entry into the war affected her colonial fate in East Africa, vith particular emphasis to Ethiopia;

- discuss the role of internal and external forces in the struggle for liberation;

- explain the restoration of autocracy ;
- explain the intention of the British government ti sustain its influence in Ethiopia.

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- Appeasement
- Arbitration
- *Banda*
- Chauvinism
- Collaboration
- Conscription

*Key Concepts*

- Fascism
- Guerrilla warfare
- Insurrection
- Irredentism
- Just war
- Martial law
- Occupation
- Occupied Enemy Territory
- Patriotic Resistance

- Sanction
- *Yewust-Arbegna*

# 5.1. Italo-Ethiopian Relations, 1906-35

In unit two, you have seen that Ethiopian victory at the Battle of Adwa was the first major blow to Italian colonialism in Africa. You also saw that the Italo-Ethiopian conflict of 1895/96 had been wound up with the Addis Ababa Peace Treaty of 1896. In that treaty Italy unconditionally recognized the independence of Ethiopia. Indeed following its defeat at Adwa, international and domestic crises forced the Italian government to adopt a policy of Hfiriendly^M relations with Ethiopia. The Italian government renounced its policy of colonial expansion and reduced the budget for it. Despite these peaceful moves, however, colonial ambitions did not totally die out.

Thus, behind the official harmonious Italo-Ethiopian relations, there were signs of revival of Italian colonial interests in Ethiopia. The first indication was Italy's plan of building a railway connecting her colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland, as manifested in the Tripartite Treaty of 1906. (See unit Two).

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1. What were the reasons for the revival of Italian colonial interests in
   Ethiopia?

2. Point out the major events that show the "friendly* Halo-Ethiopian
   relations, between ! 906-1934

3. Why did Italy support Ethiopia's admission into the League of

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The second sign of Italy's growing colonial interest came following her entry into the First World War on the side of the *Entente* Powers in 1915. It became evident on the 1915 Allied discussions as to how to redistribute colonial possessions in the event of victory. Italy made it clear that it's intention was to take over the colonies of British and French Somaliland as well as the Bank of Abyssina and the Djibouti-Addis Ababa Railway. In short, Italy made it clear that it's intention was to become the supreme colonial power of the Hom of Africa. However, Britain and France opposed to Italy's demands and refused to surrender any of their colonies as well as their capitalist investments in {he Hom of Africa Thirdly in 1922 Fascists seized power in Italy. The leader of the Fascist party Benito Mussolini rekindled the idea of an Italian colonial empire in Africa. Fascist leaders wanted to win mass support by promising to avenge the defeat of Adwa and the restoration of the "glory* of the Roman Empire to Italy. Italy was under a great financial difficulty after the war and gained none of its territorial claims at the peace settlement. This provided a new stimulus to the idea of Italian colonial expansion. Italy’s Fascist government also wanted to divert the attention of its people by entering into a war of expansion in Africa. All these factors accentuated Italian aggressive designs on Ethiopia



Fourthly, by the 1925 Anglo-Italian Agreement the government of Italy agreed to give a diplomatic support to Britain's plan of Building a Dam on Lake Tana.

Yet, Italy made no official moves that openly antagonized Ethiopia in the first three decades of the 20$^{th}$ century. Italy tried her best to hide her colonial designs by showing friendly gestures towards Ethiopia, without giving up her grand plans.

- Italy gave diplomatic support to Ethiopia's membership in the League of

Nations in 1923.

- *Ras* Tafan's European tour of 1924 included an official visit to Italy.

- A Treaty of Peace and Friendship was signed in August 1928 between

Ethiopia and Italy.

To advance her real plans, Italy used her colonies of Eritrea and Somali as bases of military preparations and subversive activities against Ethiopia. Italians had also sown seeds of internal division using different individuals or groups who had one or another kind of grievance against Haile Selassie and his government. They also sought to use class, religious, ethnic and dynastic conflicts in Ethiopia for their own ends. Indeed, Italians seem to have attained a certain measure of success through this strategy. The autocratic state of Haile Selassie had antagonized many hereditary regional rulers like *Ras* Hailu of Gojam, *Dejaznuich* Ayalfew Biru of Semen, Abba Jobir of Jimma, *Dejazmach* Haile Selassie Ciugsa of Tigrai and others w ho later became collaborators of Italy.

The Walwal Incident and the Reaction of the League of Nations

Walwal is a place located inside the Ethiopian territory of Ogaden. However, by the 1930s through a process of encroachment the Italians had established illegal control over it. On 5 December, 1934, Italian troops, who were



just waiting for a pretext for aggression, opened fire on an Anglo-Ethiopian Boundary Commission passing through the area around the water wells of Walwal escorted by Ethiopian troops. This led to an armed clash, in which Italians lost about thirty soldiers. Ethiopian losses were about three-fold. Nonetheless, Italy demanded that Ethiopia should apologize and pay reparations. Ethiopia took the matter to the League of Nations seeking arbitration and justice.

1. How can we differentiate between just and unjust wars?

2. What was the response of the League of Nations to the Italo-Ethiopian conflict of 1934? Was it fair? Discuss.

3. Why do some aggressors use border clashes as pretexts for major

wars?

The League of Nations failed to give a just solution to the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. The League was dominated by European powers who themselves were imperialists, owning several colonies each. Britain and France were instrumental in delaying the agenda. The two countries were, trying their best not to disappoint Italy for fearing that Italy might get into an alliance with Germany. There were already signs of Germany's intentions to avenge her defeat in World War I. The political atmospheres in Europe were manifesting sings of another World War. Thus, Ethiopia was left helpless. After a long delay, the League finally imposed sanctions on both Italy and Ethiopia. The sanctions, however, were nominal and could not stop the aggressor. The League was above all unable to take a military action against the aggressor.

In the end, the League of Nations lacked both the will and the power to give a just decision. It became incapable of stopping aggressions in Europe and Asia. Encouraged by the diplomatic support from Britain and France and the weakness of the League, Italy invaded Ethiopia, using the Walwal incident as a pretext.

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# 5.2. The Italo-Ethiopian War of 1935-36

On 3 October, 1935 Italian troops crossed the Marab river into Ethiopia and started their war of aggression. Italian invasion came from two directions, in the north from Eritrea and in the south from Italian Somaliland. Italian military operation in the north was led by Marshal Emilio De Bono, who after the begining of the war was replaced by Pietro Badoglio. Badoglio led the highly ruthless phase of

the war on the northern front. His troops advanced rapidly into Tigrai, accompanied by air attacks. About three hundred airpolanes were ordered to shower the internationally outlawed poison gas upon the Ethiopians. In the south, the Italian army was under the command of General Rudolfo Grazziani. Italians also used about 100 airplanes for air attacks on this front.

ACTIVITIES 5.1

1. Compare and contrast the level of Italian and Ethiopian military technology in 1935/36.

2. What were the major contributing factors to Ethiopians defeat in the war of 1935-36?

On the Ethiopian side, there was massive response to the mobilization order of the state. However, Ethiopia's counter-offensive came very late. There were two reasons for the delay. Firstly, Ethiopia trusted the League of Nations and the international community and hoped fair justice. Secondly, Ethiopians wanted to stretch out Italy's line of supplies by allowing them to proceed deep into the interior. Ultimately Ethiopian forces set out to confront the Italians on both the northern and southern fronts.





Fig. 25 Ethiopian troops ,?oing to war front

in the north, the Ethiopian amiy was put under the overall command of *Ras* Kasa Haiiu. It fought the Italians in three directions. The forces under the Minister of War, *Ras* Mulugcta Yegezu, fought on the eastern direction at the Battle of Amba Aradom. At the centre were the forces of *Ras* Kasa and *Ras* Seyoum Mengesha. *Ras* Imiru Haile Selassie led a force that fought against Italians in Shire, i.e. western direction. The Ethiopians won some battles in the western front. However, they were unable to stop the overall Italian advance. Ethiopians could not withstand Italian aerial bombardment and poison gas. Italians won victory at the battles of Tembien and Amba Aradom. In the latter battle Ras Mulugeta Yigezu lost his life. The Ethiopian army scored minor victory only at the battle of shire in the western front.

Emperor Haile Selassie took command of the Ethiopian forces which offered the remaining organized resistance. The better trained army, the Imperial Bodyguard was at his disposal led by the Emperor, Ethiopians fought the battle of Maichew on 31 March, 1936. Nonetheless, they lost this battle as well. After Maichew, Ethiopian troops retreated in a disorderly manner.

The emperor returned to his capital, late in April 1936. [1] e Council of

Ministers, under the chairmanship of the emperor, decided to cont ,ue diplomatic



campaign at the League of Nations. On 2 May, 1936, Emperor Haile Selassie, his royal family and some notable officials left Addis Ababa for Europe *via* Djibouti. On 5 May, 1936, Addis Ababa came under the control of the Italian army led by

Marshal Badoglio.

In the south, the Italian army under General Rudolfo Grazziani attacked Ethiopians using its superior weapons. The Ethiopian forces under the

command of *Dejazmach* Nassibu Zeamanuel *Dejazmach* Desta Damtew, *Dejazmach* Balcha Sale and *Dejazmach* Mekonnen Endalkachew fought the Italians with determination. In the south the Ethiopian resistance had effective and united leadership Yet, they could not stop Italian advance. Harar was occupied by the Indians, some days a her the fall of Addis Ababa.

The Italo-Ethiopian War of 1935-36 was thus concluded by the victory of the Fascist forces. Several factors were accountable for Ethiopia's defeat. The first was Italy’s military superiority. Italy came to Ethiopia after a careful and thorough military preparation. The quantity and quality of its arms, ammunitions, as well as logistics excelled the that of the Ethiopians. Italy used the latest military icchno!o > and possessed highly trained and experienced commanders. Italy also enjoyed absolute air control The poison gas caused great frustration among Ethiopian troops. Ethiopia's war efforts had been further weakened by an arms

embargo. The neighboring European colonial powers blocked the import of arms

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into Ethiopia, accusing Ethiopians for using arms in slave raids. On the other hand, the Ethiopian army was still predominantly traditional. It was ill-armed and with virtually no modem military training. Though courageous, Ethiopian commanders were also traditional. Their efforts lacked proper co-ordination. Internally, the incipient autocratic state had antagonized some regional rulers by its policy of centralization. Many of these rulers defected to the Italian side. Many others fell easy prey to Italian propaganda for different economic, political and religious reasons



## 5.3. Fascist Rule and Patriotic Resistance 1936-41

Italian control over Addis Ababa on 5 May, 1936 marked the beginning of Fascist occupation of Ethiopia. Ethiopia was merged with the other Italian

colonies, Eritrea and Somaliland. In 1936, Italy declared the establishment of Italian East Africa, by putting the three territories together and began to administer them as one colonial unit.

An Italian *viceroy* was assigned to be in charge of the administration of the Italian East Africa. The first fascist governor was Badoglio, but he was soon replaced by the commander of the southern front, Grazziani, in May, 1936. The latter ruled up until the unsuccessful attempt on his life in Addis Ababa in February' 1937. The last Italian viceroy was Amadeo Umberto D'Aosta, whose admmistration is said to be relatively liberal.

1. Collect oral traditions by interviewing elders in your locality, and explain the nature of Fascist administration.

2. Draw a sketch map and Identify the administrative zones of Italian
   East Africa Discuss the issues considered in the making of those regional divisions.

3. Point out the major consequences of Fascist occupation.

4. Why was Italian rule mainly urban-centered?

1 he Italian East African empire had six administrative divisions named:

1. Eritrea and Tigrai 4. Oromo and Sidama

2. Amhara 5. Harar and Diredawa

3. Shoa 6. Ogaden and Somalia.

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These Administrative divisions ruled from the towns of Asmara, Gondar, Addis Ababa, Jimma, Harar and Moqadisho which were made capitals of their respective administrative divisions.

Fascist occupation was a military rule, racist, violent, and highly centralized. Its officials were highly corrupt, most of them inefficient and irresponsible. Italian effective control, in most cases, was limited to towns due to a nation-wide patriotic resistance.

Italian rule, caused great human and material destruction to Ethiopia. Hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians lost their lives during the invasion, as well as in the subsequent patriotic movements against the Italians. These included both soldiers and civilians. Young educated Ethiopians were executed. Thousands of Ethiopians were deported to the prisons the Italians set up in different parts of their empire as well as in Italy. Many Ethiopians were exiled to the neighboring countries. Families were broken up and children orphaned.

Yet, Italian occupation also witnessed the establishment of few factories, producing items for colonial consumption like food, textile, cement and construction materials. The need for effective control of the colonies obliged them to invest a huge sum of money on road construction. Italians expelled other foreign companies engaged in trade and replaced them by their own. The period of Fascist occupation saw the expansion of hotels and prostitution. In major towns, they left modem buildings, garages, and different technical services. The linguistic influence is still to be seen in Italian loan-words in many Ethiopian languages. For instance such words like asquala, ospedala, bandira, pena, machina are all Italian loan words to mean school, hospital, flag, pen, car respectively.

The Patriotic Resistance Movement

The Italians faced nation-wide opposition from the very beginning of their occupation of Ethiopia. It has already been stated that few notables who had



grudges with the emperor became collaborators. There were also some ordinary individuals that served the Italians for pay. Aside from this, Fascist rule had triggered protest and large scale oppositions virtually in all parts of the country all the way through the five years of occupation. The peoples of

Ethiopia were not willing to surrender the independence of their country and thus paid immense sacrifices to defend it.

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1. Why did Ethiopians resist the Italians throughout their stay?

1. How did patriots mobilize supplies and provisions?

2. Discuss the role of Ethiopian women in the patriotic resistance.

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There were two stages of the patriotic resistance against Italian rule. The first was a continuity of the major war, and it lasted up to early 1937. It was led by members of the upper nobility in command of their respective troops. One of them was *Ras* Imiru Haile Selassie, the designated viceroy of the Emperor, in exile after 1936. Imiru was in Gore town of Illubabor when members of the Black Lion Organization invited him to become their leader. This organization was formed in 1936 and it consisted of graduates of the Holeta Military Academy and some other civilians. The Black Lion engaged in fighting the Italians around Naqamte, in Wollega. *Ras* Imiru accepted the invitation and became the head of the Black Lion Organization. He led the patriots on the first planned attempt to liberate Addis •Ababa in 1936. However, the forces under the *Ras* were defeated near River Gojeb in Kaffa by an Italian army before they reached Addis Ababa. *Ras* Imiru was caught and deported to Italy. Some other participants were detained.

The second attempt to liberate Addis Ababa was carried out in the summer

of 1936. A group of notable commanders planned to attack the Italians in the

capital, from different directions, at a time. The operation was organized by the

two sons of *Ras* Kasa Hailu, *Dejazmachs* Abera and Asfawossen Kasa,

Fikremariam. However, the plan lacked proper coordination and the Italians easily crushed it. One of the unifying figures of the attack, *AJbune* Petros was caught and executed in the capital. The Kasa brothers were later on persuaded to surrender, but executed in the end. *Dejazmach* Balcha continued his active involvement in the resistance in the south, until his death in 1937.

On February 19,1937, two young Ethiopians named Moges Asgedom and Abraha Deboch made an attempt to, assasinate the Italian Viceroy, Graziani. Graziani was seriously wounded while some other officials were killed. As a revenge, Italian soldiers carried out a wholesale massacre of Ethiopians in the city. The incident is referred to as the February or Graziani Massacre. Within three days, about 30,000 Ethiopians were killed. Most of them were shot on the streets, others burnt alive in their homes, and still others beheaded. The Italians targeted chiefly educated Ethiopians. Mass atrocities exposed the true face of Fascism and provoked a new wave of nation-wide opposition to Italian rule. This event marked the beginning of the second phase of the resistance. The second phase of patriotic resistance was led by the nobility and local notables. It assumed the character of a guerrilla warfare and largely centered in the rural areas. It was mainly strong in the regions of Shoa, Gojjam and Begemidir. Many renowned guerrilla leaders fought the enemy at different battles. Haile Mariam Mamo, Abebe Aregay, Geresu Duki, and Bekele Woya in Showa, and Belay Zeleke in Gogam and Am ora w Wubineh in Gondar, were some of the renowned patriotic leaders.

As guerilla fighters, the patriots made a series of surprise attacks on enemy forces, camps, vehicles, and broke enemy lines of communications. Knowledge of the terrain and the ability to rapidly disperse and regroup enabled the patriots to harass the Italians throughout their struggle. There were also instances of direct confrontation with enemy forces.



Fig. 26 Fighters of tho patriotic raateteftca

Ethiopian resistance fighters had no organized system of supplies and

provisions. They depended largely on individual contributions and lootings of

enemy properties. They also looted those whom they considered collaborators. At

times, patriots used to assign soldiers to peasant homesteads for shelter and food.

Ln addition to these, some patriotic groups were engaged in farming to feed the

combatants. In this way, the Ethiopian peasantry and the ordinary people

contributed their share in many ways. They supplied food and gave shelter to

fighters. At times peasants fought with patriots against the Italians on several

occasions. They also supplied the patnots with valuable information.

Another significant contribution to the patriotic resistance came from

*Yewust Arbegnoch* ("inner patriots"). These were patriots who lived and often

worked with the Italians in towns but passed on useful information to the patriots.

Some members of this group used to give underground service to the patriots

fighting in the bushes. Their major service was in the collection of arms,

medicine, food, and intelligence reports to be secretly sent to fighters. Ethiopian 

women played significant roles as *Yewust Arbegnoch* Women used to collect valuable information from the Italians including high-ranking officials. They collected arms from corrupt officials and deserters. Some were even able to exert influence on Italian officials so that they would be moderate towards prisoners. Some went to the extent of arranging secret killings of Italian authorities.

In addition to underground activities there were women that led their own troops in battles of resistance. Others served as rallying

points to soldiers, when their husbands
die. Prominent examples of women in

the patriotic resistance movement were Shewarvgect Gedle of Addis Alem, Kebedech Seyoum of Shoa, (grand daughter of irnperor Yohannis), Shewanesh
Abera of Lasta, Abbech Cherqos of Gondar and Lckycicsh Beyan of Jirru.

The patriotic struggle persisted often under difficult circumstances. Shortages of arms, food, clothing, and medicines had always been daunting challenges to the patriots throughout the period of struggle. There were also personal conflicts among patriotic leaders w'rivh even some times led to the extent of armed clashes The Patnots also jacked proper coordination. They had no strong uniting political organization. Hi* Slogan was fighting for the Ethiopian flag and monarchy



Fig 27 W/o **Showareged Gedle**

Despite the above mentioned weaknesses, the patriotic resistance

continued throughout the five years of Italian occupation. It played a great role in

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the gradual weakening of the fascist forces and enhanced the liberation of Ethiopia. Yet, the final liberation of Ethiopia was achieved by the combined el forts of internal and external forces which was partly related to the Second World War.

ACTIVITIES 5.2

1. How did Eritrea and Italian Somaliland serve as a base for Italian colonial aggression in Ethiopia in 1935-36?

2. Do you consider Ethiopia's struggle against Fascist forces as part of World War II? Discuss.

3. Why did the Second World War start? Compare the causes of this war with that of WWI.

# 5.4. The Second World War and the Liberation of Ethiopia

The Second World War was fought between two major military blocs known as the Allied and the Axis Powers. It was fought in the years between [1] [2] [3]939 to 1945. The Allied Powers consisted mainly of France, Britain, the U.S.A. (from December 1941) and the U.S.S.R. The Axis powers was made up of Germany, Japan and Italy (after June, 1940).

1. Explain the course of the Second World War?

2. Discuss factors that changed the balance of power in favor of the Allied Powers in World War II?

3. Why did Britain intervene militarily in the liberation of Ethiopia? [Group work]

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The Second World War broke out in 1939. However, the roots of the international crisis went back to the preceding two decades (1918*38). Generally, the causes of the war could be attributed to the following reasons.

Causes of the War

One major cause for the war was the developments which led to the ascendancy of fascists in Germany, Italy and Japan. Fascism was totalitarianism whereby the state was an absolute end in itself. Fascists favoured dictatorship and nationalism and they opposed democracy. Fascism advocates national chauvinism, glorification of violence and imperialism. Fascism first emerged in Italy where it seized power in 1922. The Nazi Party, led by Adolf Hitler controlled power in Germany in 1933. Hitler (1889-1945) was bom in Austria, and lived there. He came to Germany, joined the German army and fought in World War I. In 1919 he joined the Nazi party (National Socialist German Workers' Party). He strengthened the party and became its leader in due time. In November, 1923 Hitler attempted a coup d'etat with his army named "Brown shirts". The coup was aborted and Hitler was imprisoned. In prisons Hitler wrote a book entitled *Meine Kampf* (My Struggle) Which presents his philosophy and future plan.



Fig. 28 Adolf Hitler





fig 29 Benito Mussolini

The *Nazis* assumed the Germans as a superior race, and sought to rule the world. German *Nazis* complained that the Versailles Treaty signed at the end of the First World War was a dictated peace against Germany. They felt that Germany was unfairly treated by the terms of the peace treaty Hence, the desire for the restoration of Germany's old position in Europe derived the Nazis to revenge and aggression. Italy too, under the Fascist Party, subscribed to national chauvinism. Led by Benito Mussolini, Fascists aspired to build a great Italian empire in Africa. Militaristic Japan also planned, to expand the Japanese Empire by means of conquests.

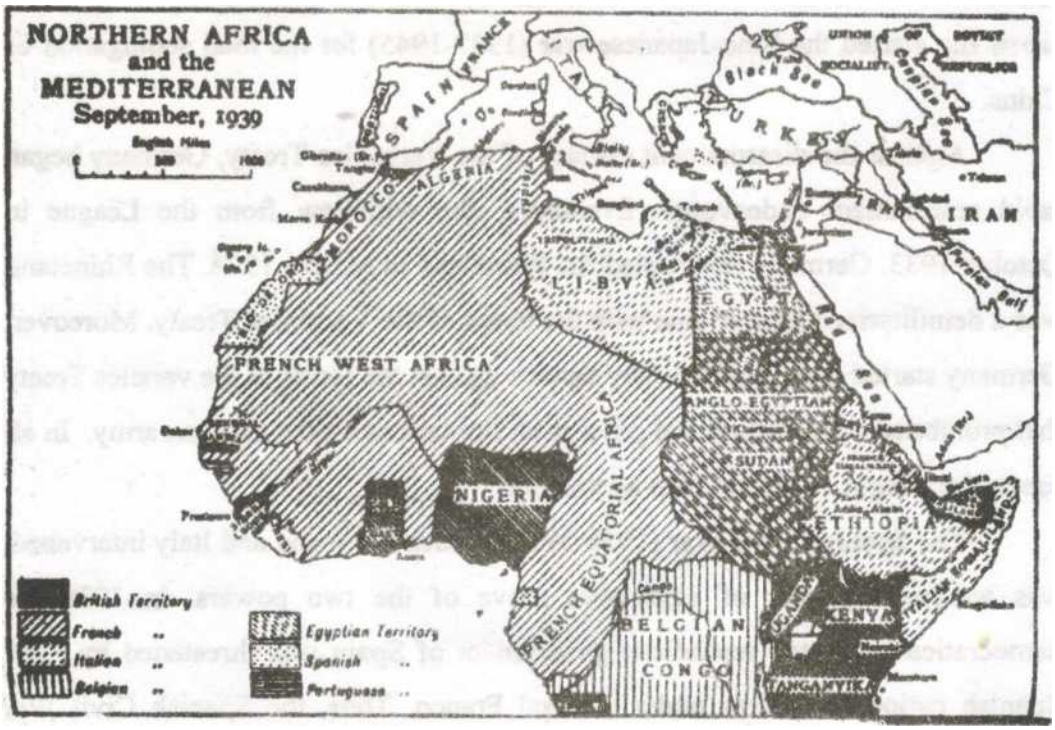
Following Worfd War I the World had entered international economic \

crisis known as Great Depression. This crisis created economic troubles and political instabilities in many countries. This crisis led to hardships and discontents among the workers and the middle class. It created economic troubles [x] and political instabilities in many countries. In major capitalist countries,



In March, 1938 Adolf Hitler of Germany incorporated Austria under the pretext of uniting Austrian Germans with Germany. This simply was the realization of the age-long German dream of uniting Austria with Germany- *Anachluss.* Similarly, Hitler annexed parts of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 under the pretext of uniting the *Sudetan* Germans with Germany. In September 1938, Britain, France and Germany signed the Munich Deal. The Munich agreement allowed Germany to take part of Czechoslovakia inhabited by German speaking sudetans.

In August 1939, Germany and the USSR signed the Nazi-Soviet Non-•ggression Pact. Finally, Germany invaded Poland on 1 September, 1939. This event marked the beginning of World W'ar II On 3 September, 1939, Britain and France declared war on Germany.




**Map** 11. **Northern Africa** and the Mediterranean in September 1939



The Course of the War and the Liberation of Ethiopia

Poland was not able to withstand German air and ground attacks. The

whole of Poland had been overrun by the German army within three weeks. The

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Germans called their Polish campaign as *Blitzkrieg* (lightning war). Germany annexed western Poland. The eastern provinces of Poland were invaded by Russia that had territorial claims over this country. Between 1939 - 40 Russia also annexed the Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania as well as Finland, German expansion thus faced the competition of Russia. Despite the Soviet- German Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, the Nazis invaded Russia in June 1941. Hitler expected a quick victory but Russia proved to be a strong

enemy. The Russian armies retreated slowly and the communist gurilla bands harassed the

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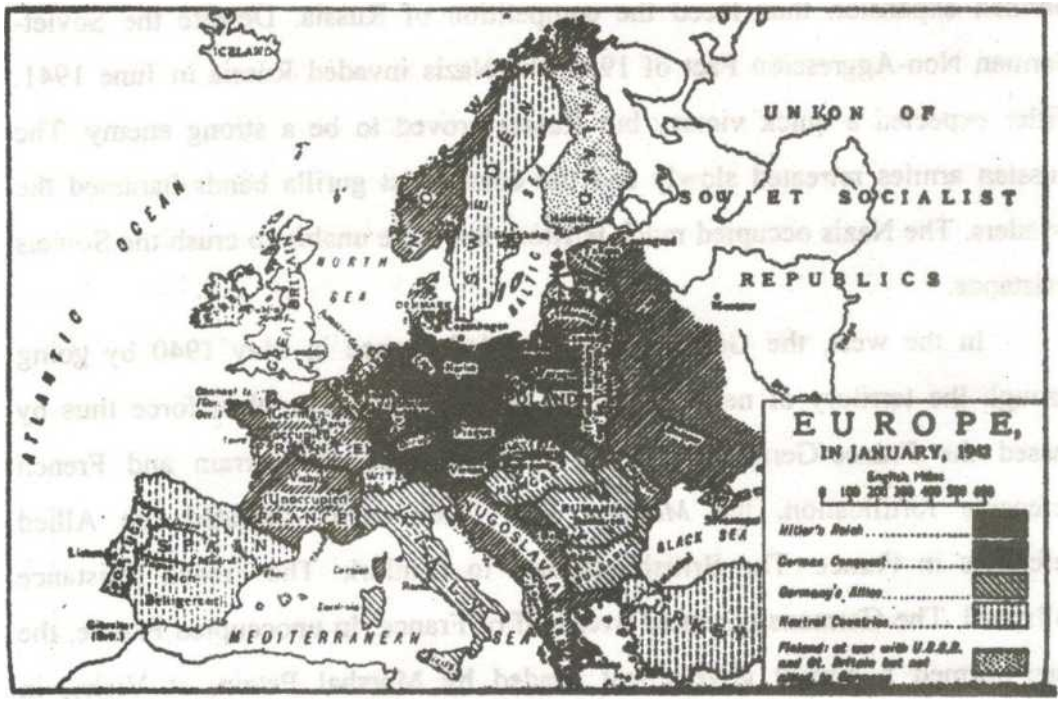
invaders. The Nazis occupied much territory but were unable to crush the Soviets resistance.

In the west, the German army invaded France in May 1940 by going through the territory of neutral Holland and Belgium. The Nazi force thus by passed the Franco-German border with its mountainous terrain and French defensive fortification, the *Maginot* line. They easily defeated the Allied defenders in France. The British retreated to Dunkirk. The French resistance collapsed. The Germans occupied over half of France. In unoccupied France, the Nazi formed a puppet government headed by Marshal Petain, at Vichy, in southern France. General Charles de Gaule formed a French Free government, in England, and determined to continue a war of liberation. Encouraged by the victory in France, Hitler launched devastating air attacks on Britain. However, the effective British resistance repulsed the Nazi invasion.

USA opposed the Japanese expansion in the Far East. Thus America prevented Japanese request for Loans. This was done to jeapardise Japanese ambition for prosperity and for building their own financially strong imperialist power in Asia. Japan attacked the US naval base at Pearl Harbour on the Pacific



Island of Hawaii in December 1941. Enraged by this incident the USA declared war on Japan. However* Japan secured the support of Italy and Germany. The last * two, in turn, declared war on the USA. The USA now joined the Second World War. To stop further expansion of Germany in the west, America began sending continuous supplies to Britain, the Soviet Union and other allies. The Allies also cooperated in the military operations of Far East but America remained the major opponent of Japan in the Far eastern war theatre.




Map 12. Europe in January 1942

In 1942 Germany, Italy and Japan were at the height of their success. The Germans had conquered vast territories in Europe. The Japanese became Masters of much of the Far East and Pacific Islands.

In Europe the Soviet Union strong war of resistance turned back the tide of Nazi successes. The victories scored at the Battle of Stalingrad in 1942/3 and Kursk, were decisive. This was the beginning of Allied counter-offensive in Europe.



Allied counter-offensive also extended to Africa. This was launched as ut of Allied over-all plan of World War H In June 1940, Italy entered World to Q on the side of Germany. This incident led to British military intervention in le liberation campaign of Ethiopia. Britain believed that military involvement vould defend her colonial interests in Africa. Emperor Haile Selassie, who was in exile in London, secured British military support and a joint Angto-Ethiopian liberation campaign was launched from the Sudan and Kenya. The Ethiopian

patriots in the interior joined hands with the newly arriving liberation armies Troops under General William Platt attacked the Italians in Eritrea. The two British officers, major General Orde Charles Wingate and Brigader Genera] Daniel Sandford, led a joint army known as the Gedeon Force with Emperor Haile Selassie, that entered Gojjam in April 1941. The British commander Lieutenant General Sir Allan Cunningham entered Ethiopia through British East Africa (Kenya) and his army controlled Addis Ababa on 6 April, 1941. Emperor Haile Selassie re-entered his capital on 5 May, 1941 and officially hoisted the Ethiopian flag.

Which date should be commemorated as a Liberation day, 5 April or May 5? Why? Discuss.

In May 1943 Britain, France and the USA finally drove German and Italian forces out of North Africa. This was second Allied military victory in Africa. The balance of power was evidently shifting in favour of the Allies in the years 1943-45. The Allies launched successful air and sea attacks on Axis Powers toth in Asia and Europe. A Second Front had already been opened in Europe by 1944.

The 1943 Allied invasion of Italy hastened the overthrow of Mussolini from power. France was liberated in 1944. By June 1944, Allied forces had

,5j

overrun much of Italy, though some heavy fighting continued till the end of th« war. Russia liberated her last provinces in 1943-4 and her troops continued their advance towards Germany. While the Western Allies were advancing into Germany Russia entred into Berlin. On 30 April 1945, Adolf Hitler committed suicide. In the meantine. Musollini was murdered by Italian communists in 1945. A few days later, Germany unconditional surrendered. Thus the war came to an end in Europe.

Allied forces, mainly the USA, New Zealand and Australia, had already begun reoccupying Pacific Islands since 1943. The Allies

enjoyed naval, air and land superiority over Japan in the next two years. On 6th and 9,h of August 1945, the USA (hopped atomic bombs <<n the two Japanese cites of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, respectively ii*o USSR invaded Manchuria. US forces occupied Tokyo, the capital of Japan, on 2 September, 1945. Japan unconditionally surrendered.

World War H ended with victory for the Allied Powers. There were

several reasons for the defeat of the Axis Powers. To begin with the Axis Powers had their forces stretched over vast territories, and they could not protect the vast territories which they controlled. When the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. entered the war, the military balance shilled in favoui of the Allies. Nazi Germany and militarist Japan made the mistake of provoking these powers and forcing them enter into the war. The coordinated military operations of the Allies together with Ihcir mighty economic tewutces and enormous manpower ensured their success.

Effects of WWII

«Thc second world war had far reaching consequences. Above all it caused immense loss in human and material wealth. About 50 million peoples, lighters and civilians lost their lives, millions of families were broken, children left orphans, significant number of fighters were to be come handicapped. Material



Ioffes on infrastructures, factories, roads, buildings and others summed up to excel the destructions of the first world war.

The war hastened the process of decolonization in Asia and Africa. Following the end of the war USA and USSR became super- powers of the world. The bloodless diplomatic and political comptetions and conflict between the two powers and their respective allies known as the cold war- was another outcome of the Great war.

The urge for the formation of new international organization for the maintenance of world peace and order gave birth to the formation of the United Nations. This has replaced the League of Nations.

## 5.5. Restoration of the Monarchy and British Domination Over Ethiopia

We have studied so far as to how the joint struggle of the Ethiopian patriotic forces and British troops liberated Ethiopia from Fascist rule. In, 1941 Haile Selassie was reinstated to his former position as head of the Ethiopian, state. The emperor was able to restore the degree of control that he used to enjojj after his first ascent to the throne in 1930. However, he could not immediately exercise his full power because of the prevailing conditions in the country. The destructive effects of the Italo-Ethiopian war on human and materiel wealth was immense. The British capitalized their military support to imperialist domination over Ethiopia. They were in control of the most important government bodies in Ethiopia. The police force, finance, the army and key posts in the administrative sectors came under their control. Moreover, the British set up Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (OETA) over the Ogaden and Eritrea.

In 1942 the British signed with the emperor the Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty. The treaty allowed the British to exercise a considerable authority in Ethiopian

affairs and made Ethiopia dependent. British citizens were to be assigned to key — ■ 155

positions in Ethiopia's administrative hierarchy as advisors. They led the police force and controlled the financial system. The emperor could not exercise real power. He had to obtain permission from the British officials to declare war when necessary. The case of Italian prisoners of war and civilians was handled by the British alone These and other clauses of the treaty significantly limited the sovereignty of Ethiopia. The emperor did not like such great power exercised by the British in his own country.

In 1944 the second Anglo- Ethiopian Treaty was signed. In this treaty the British promised to restore Ogden to Ethiopia and recognized the right of Emperor Haile Selenice to recruit non-British foreign personnel. The British also allowed Ethiopia to use the Djibouti- Addis Ababa railway. Moreover the British agreed to train Ethiopian Military force. However, Ogden stayed under the British control up to its restoration to Ethiopia in 1954. Other than these Eritrea was under the British Military administration from 1941 to 1952. By 1952 the province was Federated with Ethiopia by the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly. The British also had the intention of uniting the province of Tigrai with Entrca, like the fascist Italian administration of 1936-41. Aware of this design the Emperor hastened to reassert his power over Tigrai and appointed his own administrators.

However the royal appointees turned out increasingly un popular. They were corrupt, ruthless and disliked by the local people. Their militia w ere reported to loot the countryside. All these led to the outbreak of the *Woyane rebellion* of 1943. Under their leader *Blatta* Hailemariam Reda members of the Woyane brought serious challenge to the state. The rebellion spread over a wide area. It was only a joint Anglo-Ethiopian air strike and ground attack that crushed the Woyane rebellion towards the end of 1943.

# Summary

About forty years after her defeat at Adwa, Italy invaded Ethiopi i on 3 October, 1935. The need to remove the scar of Adwa, economic and political problems in Italy in the decade after World War I, drove Italy to invade Ethiopia. Britain's an<f France's policy of appeasement towards the Fascist state's desire for territorial expansion encouraged the aggressive moves of Italy against Ethiopia. The League of Nations failed to stand by its stated principle and unable to help the victim of aggression. Ethiopia was unable to withstand the military superiority of the Italians. They took control of Addis Ababa on 5 May, 1936 and established Fascist occupation:

- Ethiopia was joined to the Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland to form Italian East Africa.
- Italy established racist and militaristic rule.
- Italy faced virtually nation-wide patriotic resistance through out the five years of occupation.

Italy's entry into the Second World War on the side of Germany, in June 1940, gave an international dimension to the Italo-Ethiopian War.

- Britain gave military support to Ethiopia.
- British forces, along with Ethiopian patriots, fought against and defeated the Italian occupying troops in Ethiopia. This was done as part of the Allied counter-offensive in Africa.
- On 5 May, 1941 Ethiopia was liberated

However, Great Britain adopted a policy of maintaining her colonial influence in Ethiopia under the pretext of governing occupied enemy territories of Eritrea and Ogaden. She also exerted a great political pressure on Ethiopia



# REVIEW QUESTIONS

Part I. Say True if the statement is correct and False if the statement

is wrong

1. Anglo-French diplomatic support to Italian aggression on Ethiopia was

mainly motivated by their colonial interest stated in the Tripartite

Treaty.

2. Ethiopian resistance to fascist occupation (1935-41) displayed a strong

political unity throughout the empire.

3. One of the major factors for Ethiopians nationwide resistance to Italian

occupation was the very militaristic, racist and ruthless rule of fascist's.

4. The rise of fascism and military regimes, after WWI, had a direct bearing on the outbreak of WWII.

5. The military operations of the Second World War were confined to

Europe and Asia alone.

Part II. Match the following items under column A with those under column B.

| A | B |
|---|---|
| **1. Mein Kampef** | **a.** |
| 2. Shewareged Gadlc | b. |
| 3. Battle of Ambaradom | c. |
| 4. "Grazziani Massacre" | d. |
| 5. Gedcon - Force | |
| | e. |
| | f. |

8-

h.

Contained the ideology of Nazism
An inner prtriot

Marked the death of *Ras* Mulugeta Yegezu.
The last war fought by Emperor Haile

Selassie.

A fascist revenge to the unsuccessful attempt
on the life of the Italian viceroy.

Abraha Deboch and Moges killed Graziani.
Germany's air and ground attack on Poland
Anglo- Ethiopian contingent of liberation.

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Part UL Chooaa tha baat ~~a~~tiawar

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1. Unlibe her colonial adventure in Ethiopia during the last quarter of the 19th

century, Italy's aggressive moves of the 20th century did not see

a. subversive activity among the Ethiopian.

b. friendly gestures towards Ethiopia.

c. diplomatic support of other colonial powers.

d. the chance of establishing stable colonial administration.

2. Which one of the following personalities lost his life fighting for his country's independence during the 1930s.

a. ***Ras*** Hailu

b. *Dejach* Haile Selassie Gugsa

c. ***Dejach*** Balcha Safo

d. ***Dejach*** Ayalew Biru

3. Members of the Black lion were known for all of the following but one.

a. Pro-monarchical commitments.

b. Military confrontation with the Fascists.

c. Failure to combine military and political organization

d. Uniting officers and civilian patriotic resistance

4. Which one of the following was on act of violation of the Versilles Treat'/ oy Nazi Germany?

a. Reinstating conscriptions.

Ill*';

b. Reconquest of the Rhine land.

c. Refusal to pay war indemnity.

d. All

5. The failure of the League of Nations to stop aggressive actions of militant nations was evident in the

a. Facist invasion of Ethiopia.

b. Japanese invassion of Manchuria

c. German Annexation of Czechoslovakia

d. All

Part IV. Fill in tha blank apace with correct answers

1. Symptoms of the revival of Italian colonial interest in Ethiopia since her

defeat at Adwa include

a. _

b.
c.

2. Some internal factors that helped the Italians to get Ethiopian collaborators include:

a. ,

b.

3. The three militant nations that were responsible for drugging the world

into the Second Wold War were , _and

4. Major difficulties Ethiopian patriotis, faced during the years of the resistance movement were related to

a.

b

c.

5. The British established their administration on the two occupied

Territories of and

Part V. Give **short** answers

1. Debate *or* the positive (if any) and negative effects of Italian fascist occupati *n of Ethiopia on the basis of tangible evidences.

2. Explain the social, economic, and political consequence of the Secoii; World War '

3. What actions of the Bntish limited the sovereign rights of Emperor tUau Seiussie alter i»e restored to power in 1941

# UNIT SIX: POST SECOND WORLD WAR GLOBAL DEVELOPMENTS

The period that followed World War II witnessed the emergence of two world blocs. This unit deals with the establishment of the United Nations Organizations; the emergence of Antagonistic super power, and the period known as the cold war. Furthermore, the victory of a communist revolution in China has also been treated, Development in areas of tension and conflict during the Cold war are also reviewed. These were the Korean Peninsula, Vietnam and the Middle East. At last the Non-Aligned movement and its origins has been discussed in this onit.

Objectives

kfter covering this unit, you will be able to:

- analyze the formation of the UNO; and its successes and failures;
- explain the origin of the cold war and its character;
- explain how the cold war was intensified;
- identify, the role of Ethiopia in the non-aligned movement.

*Key Concepts*

Bloc

- Super-power
- Veto power

- Veto

• Genocide convention

Sanction

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# 6.1. 6.1 The Formation of the United Nations Organization (UNO)

In August 1942, President Roosevelt of USA and Prime minister Winston Churchill of Britain held a historic conference on the Atlantic coast of Canada. In this meeting they made a joint declaration known as the Atlantic Charter in which ♦hey expressed their commitment to the creation of an international organization. This laid the foundation for the establishment of the United Nations Organization.

In January 1942 twenty six nations, who took part in the war against Germany met in Washington and agreed to accept the Atlantic Charter. The following year, China, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States, met in Moscow and pledged to set up an international organization that could take the place of the League of Nations.

Between August* November 1944, a conference of delegates from allied

countries met at Dumbarton Oaks, (near Washington D.C) to implement the Moscow declaration of 194 V In June 1945, at San-Francisco, representatives of 50 nations approved the charter of the future United Nations Organization UNO. Then the UNO was formally set up on April 25,1945.

The goals of the UN are:

1. maintain international peace and security

2. take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and suppress acts of aggression.

3. encourage international cooperation in solving economic, social, cultural

or humanitarian problems.

4. develop friendly relations among nations

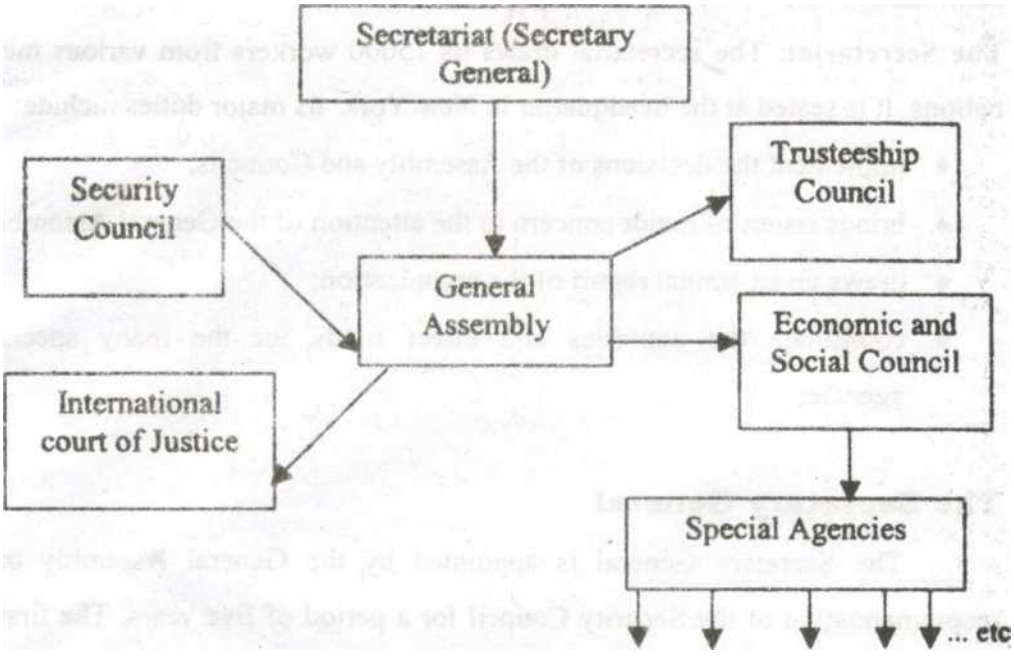
5. prormote respect for human rights without distinction as to race, tea language, or religion.

What are the differences and similarities between the League of Nations

and the UNO?

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The Structure *of* the United Nations Organisation




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The General Assembly - is composed of all member states. Each member nation has one Vote in the Assembly, though it may send up to five delegates to its meetings. It elects the non-permanent members to the security council and the members of other councils and committees.

The Security Council - This is the leading organ of the U.N.O. It has five permanent members:- Britain, Russia, the USA, France and China (after 1971). The number of non-permanent member originally were six, later grew to ten and then fifteen. The non permanent members are elected every two years. The permanent members have the right of *Veto*

The council has a military staff committee and has the power to mobilize an armed force under U.N control. The council may also order the imposition of economic sanctions against offending nations. The council controls the election **of** the Secretary General and the admission of new members into the organization, it



has also tne power to send commissions to investigate problems in areas of

conflicts or crisis ^

The Secretariat: The .secretariat draws its 15000 workers from various member
nations. It is seated at the headquarter in New York. Its major duties include:

- implement the decisions of the Assembly and Councils;
- brings issues of major concern to the attention of the General Assembly;
- draws up an annual report of the organization;
- coordinate the activities and direct funds for the many specialized

agencies.

The Secretary General

The Secretary Genera! is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council for a penod of five years The first LIN.
Secretarv General was Trygive Lie of Norway. In 1952 he was followed by Dag
Hammarskiold of Sweden who died in 1961 in a plane crash, in Congo. U-Thant
of Burma, who succeeded Hammarskkiold served the office for two terms until
H 66. Kurt Waldheim of Austria succeeded *J Thant in 1971 and was succeeded
iy Perez de Cuellar of Peru. Then came Then came Butros, Butros Gali of Egyy
Kofi Anan of Ghana he:. he secretary Genership since 1977.

The Economic and Social **Council**

It is assigned by the GeneraJ Assembly for three-year term,
responsib iity is to hand’e matters related to economic and social affairs, discusses, study and make recommendations on social, economic, humanitan
and environmental issues. Through its specialized agencies it accomplish remarkable works. These specialized agencies are the International Labo Organization iTLO) the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the Wor



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Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and others.

UN-Sacccase* and Limitations: Since 1945, the UN has achieved impressive suc~~cesses~~ It stopped the Civil War in Greece, and the Korean war (1950-53). It halted the religious bloodshed between India

and Pakistan and arbitrated the Arab • Israeli conflict. It also mediated the Suez Canal crisis of 1956 among Britain, France, Egypt and Israel. In 1948 the General Assembly had adopted the Declaration of Human Rights- a world charter that gave recognition to the natural rights of man. In the same year it had approved the Genocide Convention to protect any ethnic group from extinction.

Is the UN effective in resolving regional or global conflicts? Why?

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However, the Veto Power enjoyed by some members affects the UN very principle of the equality of member nations. UN inability to establish a permanent international armed force is one other limitation of the organization. With in the UN there were political blocs (American bloc, Soviet bloc, Afro-Asia bloc). This hindered its internal unity and effectiveness.

# 6.2. The Emergence of Rival Super Powers and the Cold War

***Key*** *Concepts*

*i* • Arab League

- Balfour Declaration
- Cold war
- Glasnost
- Perestroika
- Point Four Program
- Satellite

. v-,rr

Post - War Political Developments

During the Second World War, major powers of the world formed an alliance against the Axis Powers and brought the war to a victorious end in 1945. Fly 1947, however, this temporary unity came to an end. The war-time alliance and cooperation gave way to the Cold War. The term Cold War was used to describe the Post World War II struggle between the two power blocs- the Western bloc headed by the USA, and Eastern bloc headed by the Soviet Union. During the Cold War period which lasted from die mid-1940s until foe end of 1980s the struggle between the USA and the Soviet Union, and their respective allies was carried on in the form of an armed race and propaganda campaigns against each other, rather than open military clashes or wars.

Conflicting political and economic goals were the basic causes of the Cold War. Fearing the American influence in western Europe the Russians encouraged the establishment of communist regimes in eastern Europe between 1945 and 1948. These communist states turned out to become Russian *satellites* during the years of the Cold War. These Russian satellite states were Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland and East Germany. Yugoslavia under Marshall Tito, broke away from these assemlage of satellite states.

In China, a communist party took over power in 1949 and established a communist state. It also assisted in the formation of a communist state in North Korea. In Greece communist guerillas rose against the monarchic government with the help of the Soviets and some satellite states. Communists were also active in the Middle East, Latin America, Southeast Asia and Africa patronizing the establishment of Communist governments.

Did the USA and the Soviet Union openly fight during the Cold War?

D

The Western Reaction. The western struggle against the expansion of the Soviet

bloc took three forms.

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L CotUlineit In 1947, the American President Harr) Truman called for an end

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to communist expansion. This came to be known as the Truman Doctrine. The Truman Doctrine made ready military, and financial aid to any nation under pressure from communism. To this effect the USA, pledged financial aid, and direct intervention to counter communist attacks in Greece, Turkey, Korea and Indo-China. These were some of the places where this policy was practically implemented. This was further strengthened by the formation of a senes of defensive military alliances designed to contain communist expansion.

On April 4,1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed with the initiative of the USA. NATO original members were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, the united kingdom and the USA. Later, Greece and Turkey in 1952, and West Germany in 1955 joined NATO The NATO, headquarter was originally located in Paris, but later moved to Brussles.

Other western sponsored military allignments were formed in south east Asia (SEATO) which included New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, France, England and the USA. The Middle East Treaty Organization (METO) was organized by England and financed by the USA. It included Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and England.

!L Strengthening Europe’s Economic Defense

On 5 June 1947, George C. Marshall, U S secretary of state, announced what was known as the Marshal Plan. In this plan, America pleaged her readiness to provide huge financial assistance to help Europe to recover from the ruins of war. In the Marshall Plan (1948-52) the USA launched a program of rebuilding Europe's economy. Stalin, on the other hand, announced that no Russian satellite would receive this aid. West European countries which were willing to accept this aid formed the Organization for European Economic

1C7

Cooperation, (OEEC). In April 1948, the USA donated 5.3 billion dollars, This donation was raised to 13 billion dollars by 1952. This financial aid was distributed among west European countries by the OEEC. The economic assistance facilitated the speedy recovery of western Europe.

iii. Strengthening of Non -European Economic Defenses.

To check communist expansion into the more backward areas of the world, the USA and its allies began large scale program of economic aid to these areas. Under President Truman's doctrine of Point Four Program, technical assistance was provided to these countries to improve their natural resources and agriculture. Through American Export-Import Bank and the Development Bank, billions of dollars and pounds were donated to the backward areas of southeast Asia, and Africa.

The Chinese Revolution

Why were the Kuomintang forces and the communists in alliance and in conflict at various times?

Geographically, China is one of the largest country in the world. Several dynasties in succession had ruled over China before 1644. Between 1644 and 1911 the Manchu (Ching) Dynasty consolidated its fr ulal rule. The

gradual development of trade, crafts and capitalist economic activities, attracted western merchants who came and reap profits from Chinese commodities. Under the despotic rule of the Manchu rulers, China gradually became weak the Eurpean nations used force to impose their will upon the country. The ineffective Munchu government could not defened the interest of China which came under foreign domination. In the 19th and early 20th centuries the newly emerged social forces intellectuals resented the despotic rule and the exploitative feudal economic system. They wanted to change both the economic and political systems of their country.

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The emerging new forces sought to bring about democratic reforms.

The Kuomintang (KMT) or Nationalist party, was founded by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. The party gained supporters. In 1911*12 the nationalists set out a Revolution and overthrew the last Manchu Emperor Pu Yi. The Revolution, put an end to the Manchu rule and established a republican government. The 1911 revolution was an anti-imperialist revolution. But the new republican government soon faced opposition from Chinese warlords. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was formed in 1921. The Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party thus became the major forces on the Chinese political scene in the 1920s and

1930s. On his death in 1925, Sun Yat-sen was succeeded by Chiang Kai-Shek.

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Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong) had already assumed the leadership of the Communist Party.

Meanwhile, Japan wanted to establish her colonial control over China. Internally, the nationalist forces and a tactical communists were struggling for power in the 1920s and 1930s. The two forces made alliance in their struggle against warlords and common enemies. But this alliance was a short-lived. In 1927 Chiang Kai-shek attacked communists and the alliance

came to an end. By 1928, the power of the war lords had already been destroyed Chiang Kai-Shek proclaimed himself the sole ruler of China.

Mao Tse-tung and his followers moved to a newly established communist

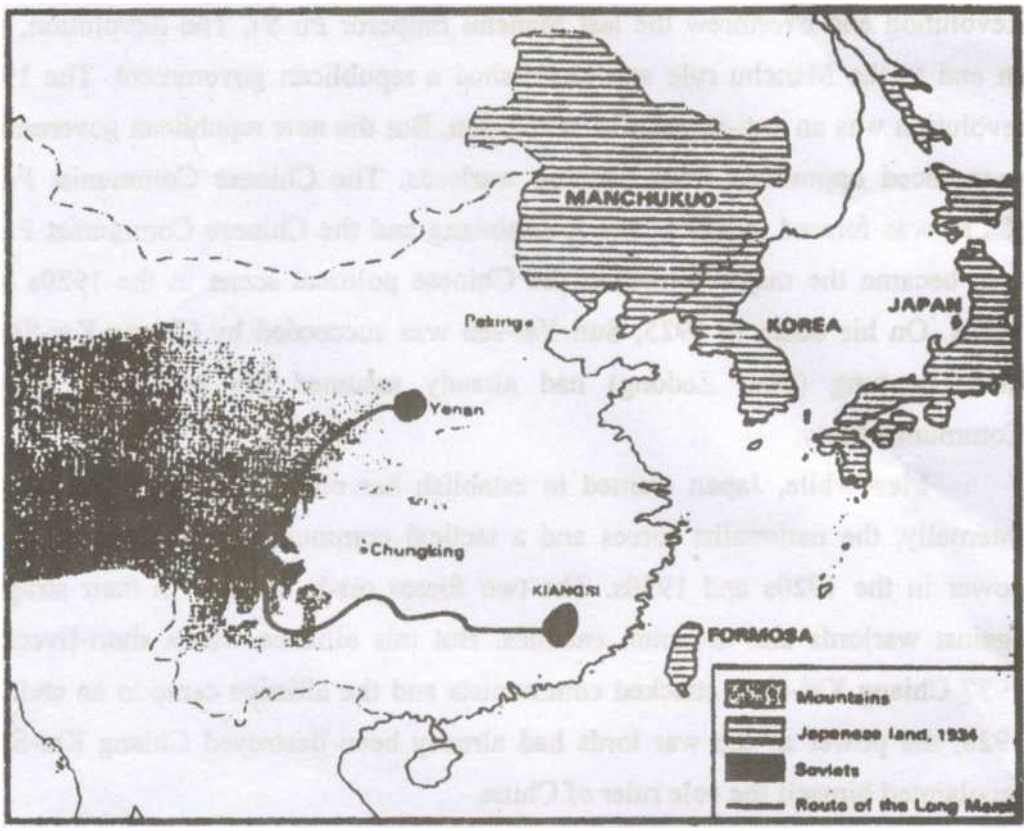
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base in the Kiangsi region. Chiang Kai-shek was determined to destroy this communist base, in 1931 Japan invaded and took control of China's industrialized province of Manchuria, but Chiang Kai-shek did not take any action against the invaders. Instead, he preferred to try to destroy the communists. His army encircled the communist base of Kiangsi. To escape from this encirclement, Mao and his communist followers set out on an epic retreat known as the Long March in October 1934. The March took more than a year and covered a distance of over 9000 kilometers. The Red Army of the Communist party lost over three-quarters, of its active force originally estimated about 100,000. With the remaining survivors, Mao set up the Yenan Soviet in north-western China. At the end of the



Long March Mao became the undisputed and sole leader of the Chinese

communists. The Chinese communists secured crucial Peasants supports and backings as the resuit of the land reform adopted in communist held territories.




Map 13 Tha Long March

In 1937, Japan made an all out invasion of Chinese territories. Then, began

the Sino-Japanese War (1937>45), Both nationalist and communist forces

attempted to resist Japanese invasion on their own, as they could not trust each

other for a united action against the invaders. Hence, they found it difficult to

liberate Chinese territories from Japanese military control. Japan was later

defeated by the WWU Allied Powers in 1945 and withdrew from China. Between

1945 - 1949 a bloody civil war was fought between the Kuomintang and the

Communist Red Army. In 1949, Chiang Kai-shek's army was defeated. He was

forced to leave mainland China. He fled to Taiwan (Formosa) where he

established a nationalist government with the support of U.S.A.

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Mao declared in Bejing the establishment of the People's Republic of China on 1 October, 1949. The revolutionary communist government soon started introducing various reforms. Agrarian reforms were carried out land was distributed to the peasantry. Industry and business enterprises (commune) were put under state control. Campaigns were made against old practices of corruption. The First Five Year Plan (1953 -1957) was introduced. Agricultural producers' cooperatives (commune) were established. The Chinese communist revolution was a rural revolution to engulf the cities only later in its course. Mao creatively applied Marxist-Leninist theory to the Chinese situation.

Identify the factors that led to the decline of relationships between

China and Soviet Union.

Name the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The *Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* began in china in 1966. This campaign intended to fight against reactionary ideas, to transform China's, culture
and to fight against corrupt party and state authorities. It was attempted to avoid
Mao's opponents cult and to struggle against "revisionists". Revisionism was
meant going back to capitalist trends. Soviet Russia was considered by China as
revisionist. China and the Soviet Union competed for the leadership of the communist world. As the result Relations between U.S.S.R. and China was embittered. The Cultural Revolution did not completely achieve its

objectives.
Indeed, the campaign failed in the end. Mao's reputation was damaged and he was
gradually replaced by new forces.

However, communist China gradually emerged as a world power. It
replaced Taiwan as a permanent member of the Security Council of the UN in
1971. China became a strong ally to Asian countries fighting against imperialism.
The Chinese had also set the example for those fighting for their freedom and

independence in the region.

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The Korean War

Korea, was annexed by Japan in 1910 and continued under Japanese rule since then. As allied victory in WWII was fast approaching, high, allies officials of met in Cairo in November 1943, to discuss the fate of Japanese colonies. The participants were President Roosevelt of America, Winston Churchill of England and the Chinese leader Chiang Kai shek. They agreed on the restoratin of that had been the territories taken from China by Japan, to the Chinese Republic. Korea was to become a free and independent state.

After the surrender of Japan in August 1945, Korea was occupied by Russian, facilitated the troops (in the north) and US troops (in the south). The 38$^{Ih}$ parallel was made a dividing line between the forces of the two powers. In 1948, Russia facilitated the establishment of the communist Korean Peoples Republic in her zone of occupation. The Americans then set up the Republic of Korea in the south. After the Russia, and the USA withdrew their forces helped the formation of series of border clashes followed. In 1948, the UN tried to organize national elections for the entire country. But the Russians refused to cooperate. In June 1950, North Korean troops crossed the 38$^{lh}$ parallel and invaded South Korea.

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1. Why did Ethiopia participate in the Korean war?

2. How could Ethiopia involved in the Korean War?

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The USA persuaded the Security Council to condemn the North Korean aggression. The Security Council agreed to send a UN force to drive North Korean troops out of the south. This force was mainly American but armies from 15 nations including Ethiopia also took part in the fighting. At the beginning the UN force was defeated and forced to retreat into the southern fringes of Southern Korea Later however, the UN forces drove the North Korean force back across the 38lh parallel. Then it launched an offensive into the North. Following this the

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UN forces advanced closer to Chinese border. China warned that it would join the war. On 27 July 1953 an armistice was signed by which the 38th parallel remained a dividing line. A truce commission was set up to deal with the problem, but failed. Finally a demilitarized zone separated the two halves of Korea.

The Korean war seriously affected the relationship between the USA and the nations of the Far East. The cold war thus spread into Asia. To cheack the expansion of communism into the Far East, The South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was set up in 1954.

The Vietnam War

Indo-China was under the French colonial rule since 1880s until the outbreak of WWII. French ruled Indo-China was made up of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. After the end of WWII, France wanted to regain her ex-colonieus of Indo-China. But the people of Vietnam determined to fight for their freedom

against the colonizers.

A vietnamise nationalist Ho Chi Minh, started, a peasant based resistance movement in 1941. Ho Chi Minh declared the formation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the 17,h parallel or 17° North Latitude. This state was recognized by the U.S.S.R and the People's Republic of China in 1950. The Vietenamese fought against the French colonizers from 1946 - 1954, Finally the French were defeated at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954. The Geneva Agreement was signed in the same year and ended. French involvement in Indo- China. It was also agreed to divide Vietnam temporarily, on condition for later \

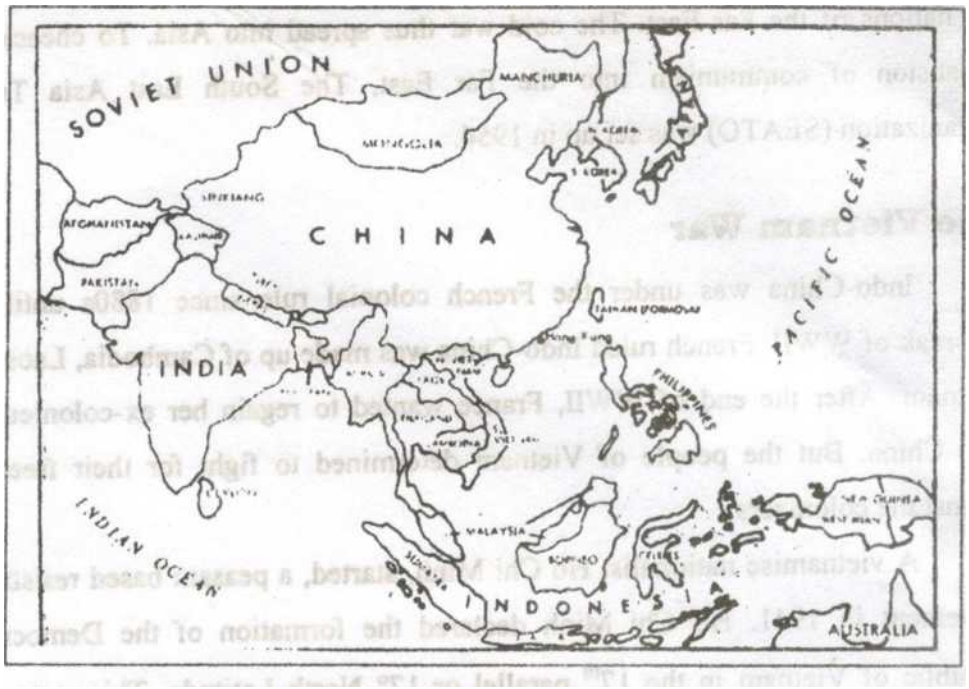
reunification. The reunification did not take place and Vietnam remain divided into a communist North Vietnam and a capitalist Seuth Vietnam (until its reunification in 1976.) This opened the door for American intervention in Vietnam, in support of South Vietnam.



1. Why was the war in Indo China called the "dirty war"?

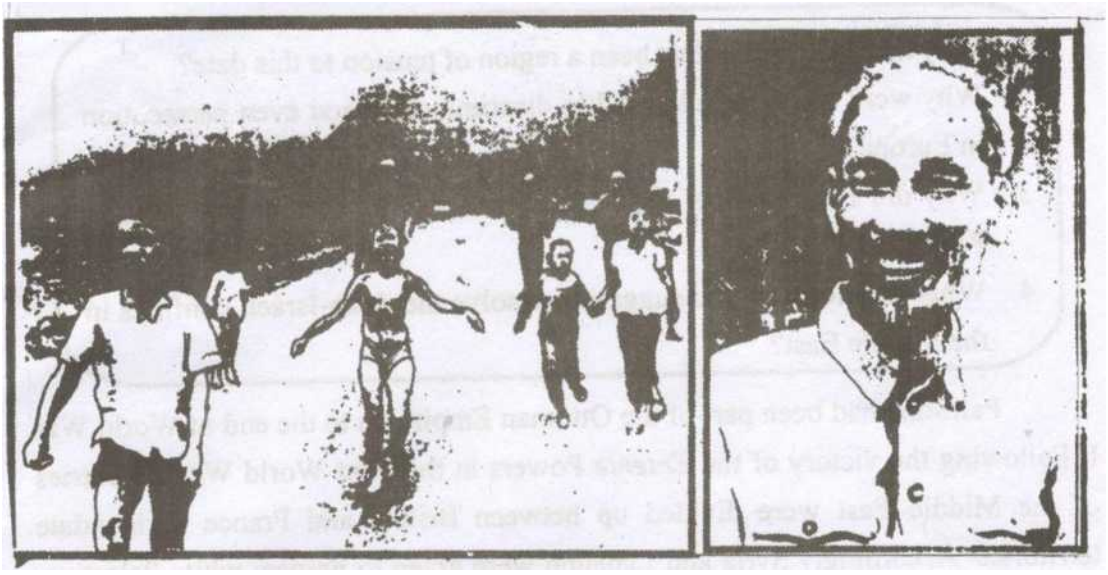
2. State the reasons for the success of the Vietnamese over the French attempt to restore their colonial rule.

3. Why did US forces fought in the Vietnam War?




Map 14 Political map of the Far East

In 1955 a capitalist republic was set up in South Vietnam with Ngo Dinh Diem as president. The opposing communist force formed the National Liberation Front (NLF) in I960. The NLF aimed at the unification of Vietnam, and the evacuation of foreign troops. Their struggle was supported by North Vietnam. The military wing of the NLF was called Viet Cong. Ngo Dinh Diem was Killed in 1963. The U.S. fought on the side of the South Vietnamese government were deeply involved in the war. They raised a large army for the war in Vietnam. From 1964 on it started bombing North Vietnam territories. Under President Johnson USA intensified the bombing and greatly increased the number of ground troops in 1965. With U.S support, Nguyen Van Thicu came to power in South Vietnam.



North Vietnam had Ho Chi Minh as president.

Fig. 30 Th# Horror of War in Vietnam **Fig. 31 Ho Chi Minh**

The United States used its vast military resources for indiscriminate bombing of North Vietnamese towns, rice fields and forests. All these had no decisive impact. Towards the end of 1969, President Nixon of the U S A introduced the policy of Vietnamization. This was a plan intended to enable :hc South Vietnamese to defend their state without much external help . Arr.cncar; troops were reduced by half following intensified Vietnamese attacks and mounting public pressure in the U.S.A. However, Nixon continued the bombing of North Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh died in 1969. Blit the Vietnamese continued their struggle. The Viet Congs used Cambodia as their base for their*guerrilla warfare.

Finally, the Vietnam War came to a close in 1974. The Vietnamese emerged victorious. The two Vietnams were united under a communist state in 1976.

What did the U.S. intend to achieve through its direct military

intervention in South-East Asia and the Middle East?

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The Arab - Israeli Wars

A Why has the Middle East been a region of tension to this date?

2. Why were the Jews subjected to discrimination and even persecution in Europe?

3. Why did Britain allow the Jews to establish a national homeland in

Palestine?

4. What solutions do you suggest to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflicts in the Middle East?

Palestine had been part of the Ottoman Empire up to the end of World War I. Following the victory of the *Entente* Powers in the First World War, Countries of the Middle East were divided up between Britain and France as mandate territories. Accordingly Syria and Lebanon were given to France; while Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Iraq and others were became the British mandate territories.

After World War I, Jews immigrated in large numbers from different parts of the world to Palestine. In 1917 the British had issued what was called the Balfour Declaration. This declaration paved the way for the establishment of a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine. But, back in 1915, the British had already promised Palestine for the Arabs. They had done that in order to get Arab support in the war against Ottoman Turkey. The Arabs protested against the increasing Jewish immigration in the 1920s and 1930s. Zionism provided an ideology and leadership for the international Jewish community to get a national homeland in Palestine. Zionism was an international Jewish movement aimed at establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. The First Zionist Congress was organized in 1897, in Switzerland by a Jewish leader

named Theodore Herzel. Zionism became a political movement as a result of the growth of Jewish nationalist feelings and as a reaction to anti-Semitism in Europe.

At the end of World War II, the British government presented the case of Palestine to the United Nations. In 1947, the United Nations General Assembly decided the partition of Palestine into two independent Arab and Jewish states. Jerusalem was recognized as an international city. This plan did not satisfy both Arabs and Jews. As the British troops were preparing for a final evacuation from

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Palestine, fighting between Arabs and Jews broke out. The State of Israel was proclaimed on 14 May, 1948 with David Ben Gurion as its first Prime Minister. The British departed from Palestine on 15 May, 1948. Then Egyptian, Syrian, Iraqi and Trans-Jordanian armies attacked the newly created Jewish State of Israel

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sympathizing the cause of Palestinian Arabs. This was how the First Arab-Israeli War of 1948-49 began. The attacking Arab armies were pushed back on all fronts. Israel controlled much more territory than what she had been given under the UN partition plan. Among Israel's territorial gains were half of Jerusalem and the northwest coastal area along the Mediterranean Sea. Part of the territory designated for the Arab state by the plan was taken by Trans-Jordan. Arab refugees from Israeli-controlled areas fled to neighboring Arab states and became refugees.

(o) The creation of Israel, 1948-9

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Boundaries of Palestine
(British Mandate)

Israel under UN partition pion

Seized by Israel 1948-9.

( Territory the UN

Seized by Jordon 1948-9 / partition plan alloted . , . . _ . _ I to Palestinian **Arabs**

Seized by Egypt 1948-9 ***)***

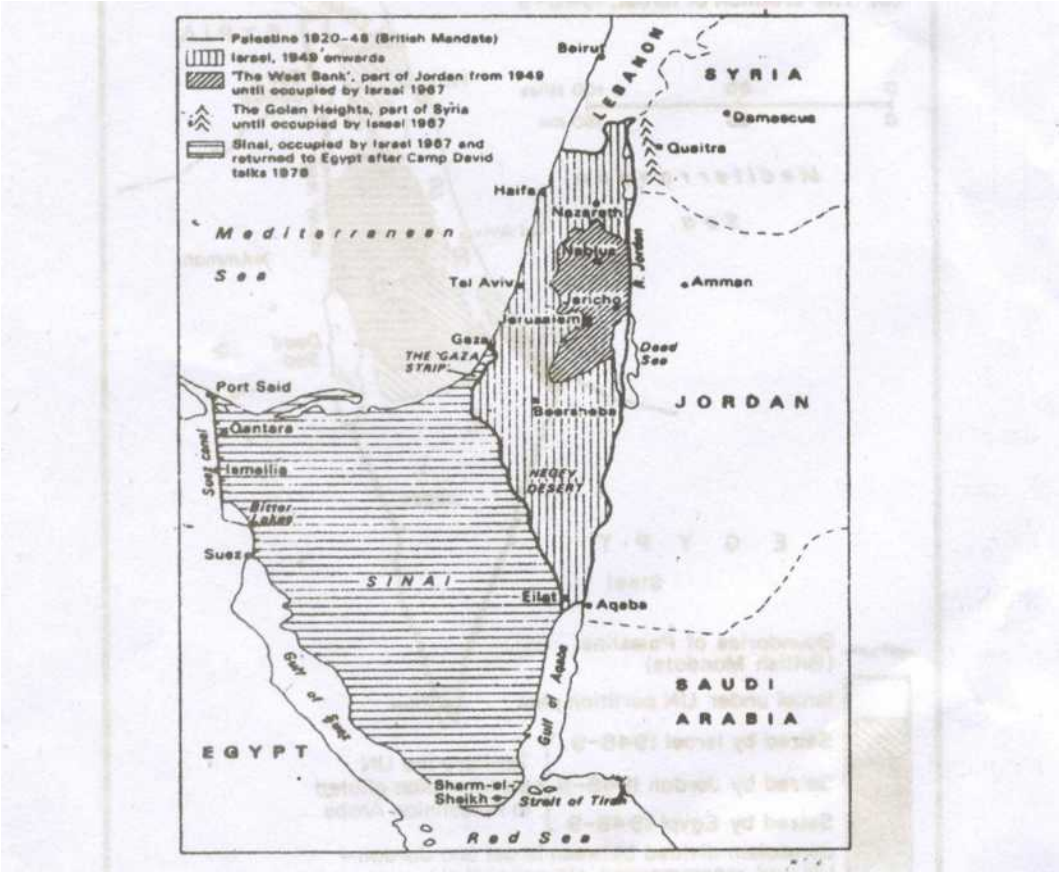
Jerusalem divided between Israel and Jordan - UN hod recommended international city

Map 15 Israel: Its Creation and Expansion, 1948-49

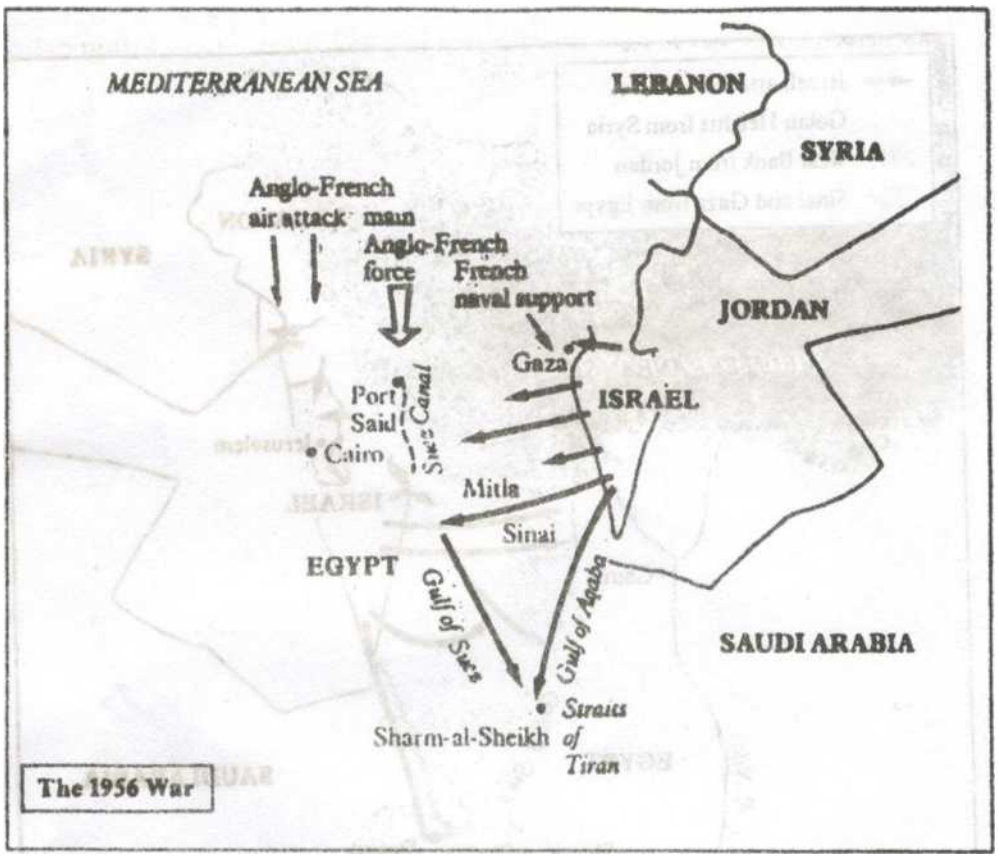
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In Egypt, king Farouk was overthrown in 1952 by an organization called the society of Free Officers led by colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser. Egypt was proclaimed aimed a Republic since then Egypt became center of Arab nationalism. British troops had been allowed to stay in Egypt, ever since Egypt gained its independence from British rule in 1922. In 1956, these British troops left Egypt. The government of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Nationalized the Sue/ canal, rhixa'.encd by the closure of the canal Israel attacked Egypt and war started on 29 October 1956. As the war started Britain and France intervened on the side of Israel. Egypt suffered losses. The U.S.S.R., the USA and the UN forced Israel, Britain and France

to stop the war and saved Egypt from total defeat. This war is known as the Suez canal crisis or the second Arab Israli War.

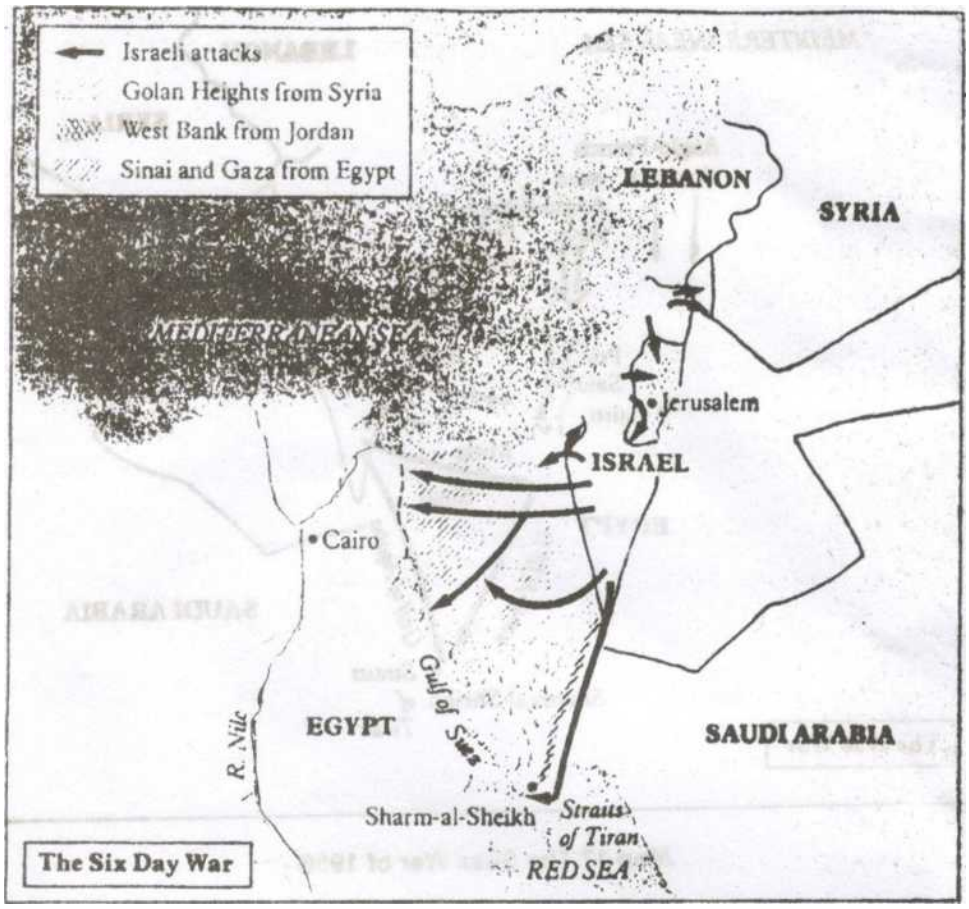



Map 16 Israel: Its expansion, 1949-78




Map 17 Tht Suaz War of 1956

The Third Arab - Israeli war or the "Six-Day War" was fought between 5-10 June 1967. Between Israel on one hand and Syria, Iraq and Jordan, Egypt on the other. In this war, the U.S.S.R. supplied weapons to the Arabs. The U.S.A., Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany assisted Israel. Ultimately Israel emerged victorious. At the end the war, Israel occupied Golan Heights of Syria, the Sinai and the Gaza Strip of Egypt, and the West Bank of Jordan. In the years ahead these newly occupied territories have been used as buffer zones by Israel. The Palestinian Liberation Organization (P.L.O) was founded in 1964, and began a guerrilla warfare against Israel.




Map 18 The Six-Day War, 1967

The Fourth Arab-Israeli War, also known as the *Yom Kippur* War, took place in 1973. The then leader of Egypt was Anwarae Sadat (since the death of Nasser in 1970). The war began on 6 October, 1973, when. Egypt, Syria and other Arab states opened war against Israel. The war came to be Yom Kippur war because it started on the Jewish religious celebration day called Yom Kippur. Egyptian troops crossed into the Sinai and scored some initial success, but were driven back by Israeli forces. The Arab forces were defeated. Following the Yom Kippur War of 1973, Palestinians intensified their struggle through the *Fedayeen* (guerrilla fighters). The PLO and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and later the "Black September" Continued series of attacks on Israeli targets.

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What are the major issues of disagreement between Israel and its neighboring Arab states?

The underlying reason behind all the above mentioned wars was the Arab - versus - Jewish nationalism. The strategic position of the Middle East makes the issue more complicated. In September 1978 a framework for peace in the Middle East was signed by the USA president Jimmy Carter, Egyptian president Anwar al-Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menaaihem Begin, at Camp David, in Washington D.C. By the Camp David agreement, Egypt, alone among all other Arab states, gave recognition to ‘he State of Israel. By doing so, Sadat showed a way to a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. However, he was soon assassinated by Arab extremists. Recognition to the State of Israel by all Arab states, and the future of temtories occupied by Israel during the Arab-Israeli wars are issues that have not been resolved yet.

1. \yhy did the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa try to follow the policy of neutralism during the Cold War?

2. Which countries started this policy?

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The Non-Aligned Movement

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Non-Alignment is also referred to as neutralism in international relations. It was the peacetime policy of trying to avoid political or ideological affiliations with either of the major power blocs. This policy had been endorsed by India, Egypt, Indonesia, Yugoslavia and other states of Africa and Asia during the Cold War. President Joseph Broz Tito of Yugoslavia was one of the great personalities who strongly supported the idea of Non-Alignment. Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Presidents Sukarno of Indonesia and Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt were also the leading personalities behind the Non-Aligned Movement.

The first practical step in bringing together the supporters of the ideal of Non-Alignment was taken at the Bandung Conference of 1955 in Indonesia. Twenty-nine countries were represented at the Bandung Conference. In the course of time, about one-hundred countries, gradually, joined the movement from different comers of the world.

The member states of the Non-Aligned Movement feared that close relations with any one of the two major blocs could threaten their sovereignty. In addition, these states assumed that their neutral position could enable them to get the much needed economic and technical assistance from both blocs. They hoped to relax the East-West conflicts before they develop into a total and catastrophic war.

Anti-colonialism was a commonly shared stance by members of this movement. After the 1960s tbe non-alignment members have come to constitute a sizable group in the United Nations. Though claiming to be neutralists in their relations with the two power blocs, in practice however, they were not always neutral.

The movement also experienced difficulties in formulating uniform policies on several issues in international affairs. Since member states had different political ideology, and had underdeveloped economics they had to depend on the economic and technological help from the developed world. As a result, they could not always act independently. Gradually, with the relaxation of tensions between the two world blocs since the late 1980s, neutralism has lost much of its influence.

# Summary

Some of the Post-World War international condition were:

- the rivalry between the super powers
- the formation of the Non-Alignment to reduce the tension

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- establishment of Israeli state

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- the Chinese communist victory over Kuomintang
- the Vietnamese victory over colonialism and imperialism.

# REVIEW QUESTION

Part I. Say True if the statement is correct and False if the statement is wrong

1. The Cold War was a military clash between the Soviet Union and the USA.
2. The struggle of Vietnamese communists against the USA was an anti-colonial struggle.
3. The partition plan was a negotiate settlement endorsed both by the Arabs and Jews.
4. The Kuomintang and the Chinese communists allied in the struggle against the Japanese aggression.
5. The head quarter of the UN is in New York city.

Part II. Match the following items under column A with those under

**column B**

| A | B |
|---|---|
| 1. Non-Aligned movement | a. Formosa |
| 2. 38th parallel | b. Vietcong |

**column B**

| | |
|---|---|
| 3. Dien Bien phu | c. demilitarized zone |
| 4. Taiwan | d. anti-colonialist |
| 5. The Berlin Wall | e. place where the French were defeated |
| | f. crumbled in 1990 |
| | g- Soviet bloc |

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Part III. Choose the best answer

1. The Chinese communist party started its struggle from

a. its rural base c. Bejing

b. the soviet union d. factory centers.

2. By the Camp David Agreement of 1978

a. the Arabs recognized the state of Israeli.

b. The Arabs and Jews agreed on the partition plan.

c. Egypt gave recognition to the state of Israel.

d. Jerusalem was restored to the Arab state in Palestine.

3. The war in Vietnam came to an end

a. when Ho Chi Minh died in 1969.

b. when the Americans reduced their army by half.

c. with the victory of the Vietnamese.

d. when the Soviet Union involved in the conflict.

4. The Secretary General of the UN is

a. nominated by the Secretariat.

b. recommended by the Super power countries.

c. appointed by the General Assembly.

d appointed by the Veto power countries.

5. At the end of the Korean war

a. the communist state of Korea was created

b. South Korea for the first time emerged as a satellitestate for the USA.

c. Part of Korea was incorporated into China.

d. Korea was officially divided into north and south.

Part IV. Filling in the blank space with correct answers

1. By the Britain promised a home land to the

Jews in Palestine.

2. The communist leader of the Vietcong guerilla fighters was

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4.

5.

was the political struggle between the tow super

powers for world hegemony.

The establishment of METO was seriously opposed by

and .

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The first Non-Aligned conference was held in in 1955.

Part V. Give short answers

1. What were the main objectives for the establishment of the UN in 1945?
2. What were the main causes of the Cold War?
3. Did the Non-Aligned movement represent a third bloc in world politics?
4. What are the major duties of the Security Council?
5. What made the Middle East a region of tension?



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# UNIT SEVEN: AFRICA SINCE 1945

This unit covers national independence movements in the various parts of Africa. The methods of struggle employed against different colonial powers and the achievement of political independence since 1945 are also surveyed. The favorable conditions for the liberation that began to surface after World War II will be treated. The origin and progress of Pan-Africanism, and the establishment of the Organization of Africa Unity (OAU) are given due consideration. Other points in focus are the new challenges independent African states and the OAU faced. The achievements and failures of the OAU are also reviewed in this unit.

Objectives

After learning this unit, you will be able to:

- compare the different forms of anti-colonial struggle in the different parts of

Africa;

- explain the origins, development and the role of the Pan-African Movement

in and anti-colonial struggle';

- discuss the strength, weakness of the OAU, and

- outline the common challenges independent African states had to confront

right after independence.

*Key Concepts*

• Condominium « Guerrilla war

- Referundum
- Trust territories

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- Mandated territories
- Neo-colonialism

# 7.1. 7.1. National Independence Movements

The root causes of some of the present problems faced by African states can be traced back to the colonial era. These problems are economic dependence, political instability, border conflicts and the absence of economic integration. Thus the development of African nationalism and anti-colonial struggle were the effects of colonial exploitation and maladminstration

1. Were African countries granted out or did they win their independence? Give your reasons.

2. How much of Africa was free when the OAU came into existence in 1963?

Under colonialism Africans lost their freedom and independence. Colonialism hampered the economic progress of Africa and kept it backward. Racial discrimination, absence of political independence, and poverty are the dismal legacies of colonialism.

End of World War II: The Turning Point

The Second World War significantly changed the global state of affairs. The year 1945 was a turning point in the course of the struggle for independence in Africa. Since 1945 the supremacy of the old European colonial powers had been challenged by the emergence of new global powers like the Soviet

Union and the United States. The former colonial powers were exhausted by the war, and concentrated more on their own recovery. The efforts to suppress liberation movements in Africa and elsewhere became expensive to the powers. The prevailing situation of the Cold War made the maintenance of colonial empires too expensive and very difficult.

After the Second World War colonialism in Africa was eradicated with in few decades. Factors at that, facilitated the liberation struggle were:

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- The political changes and the spread of liberal thinking within the colonial countries

- Through their active participation in World War II, many Africans were able to observe European powers fighting and paying great sacrifices to defend their sovereignty.

- The positive examples set by those Asian states that had won their independence already, stimulated the independence struggle in Africa. Foreign educated Africans that returned to Africa filled with ideas of

freedom, nationalism and democracy provided the necessary leadership for the struggle for freedom. As foreign educated intellectuals, these leaders were well aware of the contradictions between the parliamentary democracy of the colonial powers in their own countries and the realities of colonial Africa. These intellectuals agitated their peoples to fight colonialism and foreign dominations.

The anti-colonial struggle in Africa, between the two world wars, also laid down the foundation for the post-World War II independence movements, as discussed in unit Six. From that period of struggle, Africans gained useful experiences. Pan- Africanism also contributed to the struggle for African independence, especially after 1945.

The struggle against colonial rule had different forms; the length of time in winning independence varied; and the strength of liberation organizations

and the quality of leadership also differed. The colonial powers used both diplomatic and military means to weaken the liberation movements. However, lastly, Africans won their independence through their struggle.

A brief and general survey of the liberation struggle in the Italian, French, British, Belgian, Spanish and Portuguese colonies »s presented below. At the end of the sub-topic, the special problem of the struggle for racial equality and democracy in South Africa is also discussed



Italian Colonies - North and East Africa

Libya had been an Italian colony since 1911. The Allies forces expelled Fascists and Nazis from Libya in 1942 in collaboration with a local resistance led by Sayyid Idris. After the Second World War, British and French forces stayed in Libya. USA also set up a military base in this country. With Soviet Russia's proposal, the case of Libya was presented to the UN General Assembly. The UN decided that Libya should be independent. Accordingly the independent state of the United Kingdom of Libya was proclaimed on 1 January 1952. Libyan independence encouraged other north African states to intensify their struggle for national independence

British Somaliland stayed under the British rule after World War II. Italian Somaliland had also fallen under the British, when the Italians were defeated and driven out from that land in 1941. But, later it was taken over by the United Nations and entrusted to Italy to ten-year period of preparation for decolonization. In I960, British and Italian Somaliland gained independence. They were united to form one state, a Republic of Somalia.

French Colonies

The liberation of French colonies in Africa began in the 1950s. Some French colonics won their independence after prolonged military fighting. Others secured their independence peacefully, in a bloodless movement. French military defeat in Indo-China in 1954 gave an impetus for the

peoples of North Africa to wage a liberation war to bring an end to French colonial rule.

The liberation struggle in Morocco was led by the Moroccan National Front with Sultan Mohammed V as its head. In 1953, the Riff and Atlas tribes revolted, and started armed struggle. After a negotiated settlement, Morocco was proclaimed independent on 2 March 1956. French and Spanish Morocco were reunited at independence. Tunisia also won its independence in 1956 under th-* leadership of Habib Bourgiba.

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In Algeria the French faced a protracted and bitter anti-colonial struggle. In Algeria there had been a relatively larger number of European settlers. These white settlers were determined to prevent the independence of Algeria. They formed the "Secret Aimed Organization" to hold back Algerian independence. The Algerians nationalist organizations the "National Liberation Front of Algeria* **(FNLA),** was led by Ahmed Ben Bella. The war in Algeria lasted from 1954 to 1962 The Algerian National Liberation Front took the form of guerrilla war and scored progressive successes over the French forces. Finally, on the basis of an agreement reached between the Algerian freedom fighters and the French government, a referendum was conducted. The people of Algeria overwhelmingly voted for independence. In consequence, Algeria was proclaimed independent on 1 July 1962.

In 1958, France, under president Charles de Gaulle was prepared to grant independence to her colonies in west and Equatorial Africa. Only Guinea (Conakry) used this opportunity. Guinea voted yes to independence in the referendum conducted the same year in all French African colonies.

Under the Democratic Party of Guinea, led by Sekou Toure, Guinea became independent in 1958. Other French colonies remained under French rule until 1960s. In I960 a large number of African countries, achieved independence. This led to the designation of the year 1960 as the Year of African Independence. The French colonies that became independent during that year were: Cameroon, Togo (both under UN trusteeship), Madagascar (now Malagasy Republic), Dahomey (Benin), Niger, Upper

Volta (Burkina Faso), Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire), Chad, Ubangi Shari (Central African Republic), Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Senegal, French Sudan (Mali) and Mauritania.

The former French Somaliland, became independent in 1977 renamed French Territory of Afars and Issas This is now known as Djibouti. The Comoro Islands became independent in 1975.

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British Colonies - West, East and **Southern Africa**

In some cases Britain showed some degree of willingness to grant her colonies their independence. The struggle for independence in white - settled colonies was relatively bitter and took more years.

In the Gold Coast, the struggle was at first led by an organization called the United Gold Coast Convention. However, in 1949, Kwame Nkrumah left the Gold Coast convention and organized the Convention People's Party. Nkrumah assumed the leadership in the struggle for independence. The Gold Coast became independent in 1957, and adopted the historic name of Ghana. Nigeria became independent in 1960. Sierra Leone and Gambia in 196land 1970 respectively.

• How did the French and the British respond to the anti - colonial struggle in their respective colonies?

Egypt had gained its
independence in 1922, but Britain
continued to station her troops in that
country under the pretext of
safeguarding their interest in the Suez
Canal. In 1952 a group of young army
officers led by Colonel Gama! Abdul
Nasser overthrew the conservative king
Faruk and Seized power. Nasser
negotiated with the British for the
withdrawal of British troops from the

Suez canal area. When British forces evacuated the canal zone Egypt became fully independent in 1956.



Fig 32 Colonel Gamal Abdul Nasser

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Anglo-Egyptian rule over the Sudan, (the Condominium), came to an end through the Anglo - Egyptian Agreement of 12 February 1953. The agreement accepted the independence of Sudan. After three years, in 1956, Sudan became independent.

In East Africa, the British trust territory of Tanganyika won its independence in 1961 under the Tanganyika African National Union led by *Mwalimu* Julius Nycrere. Zanazibar also became independent in 1963. In 1964 these two independent states formed a federation called Tanzania.

Kenya's road to independence had its own ups and downs. Kenyans organized a peasant natinalist movement known as the Mail Mau. The Mau Mau harassed white settlers in the country. The identity of the members of the movement was secret. The Mau Mau Movement was active between 1952 and 1955. The movement was suppressed and thousands of Africans

were imprisoned by the British. In 1960 Jomo Kenyatta organised the Kenya African National Union (KANU). Kenya won independence in 1963and Kenyata became its first president.

South Rhodesia's road to independence had also its own challenge. In 1965 the racist white settlers under the leadership of Iyan Smith declared what was called the unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). This step delayed majority rule in that country. Africans and the British government rejected this

one-sided declaration of independence. However, the British government failed to

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take military actions to suppress the whilte minority racist government in South

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Rhodesia. Thus, the Africans resort to guerrilla fighting. Long and bitter war was

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fought by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) led by Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, respectively. This bitter struggle brought the white minority rule to an end. A majority rule to was established in April 1980. Robert Mugabe became the first Prime Minister and South Rhodesia adopted the name Zimbabwe (after historic Zimbawc).



**Fig.** 33 **Jomo** Kenyatta Fig. 34

An organized struggle was conducted in North Rhodesia by the United National Independence Party, under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda.

This
struggle led to North Rhodesia independence in 1964. The country adopted the
new name of Zambia after River Zambezi. Nyasaland became independent in
1964 as Malawi with Hastings Kamuzu Banda as its president. In 1966.
Basutoland (now Lesotho) and Bechuanaland (renamed as Botswana) became
independent. The island colonies of Mauritius and Seycheles became independent

in 1968 and 1976, respectively.

Belgian Colonies - Central Africa

One of the national independence parties emerged in Belgian Congo was the Congolese National Movement. This party was led by Patrice Lumumba. Lumumba had developed anti-imperialist and Pan-African attitudes.

Following popular revolts in the Congo in 1959, Belgium was forced to recognize the independence of the Congo which was officially declared in *)* 960.

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independent Democratic Republic of Congo emerged with Joseph Kasavubu as President and Patnce Lumumba as Prime Minister.

However, the end of Belgian colonial rule in the Congo was followed by a civil war. The mineral rich provinces of Katanga and Kasai broke away under the leadership of Moise Tshombe and Kalonji, respectively. Belgian troops were sent to protect the Belgian and European mining interests in the region. Lumumba appealed to the United Nations. In due course, Lumumba, who had socialist inclinations, was dismissed from office by President Kasavubu on 5 September 1 %0. Early in 1961, Lumumba was captured and fell into the hands of katangese troops and was killed. The UN

troops which included forces from Ethiopia, were sent to normalize the situation. In this tense situation the UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjbld died in a plane crash while trying to mediate the Congo crisis. His successor U Thant continued the work for the reunification of the Congo. Katangese forces were defeated by the UN army in 1963. UN troops finally withdrew, with the Congo re-united.

1. Why was the United Nations involved in the civil war in the Conge?

In July 1964 Kasavubu appointed Tshombe as Prime Minister. Tshombe became fierce and brutal in dealing with local matters. Kassavubu sacked him in 1965. In the same year, the amiy under General Joseph (Sese Seko) Mobutu took over political power. Tshombe went into exile and was condemned to death in his absence. Mobutu put down Katangese resistance, cleared his country of white mercenaries and gradually restored order. Mobutu was confirmed as the President of the Congo in 1970.The state adopted a new name of Zaire, after the former name of the River Congo. However, Mobutu's dictatorial rule and mismanagement led the country to increasing impoverishment.

The experience of Congo is one example of the kind of problems which several newly independent African states were to face.

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The Belgian mandate territories of Rwanda and Burundi became independent by the decision of the UN in 1962. At independence, Rwanda became a republic. Burundi was made a kingdom until it, too, became a republic as of November 1966.

**The** Portuguese Colonial **Empire**

The Portuguese were determined to continue their colonial rule in their African colonies of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. After World War II the people of these colonies fought bitter and long guerrilla wars against Portuguese colonial rule. Fighting against the African national liberation forces proved to be too costly for Portugal to win. It meant great expenditure for the Portuguese government of the then

Portuguese leader Caetano. In 1974, Caetano's government was overthrown by a *coup* led by General Antonio de Spinola. Then, the army in the battle front demanded for the end of the colonial wars. As a result, Portugal decided to end colonial rule in Africa. With these favourable conditions, the "Revolutionary Front for the Liberation of Mozambique"! FRELIMO), won independence for Mozambique in 1975. The National Union for Total Independence in Angola, (UNITA), and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, (MPLA) both in harmony and conflict with each other, won independence for Angola in 1975. The African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde (PA1GC) led the two small colonies of Portugal to independence in the same year. Sao Tome and Pnncipe also became independent in 1975.

Spanish and South African Controlled Territories

By the Versailles Peace Treaty, at the end of World War I, South West Africa was taken away from Germany and put under the Republic of South African madatory rule. After the Second World War, the responsibility of looking



after the mandatory territories was transferred to the United Nations, (UN Trust Territories). In such a way, Spanish Guinea gained independence in 1968 and was renamed Equatorial Guinea. But, South-West Africa entered into a long and bitter war against the Republic of South Africa. The struggle was organised and led by the "South-West African People's Organisation" (SWAPO) International diplomatic pressures were also put on South Africa Filially South-West Africa won its independence in 1990. It was renamed Namibia.

Apartheid in South **Africa**

Two years after South Africa was freed from British rule in 1910, the African National Congress (ANC) was formed in 1912, aimed at struggling for the rights of the black population. Later, the ANC crystallized its demands into a call for "One man, one vote."

In 1948, a general election brought the Afrikaner National Party to power. It was, a party made up of extreme racist groups. It promoted a policy of discrimination, which came to be known as *apartheid. Apartheid* means separate development of the races, and white domination of the.majority blacks by the minority whites. *Apartheid* denied all political rights to blacks and other non- whites. Under *Apartheid eighty seven percent* of all land in South Africa was reserved to whites

Added to this, the racist Nationalist party cancelled all the meager right the blacks used to have. It passed a number of laws that deprived Africans of their political right and hiitnan rights and imposed rigid segregation in sport, recreational areas, schools, hospitals, buses etc.

In reaction to such repressive acts, wide spread demonstrations and riots were held many times. In 1952 the ANC, led by Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu waged a campaign of passive resistance to the various discriminatory rules. But the government continued with its repressive

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policy. On 21 March I960, police **Arid** on **a** ponce Ail and unarmed demonstrators at sharpevillew 72 people worn **killed and** eoroe 116 including women and children were wounded. The incident it **rendered aa** the tharpeville massacre. The act aroused world wide **condemnation. Many** nations enacted economic sanctions against the racist government of South Africa. The racist government arrested the opposition l<* *idcrs including ~~N~~elson Mandela and banned all black political organization as illegal. Mandela was in jail at Robben island until he was released in 199 or.

The struggle of the ANC finally bore fruit. Aparthaid was abolished and "one man one vote" was introduced in South Africa. In April 1994, Mandela won election and held office as the first democratically elected president of the Republic of South Africa He was able to reconcile blacks and whites in peace. In 1999, he left the presidency for the next democratically elected president who happened to be his second - in - command m the ANC. Mandella has left a rich legacy of democratic government in South Africa.

# 7.2. Pan-Africanism

Pan-African movement passed through a mumber of phases before it became a movement for African unity. Pan-African movement initially was mainly concerned with black communities of African ancestry who lived in North America and the CaribbeanT-'inds. These black people had come from different,

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African peoples and cultures. But they had lost their cultures and languages during the time of slavery. After being liberated from slavery, they remained the victims

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of American and colonial racism. Thus, they were united by their color and by their sufferings.

In die 19th century, some of these black people came to believe that they cOuld not be free and equal if they continued to live in America. They resorted to the idea returning back to Africa where they could become free and equal. This led to the development of a "Back to Africa" movement.

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The same idea developed further into a notion that all black people should unite in defense of their common interests and against racism. In its first form pan-African was in fact Pan-Black " or "Pan - Negro" movement which took shape out side Africa. Even in its early stage, it also sto6d for the defense of Africans in Africa. The First Pan-African Congress was held in London in 1900.

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One of the actions of this Congress was to protest to Bntains Queen Victoria against racist rule in south Africa and Rhodesia.

Following this congress, the liberating ideas of Pan-African movement found their way into Africa. Edward Hlilmot Blyden (1832-1912) Burghaxdt Du Bois (1869-1963) and others propagated the idea of Pan-Africanism in Africa. The second congress was held in Paris in 1919; the third was in London and Brussels in 1921, and the fourth in London and Lisbon in 1923, and the Fifth in New York in 1927.

After the Fifth Congress the ideas of pan-Afncan Movement developed towards a new form. In this new form, the "pan-Black" idea grew into Pan-Afncan. This idea reached its full development with the Sixth Pan-African Congress, held in Manchester in 1945. The six pan African Congress was attended by Du Bois, Kwame Nkrurnah of Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Nnamdi Azihwe of Nigeria and the well known South African writer, Peter Abraham. This historic congress adopted a resolution demanding independence for Africans and an end to colonialism.

The First Conference of Independent African States was held in Accra, Ghana in April 1958. The Second Conference convened in December of the same year in the same city. United Arab Republic (Egypt), Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia attended the conference. Leaders of liberation fronts from all over Africa also attended this conference. Both Conferences called for the independence of the entire continent from colonialism.

In the mean time regional grouping began to emerge in Africa. One such regional group, composed of ex-French colonies was the Brazzaville Group. The



group was originally organized by France in 1944 and was further strengthened in 1958. Even after independence, the members advocated close connections with France.

What did Nkrumah mean by the United States of Africa?

As many new independent states emerged, each state began to devise its own internal and external policies. Egypt, Ghana, Guinea and Mali wanted to foster social and economic changes to make their political independence more real. These nations believed that the existing poverty, divisions and the continued dependence on the former colonial powers were making African independence less meaningful. They criticized what'they called *neo-colonialism* which made African states economically dependent on their former colonial masters. They, therefore, proposed the creation of larger union of states that would gradually evolve to a continental union. The most radical of these was the proposal for the "United States of Africa", put forward by Kwame Nkrumah. With this common ground and vision, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Egypt and Morocco held a conference of their own in the Moroccan town of Casablanca in 1961. They came to be known as the Casablanca Group.

Another group of African states met in the Liberian capital of Monrovia. This group constituted several independent African states including Ethiopia and Liberia. The group was commonly known as the Monrovia Group. Its members shared many views in common. All believed that their own internal problems must be solved first before the establishment of an inter-state political union. The group, however, believed in the necessity for a coordinated effort among African states for economic development. Nearly all of the Brazzaville Group members later joined this group. In spite of this division into groups, African states came together at Addis Ababa and established the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in May 1963.



# 7.3. The Formation of the OAU

It had already been stated that many (about seventeen) African countries won their independence in I960. The number of independent states continued to rise. The need to preserve their independence was an important issue of African states. They also needed to, ensure cooperation among

themselves for economic and social development as well as in international affairs. They also wanted to bring about the ^dependence of the rest of the African continent. All these led African states to found a common continental platform. The long years of the Pan- African Movement led to the establishment of the OAU.

Why did the founding members of the OAU agreed on the establishment of that organization?

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was founded on 25 May, 1963 in Addis Ababa. The charter of the organization was signed by 31 independent African states. New emerging independent states later joined the organization. Addis Ababa provided the Office for the General Secretariat which runs the day- to-day activities of the OAU, hence became the headquarter of the OAIJ. The aims of the OAU were: the promotion of the unity and solidarity of African states; the elimination of colonialism in Africa, the retaining of existing boundaries and neutrality in the cold war.

The principal organs of the OAU include:

• The Assembly of Heads of States and Governments -This is the supreme organ and meets once a year:

- The Council of Ministers-It consists of Foreign Ministers and meets twice a year or when required.



- The General Secretariat-It has an Administrative Secretary-General appointed by the Assembly.
- The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, and
- Other Specialized Commissions.

# 7.4. Problems of Independent African States and the OAU

1. What were the m^jor problems of Africa right after the disintegration of colonialism?

2. Enumerate the economic, social and political problems of Africa

$V_s$ at present. ^

Some of the problems of African states and the OAU mainly are the legacy of colonial rule. Others have been of Africa's own making. Most of the newly independent African countries share peoples who belong to the same ethnic groups. This has led some African states to try to redraw colonial boundaries in accordance with ethnic settlements. As a result, Africa has seen frequent border conflicts.

Ethnic oppression and conflicts within African states have bred civil wars. At the root of the ethnic conflicts have been political, economic and social injustices.

Africa also experienced frequent Military coups. Between 1958 and 1969, in twenty out of the thirty-eight independent African states political power had been taken over by military regimes

Single party regimes have been common in most African states. Such regimes stifled democratic and economic development. They disallowed the development of a participatory government. They squandered government finances. Their leaders often misuse public money. Indeed, they led their countries to extreme poverty

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African countries are Economic dependent on the industrialized countries. Most African states stoke can provide extremely limited social services such as health, schools, and infrastructure for their people, Foreign powers can easily involve and intensify the existing problems. Besides, at present the continent has been besetted with the challenges of the pandemic disease HIV. Out of a global total of 33 million about 22 million affected by this disease are in Africa, particularly South of the Sahara. The other massive problem is unemployment, high level brain drain refugees etc, which are the

out come of weak economic base (or the negative legacy of the past, colonial rule.)

The OAU has also proved to be of little help in solving these outstanding problems. The Weaknesses of the OAU, originated from several factors. In the period under discussion, most international issues including African, go beyond the scope of the OAU. Moreover, the OAU lacked the necessary economic, political and military power needed to solve regional (interstate) conflicts. Former colonial powers still maintained great influence on the affairs of African states.

> Outline the major problems of African states ranking them according to their magnitude.

Successes of the OAU

Throughout its existence, the OAU had scored some successes and faced several problems in regard to its stated objectives. It has been, however, successful in one of its basic objectives that is liberation from colonialism. At present all of Africa is independent from colonialism. It had intervened in many conflicts for example in Somalia and Ethiopia, Morocco and Nigeria, Rwanda and the Great Lakes conflicts and in the struggle against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia, to mention some. It had attempted to mediate in all these conflicts and gained some successes. Moreover, to realize one of its basic aims in bringing

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about cooperation among states for economic development, regional organizations have been set up.

These regional organizations could not involve the private sectors to enhance the economic integration, did not even create awareness among the people. Further more the member states remained reluctant to build the infrastructure necessary for rapid movement of goods and services. To over come all these hurdles and to speed up African political and economic

integration the African Union was established in 2004. The African Union is not fundamentally, different from the OAU It is a natural development of the OAU into a higher level of integration, which had four solid bases; the establishment of an All-African parliament, Pan-African court of Justice, the African Development Fund and African Investment Fund.

# Summary

During the Cold War era, Africa had to wage a long struggle against colonialism. Several African countries were involved in bitter and protracted wars, especially where European settlers resisted African independence. The European colonial powers were exhausted in World War II. This was resulted in the change in the international balance of power w hich favoured African struggle for independence. Almost all African countries are now politically independent. The Pan-African Movement started with struggle for racial equality of blacks with whites. It gradually joined the African struggle for independence. After independence, Pan-Africanism led to the establishment of the OAU.

Independence w'as, however, followed by ethnic and border conflicts, one party rule, military *coup d'etats* and foreign interference in Africa, The overall effect of this was political instability and economic and social backwardness. With all of these and other outstanding problems, the OAU still succeeded in totally liberating the continent from colonialism, and in facilitating the creation of

> regional organisations, whose major and stated purpose have been economic cooperation. Now, the OAU is transformed into African Union with the objective of further integration of the political and economic life of the conti nent. Still a lot remains to be done.

EXERCISES

1. Outline the major factors that enhanced the national liberation struggle of Africans, after 1945.

2. Why was the struggle to win independence more difficult in some colonies than in others?

3. What roles did the following personalities play in the national liberation struggle and in the Pan-African Movement?

- Kwame Nkrumah
- Jomo Kenyatta
- Du Bois

4. Point out the shortcomings of single party rule in Africa.

5. Why was the year 1945 a turning point in the independence struggle of African countries?

6. Point out the successes of the OAU.

# REVIEW QUESTIONS

Part I. Say True if the statement is correct arid Falise if the statement is wrong

1. All British and French colonies gained their independence in 1960

2. The first colony to gain its independence in Bntish west Africa was Ghana.

3. The independence of Asian countries inspired the anti-colonial struggle in Africa.



4. The struggle for independence in Algeria was delayed by the fierce opposition of white-settlers.

5. Egypt gained its full independence in 1922.

**Part II. Match the** following Items under column **"A"** with those under column "B".

| **A** | | **B** |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Pan-African movement | a. | Liberia |
| 2. Apartheid | b. | Liberation movement |
| 3. Casablanca Group | c. | Separateness |
| 4. Condominium | d. | anti-racial movement |
| 5. Mau Mau | e. | West Indies |
| | f. | Gold coast |
| | g- | Monrovia |
| | h. | sought for continent wide organization |
| | i. | joint rule |
| | | Morocco |

Part III. Choose the best answer

1. The USA and the Soviet Union

a. supported the colonial powers in the struggle for independence.

b. had no colonies in Africa

c. were against the anti colonial struggle

d. were in favour of the decolonization.

e. B and D.

2. The Monrovia Group

a. totally opposed the independence of Africa

b. preferred to put more emphasis on solving internal problems than aspiring for continental union.

c. wanted to remain under French domination

d. were against any form of regional organization

e. none

3. The second World War

a. resulted in the emergence of two super powers

b. undermined the political position of the colonial powers 205

c. encouraged the liberation of colonial peoples

d. was followed by the cold war

e. all

4. The sixth Pan-African congress

a. demanded for the end of apartheid rule in South Africa.

b. had mainly anti-colonial agenda

c. was attended by African and American delegates

d. was held to abolish racial discrimination in the world.

e. all

$. During the Congo Crisis

a. the UN intervened to stop the disintegration of the country

b. Moise Tshombe sought to secede katanga from Congo

c. Ethiopian troops fought in Congo for the integrity of that country

d. Patrice Lumumba was assassinated by Ratangase troops

e. all

Part IV. Filling in the blank space with correct answer.

1. was killed in a plane crash in Northern Phodesia.

2. As SWAPO was for the liberation of Namibia *r^r* the liberation of Mozambique.

3. Nelson Mandela was imprisoned on the .

4. The first OAU summit conference was held in in 1963.

5. The lbos seceded and established an independent state of in 1967

Part V. Give short answers

1. Descnbe the major factors that invigorated the national liberation struggle in Africa after 1945.

2. Point out the shortcomings of single party rule in Africa.

3. What are the major sources of conflict and regional instability in Africa today?

# UNIT EIGHT: ETHIOPIA FROM 1941 TO 1991

This unit deals with the consolidation of the restored monarchy despite a strong foreign influence on the economic, military and politics life of independent Ethiopia. It also presents the failure of the monarchy to bring about significant political, social and economic development and its inability to withstand the different opposition forces that hastened its downfall. Finally the unit also deals with the basic features of the military regime and the transformation towards a federal democratic state of Ethiopia.

Objectives

After studying this unit you will be able to:

- explain the socio-economic conditions under the regime of Haile Selassie;
- examine the inpact of foreign domination of Britain and USA on Ethiopia

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in the early decades of the post - war period;

- identify the reasons for absence of progress under the monarchical rule;
- explain the causes for the rise of different opposition groups and the response of the autocratic rule;
- explain the origin and development of the Eritrean problem and how it became one of the major challenges to the regime;

- examine the factors for the rise of a military dictatorship and internal and external factors that hastened its downfall;
- explain the process of the transformation towards a federal democratic state of Ethiopia.



Key Concepts

Abortive *coup*

Askaris

Conspiracy

Co-operative farm

Education Sector Review

Federation

Junta

Mechanized farm Military dictatorship Mutiny

Occupied Enemy Territory

Administration

Popular revolution

Radicalism

Red - Terror

Separatist movement

Settlement program

Transitional Charter

Unionists

Vilagization

# 8.1. Consolidation of Autocracy



As we have seen at the end of unit five, Britain continued to dominate the Ethiopian state, great pressure on the Ethiopian state
However, Emperor Haile Sellasie
endeavored to lay the foundation for the
consolidation of the restored autocracy.

Accordingly, the Emperor took several
measures aimed at improving the political,
economic, social and diplomatic situation that
ultimately enabled him to remain an absolutist
monarch upto 1974.

First, the Emperor built a bureaucracy
that served his interests. The ministerial
government was reinstated in 1943. Eleven

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ministries and the office of the Prime Minster

Fig. 35. Emperor Haile Selassie I



were set up. In theory, the Ministers were given power to draft and implement laws. In reality, however, they were subservient to the emperor and could not exercise real political power. The new Council of Ministers was mainly composed of men of service than birth, absolutely obedient to the emperor.

The expansion of Education in the country was intended to produce the necessary educated manpower for the expanding modem bureaucracy. Therefore, educated elites graduated from the newly established secondary schools, colleges, and training in foreign countries filled in the various government posts and served the system as loyal servants. This was the step taken to introduce a modem administrative system staffed with an educated elite.

The emperor established an advisory body known as the crown council, composed of the hereditary nobility.

Identify the major differences and similarities between the 1931 and 1955

^Constitutions.

The changing political realities and international situation of the post-war period and the Federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia in 1952 necessitated changes in the existing constitution. Therefore, in 1955, Haile Sellasie promulgated a new constitution, revising the 1931 contitution. The Revised

Constitution of 1955 too had primarily aimed at consolidating autocracy. The major concern and content of the Constitution was the issue of imperial succession. It introduced universal adult suffrage and allowed an elected Chamber of Deputies. The elected members were generally from the nobility. There was property qualifications for candidates. Peoples' participation in the elections remained very low. There were provisions for human rights. Freedom of speech and the press were, included in the consttution. But they were not practically implemented.

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The emperor further consolidated his autocratic rule through reorganizing the army. The Imperial Body Guard was reestablished with Swedish assistance in 1942. This was the most privileged and trusted unit for the emperor. The Police Force was set up in 1942 on the British model. The Department of Public Security was also set up under the Ministry of Interior. The Army, initially trained by the British, and later by the Americans, became a major pillar of state power. The Army, Imperial Bodyguard and the Police Force were used to put down any opposition to the state.

Economic Developments

Agriculture has continued to be the dominant economic activity in Ethiopia. This economic sector has been used both for subsistence and export. Coffee and other agricultural products (like grain, pulses and oil seeds) made up more than 90% of Ethiopia's exports. Animal husbandry constitutes another economic activity. Ethiopian farmers, generally, are engaged in activities of both crop production and animal husbandry. The question of land and its ownership was to become a matter of great concern to the restored monarchy.

1. Survey the main agricultural activities in your locality and evaluate their merits and demerits?

2. What roles do women play in agricultural activities? To what level do

v^\vomen exercise their power in economic life? ^

After Ethiopia's liberation, a process of land privatization was pursued at an

increasing scale. *The gabbzr* system in which northern settlers used to be given

tributary rights over peasants of the south enabled the settlers to take over much of

the land for themselves through purchase or forcefully. To a large extent peasants

of the south were reduced to tenants who paid rent for the use of the land that had

once been their own Peasants were obliged to give up to 75% of their annual **2io**

yields to land owners. This discouraged the peasantry from increasing its production. Landlords had the right of evicting peasants from their land any time they wanted Thus, peasants had no security of tenure. In the northern regions *gult* owners collected tributes and labour services from the *gabbars.* The life of peasants of the northern peasants was under sever conditions. Consequently there were peasant oppositions to the system in different regions from the north to the south.

The post-1941 Ethiopian economy grew at a very slow rate. Ethiopia was economically dependent and its debts increased steadily. The relations established with foreign powers like the USA also had significant influence on the country's economic development.

The British Military Mission to Ethiopia withdrew in 1950. But a little before that, Ethiopia had taken the initiative in establishing a friendly relation with America as a counter-weight to British domination. Following the departure of the British, Ethiopia strengthened its relations with the United States. In 1953, a Treaty was signed between Ethiopia and the USA. This treaty signed in the same year allowed the US to use the KAGNEW

communications station in Asmara. In return, the USA agreed to give military assistance to Ethiopia. To implement this military aid program, a body called Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) was set up in the same year. The air force, the navy and the ground forces were equipped with American weapons. Training was also provided by the Americans.

The Americans were also involved in improving and extending the communications sector. The Ethiopian Air Lines had already been established in 1945 by the help of the Americans The Imperial Highway Authority was \

established in 1951. The U.S. closely assisted the Authority since 1952. The Imperial Board of Telecommunications was set up and Sweden closely cooperated with the Board.

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The Ethiopian educational system was shaped along the American system of education. The t'eace Corps Program of the 1960s was part of this American assistance American influence in Ethiopia continued in various spheres untile,the 1974 revolution.

# 8.2. Crisis of Autocracy and Oppositions to the Imperial Rule

Internal Plots and the 1960 Coup De'tat

There had been various oppositions against the Haile Selassie's rule in the post-liberation period These oppositions were sometimes expressed in the form of plots and at times took the form of open rebellions. But most of them were undertaken either by individual or smaller groups of dissidents. Moreover such oppositions had no significant effect. The I960 *coup d'etat* was however an open revolt, causing crucial consequences. The *coup* was led by Brigadier General Mengistu and his brother Germamc Neway. Mengistu Neway was the commander of the Imperial Bodyguard. Germame was USA educated and he served as an adminstrator of Wolayta and Jijiga upon his return.

On 14 December 1960, the coup makers proclaimed the establishment of a new government. The Crown Prince Asfa Wosscn was made head of state, as a salaned constitutional monarch. *Ras* imiru Haile Sellassie, selected for his liberal attitudes, was to be the Prime Minister of the new government.

After few days exchange of fire and day-light shoot outs in the capital, Addis Ababa, the *coup* failed. Its organizers were forced to flee to save their lives. General Tsige Debu, Chief of the Police Force and the formidable ally of the *coup* leaders, was killed in battle. Mengistu was wounded outside Addis Ababa and Germame was killed. Mengistu was later tried sentenced to death and was hanged in Addis Ababa in March 1961.

> The *coup*Tailed‘because it lacked proper organisation. Its serious weakness lay in the failure to involve the army. Though unsuccessful, the *coup* left behind a lasting effect. It proved to the Ethiopian people that the authority of the emperor could be challenged.

The Ethiopian Students' Movement

1. What were the factors that lead to the beginning of the student movement?

2. In what ways did Ethiopian students conduct their struggle?

3. What were 4he reactions of the state to student protests and demonstrations?

> The Ethiopian student movement began following the expansion of secondary and higher level education in the post - liberation Ethiopia. The students of provincial schools colleges and foreign educated Ethiopians started to oppose the exploitative and oppressive system of the state. They began to struggle for the freedom of the masses and the development of their nation.
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> The student movement began in the 1950s when university students started to demand improvement in education facilities and services. Shortly afterwards, students demanded freedom of the press and the right to form their union freely. University students started to produce

their own newspaper. In this news paper they highlighted the miserable life of peasants and urban dwellers and expressed the need for change. This marked the beginning of their political struggle.

Some of the major that have strengthened student consciousness and radicalism, were: The role of foreign educated Ethiopians, the attempted *coup of* 1960, and the introduction of Marxist - Leninist ideas and literature. Since 1964, the Ethiopian university students \ised to give community services in rural and

urban centres before their graduation . This, enabled students to witness the real environment of feudal exploitation and deteriorating conditions of the life of the peoples.

Bom in the University College of Addis Ababa, the student movement expanded to include secondary school students of the capital and the provinces, particularly after 1965. The formation of the University Students Union of Addis Ababa (USUAA) in that year provided strong leadership to the student movement. Since then, the movement came highly radical. Students came out into the streets with the slogan "Land to the Tiller." They called for civil rights and liberties, and protested against economic, religious and ethnic inequalities. In the years between 1965 and 1974 students raised many national and international issues affecting their country and peoples. They exposed the weaknesses and the irresponsible nature of the state. Ethiopian students' unions of America and Europe, too, exposed the weaknesses of the feudo-bourgeois regime to the international community.

Despite the growing militancy of students, however, the imperial regime refused to heed even to some of their demands. Instead, it reacted by detaining, flogging and killing students. University and schools were closed down many times. These measures, however, proved unable to weaken the student movement.

## Peasant Rebellions in Gojam and Bale

The condition of the Ethiopian peasantry was, extremely miserable in the post-liberation decades. Factors attributed to the problems were:

- increasing land tax, the process of privatization and land sale
- the expansion of commercial farms which resulted in eviction of peasants. These caused the ever growing peasant discontent. Subsequent protests and

rebellions broke out in different regions of Ethiopia.

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1. What were the common causes for peasant rebellions in different regions of Ethiopia?

2. How did peasants fight the exploitative feudal regime?

3. What were the specific causes of the peasant rebellions in Gojam

and Bale?

In Gojam peasant rebellion broke out in 1968. The immediate cause of the rebellion was the introduction of a new agricultural income tax. The rebellion was first started in the districts of Mota and Dega Damot.

The first reaction of peasants was refusal to permit government tax assessors to work in the region. They presented their petition to the state. In the absence of positive response from the state, peasants defied the authority of the state and rebelled. They elected leaders, and agreed to expel state officials and to stop taking their produce to markets. The rebellion also spread to other districts of Gojjam.

The government retaliated by attacking the rebellious districts by a combined force of local militia and the police. Homes were burnt down, many peasants were detained and others were killed while fighting. The fighting reached its peak in April 1968. It stopped only after the intervention of a contingent sent by the central government. At the end of the fighting, the emperor visited Gojjam, removed

unpopular government officials, postponed the new tax, and exempted peasants from back-payment of taxes for the years 1950 to 1968.

As in Gojjam, the peasant rebellion of Bale had its roots in the very system of feudal exploitation and corrupt-administration. But the oppression and economic sufferings of the peasants of Bale were worse than that of Gojjam, As it was common practice in other provinces of southern Ethiopia, land alienation, religious and ethnic domination of the settler ruling class and inhumane and corrupt administration worsened the life of peasants in Bale.

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There was also some degree of external involvement in the uprisings of the peasants of Bale. This came from the newly independent Republic of Somalia, which had declared its intention of incorporating Somali inhabited neighbouring regions of Ethiopia, Kenya, French Somaliland and British Somaliland in view of creating Greater Somalia. To this end, the Somali government of the time had always aspired to weaken the Ethiopian imperial state and satisfay its own expansionist aim. Indeed, it gave valuable moral and material support to the rebellious peasants of Bale. ,

The rebellion in Bale began in the frontier district of Elkere in 1963. It started with the refusal of peasants to pay government taxes and to sell grains at markets. By 1964 the peasant rebellion had spread to other districts of Bale like Wabe, Dello and Genale. It gained a strong mass base and had good coordination. The rebellion became more militant and Very well origanized under the leadership of commander Waqo Gutu. He succeeded in getting arms and military training for his followers from Somalia.

Frequent battles were fought between peasants and the combined forces of the police and the territorial army. Peasants fought with great enthusiasm and killed some district governors and many government troops. Goba town, the

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capital of Bale, was attacked twice by the rebels. Finally, the rebellion was crushed by an army sent from the center.

The Ethiopian government introduced martial law, and set up a military administration over Bale. Suspects were detained. The right of movement of people was restricted. Rebel peasants were disarmed. Ring leaders were persuaded to surrender through promises of rewards. The rebellion came to an end in March 1970. The government appointed an Oromo General Jagema Kello as governor of

Bale. By way of appeasement most c^C the rebel Jeaders were set free and given

positions in different offices. The government taxes for up To year 1970 were cancelled.

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Yet, these measures of the state did not bring about fundamental changes in the socio - economic system of the country. Nor did it satisfy the demands of Ethiopian peasants. That is why protests of peasants also arose in different provinces of the country' such as in Wollo, Arsi and Shoa though these lacked the organization and militancy of the above mentioned cases of Bale and Gojjam.

The Outbreak of Famines

There are various natural and human causes for famine. They include drought, overpopulation, deforestation and soil erosion, scarcity of resources, backward system of production, *etc*. The exploitative feudal system of production and surplus appropriation always worsened famine. Peasants had no incentive for producing beyond subsistence level. The more thev produced, the more they had to pay to the state and the land lords. Indeed, peasants paid up to three - fourths of their produce to landlords in some regions. Thus, even in the absence of famine the majority of Ethiopian peasants lived at starvation levels.

Therefore, in the years 1958 - 74 almost all regions of Ethiopia were affected by famines of varying degrees. The deteriorating conditions of the life of the peasantry laid ground for the wide up read famine of these years. Of all the famines, those of Tigrai in 1958/59, Wag - Lasta in 1965/66 and Wollo in 1972/73 were very serious. They were characterised by great human losses and population dislocations.

Despite the death of thousands of peoples however, the government tried its best to hide the famines. The state did not make efforts to control of the famines effects. In 1974 the devastating famine of that period was exposed to the

international community by Ethiopian students and a documentary film produced

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vr* by the British Journalist Jonathan Dimbilby. This exposed the government's cruelty and irresponsibility. It became one more cause to further strengthen opposition to the government. Radical opposition groups used famine ta discredit the imperial state.



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ACTIVITIES 8.1

Group work

1. Let some groups find out main factors that caused the present famine in
   Ethiopia. Another group work on the regions and number of people
   affected.

2. Let a third group suggest solution. Present your findings in the class

and discuss with your teacher

The Eritrean Problem

1. What do you think were the factors behind separatist struggle in • Eritrea?

2. What are the differences between federation and union?

British domination over Ethiopia had also affected the territorial integrity of the country. With liberation from Italian Rile, the British took control of the two regions of Ogaden and Eritrea. The British plan to separate the Ogaden and Eritrea from Ethiopia was intended to join the Ogaden with British and Italian Somaliland and Eritrea was to be incorporated in the Sudan. Furthermore, separate state was to be carved out for Tigregna speakers, the Christian highlanders of Tigrai and Eritrea.

Ethiopia demanded the restoration of these occupied territories to itself. When the matter was raised at the 1945 London Conference of the Allied Powers, the conference failed to give a timely response to Ethiopia's claims. By the Anglo - Ethiopian Agreement of 1944, the gradual British withdrawal from the Ogaden, started in 1948 and completed in 1954. With this Ogaden was restored to Ethiopia.

According to the 1946 Paris Peace Conference, Italy was forced to give up its former colonies. However, the Entrean question still remained unsolved.



Meanwhile two competing local groups emerged in Eritrea. One of the groups supported union with Ethiopia. This was organised under the Unionist Party. It was the largest political group in Eritrea by that time. Another group demanded the independence of Eritrea. The Muslim League formed the Independence Bloc. The Liberal Progressive Party campaigned for the independence of Eritrea united with Tigrai, A pro-Italian group, consisting of Italian settlers and *cx-as karis* supported separate independence for Eritrea.

The fate of Eritrea and its relation with Ethiopia passed through several stages. The first step was taken in 1948. In that year, the four powers, Britain, France, USSR and USA presented the Eritrean issue to the United Nations General Assembly. The UN appointed a commission of five persons from Burma, Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan and South Africa. The duty of the commission was to investigate the wishes of the Eritrean people.

> Identify the different political parties in Eritrea in the 1940s and explain the role played by foreign powers in the politics of Eritrea

After investigating the wish of the Eritrean people, they could not come up with unanimous recommendations. They presented the issue to the UNO. Thus, the UNO adopted a resolution on 2 December 1950. This was UN Resolution 390V that decided in favour of the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia.

In 1952, Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia under the Ethiopian crown. According to this arrangement the Federal government was authorized to control Eritrea's foreign affairs, defence, finance, commerce and ports. The internal affairs of Eritrea were left to be under the control of a local assembly that was to be elected by the people of Eritrea. The assembly consisted of both unionist arid separatist parties. This federal arrangement, however, lasted only for a decade.

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Both unionists and supporters of full independence in Eritrea were frustrated, when federation was used as a means of resolving the Eritrean question. Developments after the federation demonstrated the incompatibility between the political system at the center and Ertirea as a federal unit. The Ethiopian government introduced the 1955 Revised Constitution in an attempt to adjust itself to the standard of the Eritrean Federal Constitution. Practically, however, the Ethiopian government found the democratic developments in Eritrea granted by its Constitution untolerable. Thus it started to interfere in the internal

affairs of Eritrea violating the principles of the Federal Act of ^52. Separatist elements of Eritrea used such practices to advance their cause.

The Ethiopian government made many efforts to unite Eritrea with Ethiopia. The Eritrean Assembly, the parliament, legally established when the federation came into effect in 1952, was thus pressurized to vote for union. On 14 December 1962, the Assembly dissolved itself. Eritrea was merged with Ethiopia. It became just one among the other provinces of the imperial government Separatist groups had already been engaged in a peaceful struggle since 1958. This was followed by the armed struggle of the Muslim dominated Entrean Liberation Front (ELF) also known as Jabaha.

The degeneration of Eritrea from a federal unit to an ordinary province in 1962, arose public opposition in Entrea. The opposition was small at first, but gradually became strong. It, particularly, came from Eritreans who wished to see the creation of a separate and independent Entrean state.

1. Identify the major forces of the Entrean armed struggle? What were the strategies of these forces?

2. Point out why the Eritrean separatist forces failed to establish a united front.

The ELF was a Muslim dominated force. Indeed, it obtained significant moral and matenal support from the Muslim world. It fought on several occasions against the forces of the imperial government since the 1960s. In 1972 most of the different groups united themselves under the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) or *Sha'bya.* The ELF continued a separate struggle. The ELF and the EPLF were not able to unite and often fought against each other for supremacy in Eritrea.

On its part, the imperial regime was not ready to accept the idea of an independent Eritrea as a separate state. Nor were the liberation forces able to resolve their differences with the *Derg,* that seized power in 1974. As a result, a

devastating war was fought in Eritrea between the Eritrean fronts and the

Ethiopian state for thirty years (1961-91).

## 8.3. The Popular Revolution of 1974 and its Aftermath

Opposition to the imperial regime reached its peak in February 1974, In that year the Ethiopian masses from different section of the society made a series of strikes, protests and demonstrations and demanded radical changes. The first serious act along the road to revolution came from the army. Already in January 1974, the army stationed at Negele Borana mutinied in protest against poor living conditions. At Negele Borana, soldiers detained high ranking military officials who went there for mediation. Armed forces elsewhere began to demand salary increases and improv ement of the living conditions.

Ethiopian workers carried out series of strikes in different government and private enterprises. Workers protested against the long working hours, little pay, poor working conditions and corrupt management. They had started to struggle for their rights long before 1974. Initially, their struggle had taken the form of strikes and forming self-help organizations. The earliest of these working class movements had appeared among workers of the Railway, the Wonji Sugar Factory, and the Akaki Textile Factory, to mention just a few. Gradually, however, the working class realized the need for an organized trade union movement. In 1962, workers established a national organization known as the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions (CELU). Trade unions began

demanding salary increases, pensions, annual leave, insurance, medical care,

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reduction of working hours, *etc.* The unions helped improve the political maturity of the workers and frengthened their solidarity.

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Identify the different mass opposition groups to the imperial regime at the beginning of 1974 and explain their respective demands.

2. Discuss the measures taken by the imperial state to check the progress of the popular revolution.

3. What were the contributions of the military in the outbreak of the

revolution of 1974?

Ethiopian teachers, (under the Ethiopian Teachers Association) rose against the exploitative system of the state in general, and the newly introduced educational reform program known as Education Sector Review of 1971-1972 in particular. The Education sector review (1971-72) was intended to better the situation in the country's educational system especially the regional urban-rural and male female in balance in education. However, the measure was opposed on the base of its tendency to perpetuate the existing class distinction in the country.

Teachers criticized the program as unfair towards the poor. In the middle of February 1974, teachers supported by student and parents demanded reforms Above all they resisted the implementation of the Education sector Review. In the same month, the state also faced a strike by taxi - drivers in the capita) Taxi drivers demanded an increase in transport fees in

accordance with the 50 percent rise of petrol prices that followed the 1973 Middle East Energy crisis. The taxi - drivers too got the support of students. Muslims of the capital set out for demonstration and demanded and religious equality, separation of church and state and official observance of Muslem holidays.

Finally, the mutiny of different divisions of the Army and the Air Force brought a serious challenge to the state since the beginning of 1974. This time,

ill

soldiers did not only demand salary increases, but also asked for political and economic reforms. Moreover, different army units formed committees to coordinate their struggle. On 28 June 1974 the representatives of the various units established the Co-ordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, the Police and the Territorial Army. This body came to be known as the *Derg*. Members of this national committee consisted of soldiers of the lowest rank, non-comissioned officers (NCO«) and low - ranking officers. High - ranking officers were excluded. They were believed to be supporters of the regime.

On its part, the imperial regime tried to pacify the mass revolt through some limited reforms. It stopped the implementation of the new educational reform program, reduced petrol prices and increased the salaries of soldiers. On 28 February, 1974 Prime Minister Aklilu Habtewold resigned and was replaced by Hndalkachew Mekonnen. However, the new cabinet, formed by *lif* Endalkachew, was unable to stop the national crisis. The public had undermined the change of the cabinet and had no faith in it. Thus whatever concessions made to appease the people in rebellion proved fruitless. Mass opposition grew to a more and more militant stage.

The *Derg* began to exercise power and take actions. High ranking officials of the imperial regime, including Prime - Minster Endalkachew were detained. (Aklilu had already been imprisoned.) *Lij* Mikael Imiru became Prime Minster. On 12 September, 1974 Emperor Haile Selassie was deposed and detained. Thus, the fourty four year of Haile Selassie rule and the Solomonic Dynasty came to an end. The *Derg* proclaimed itself the

Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), and assumed supreme political power. This event marked the beginning of dictatorial military rule in Ethiopia.

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The Military Rule 1979*91

After he was deposed, the Emperor was put to jail and died in prison months later. A new cabinet had been formed by Lij Endalkachew Mekonnen, who later replaced as a Prime Minister by Mika'el Imiru. For a short period of time before the fall of the monarchy, both the new cabinet and the Derg run government affairs. However, after the formation of the PMAC the Derg took over the state power under the chairmanship of Lieutenant General Aman Mikael Andom. Oppositions to the military government were ruthlessly suppressed. Aman Mikael Andom, himself was killed in Nov. 1974. Like wise in the same month the Derg executed leading officials of the imperial regime without trial

Such physical elimination of opposing forces from the outset and subsequent ruthless measures of the Derg multiplied its enemies both at home and abroad.

After the announcement of its formation, the PMAC promised to give up power to a new government by adopting a constitution ratified by *4* popularly elected assembly. However, the military government did not fix a precise date or time - table for such a transition of power. Teachers, students, workers and other civil servants as well as sections of the army were firmly opposed to the military junta. Popular strikes and demonstrations demanded the formation of a provisional peoples Government. However the response of the Derg was repression

throughout its stay in power

Though it was unwilling to hand over power to a civilian government the Derg took some measures of reform. These include:

♦ A programme known as the Development Through Cooperation Campaign was launched in December 1974. The campaign aimed at implementing a literacy program, and implement a subsequent proclamation of Rural land reform. The campaign involved high-School and university teachers and students. Yet there was opposition to the campaign. Participants saw it as a



systematic elimination of opposition forces from towns. Despite this, the campaign helped reduce illiteracy and even more increased the political awareness of tural masses.

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Group Work

1. Let students interview elders in their respective locality about the role of the campaign in changing the life of the community. Explain its merits and pitfalls to your classmates.

2. Let others collect data on the policy of the Derg on rural and

urban land and debate on its advantages and disadvantages.

- In 1975 the military regime nationalized industries, banks and Insurance companies that had formerly been privately owned.

- In March 1975 a proclamation was issued on nationalization of Rural 'and and its redistribution to the landless peasants. It was a radical land reform proclamation that abolished all forms of private land ownership of rural land. It also abolished tenancy. The proclamation put an and to landlordism. Peasant associations were formed on a Kebele basis to implement rural land distribution and administration. These associations had also a mission of eliminating rural oppositions to the state.

- A government controlled enterprise known as Agricultural Marketing Corporation *(Ersha Sebil Gebeya Dirijit)* was established. Peasants were forced to sell their produce to the corporation, with prices fixed by the corporation. Such measures embittered the peasantry.



♦ On 26 July, 1975 urban land and extra houses were nationalized. This proclamation established the Urban Dweller's Associations, the *qebeles.* These associations were also used by the *Derg* to control and eliminate opposition forces in the towns.

Most of the measures taken by the *Derg's* military dictatorship faced several oppositions. One of the serious challenges came from one of the leftist underground political organizations, the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party (EPRP). This opposition force had been active mainly among the urban people. The EPRP carried out armed struggle in the countryside and urban centers. It was in 1976 and 1977 that this organization intensified its armed struggle in the towns. Supporters and functionaries of the *Derg* became targets. The military regime also earned out systematic and ruthless elimination of such opposition forces. The bloody campaign of physical elimination by the *Derg* was known as Red Terror. Suspected members and supports of the Ethiopian peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRP), the Tigrai People's Liberation Front (TPLF), the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), the Oromo Liberation Front (OL.F) and others became prime targets of the Red Terror. Thousands of intellectuals, and people from various walks of life were killed.

In April 1976, the military regime had also established the Provisional Office for Mass Organization and Affairs (POMOA) It was masterminded and staffed mainly by members of the All-Ethiopia Socialist Movement *{Metson).* POMOA, had the purpose of disseminating Marxism - Leninism among the masses. It was to realize this objective that a training centre for officials of the Derg known as the Yekatit 66 Political School was established. In April 1976 the National Democratic Revolution Program of Ethiopia came to substitute the former principle of ''Ethiopian Socialism". Several Marxist-Leninist Organizations emerged which were later to form a

common platform, called the Union of Marxist-Leninist Organizations, (*Emaledih).*

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In an efforts to consolidate its own grip on political power, the PMAC accomplished the task of party formation along leftist lines. Party members were recruited on the basis of their loyalty to Mengistu Haile Mariam who led the country as a sole dictator through the military rule. To realize this objective of party formation the PMAC officially established the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE) in December 1979. Some five years later, in 1984, when the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the revolution was celebrated, the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) came into being. Various mass organizatibns were established and the already existing ones were strengthened and served as bridges between the party, the state and the people.

With the adoption of a socialist Constitution, the Peoples Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) was set up in 1987. Though the name *Derg* was abandoned, political power still remained in the hands of the military with civil

appearance. Mengistu himself assumed all key posts. He was the head of the

.

WPE, the Commander - in - Chief of the Armed Forces and the President of the

*St* ;•

PDRE.

Yet, the military regime was still hard pressed by its enemies. In the north west the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) waged armed struggle against the military regime. The Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front also scored

victories in the north in those years. The Tigrai People's Liberation Front (TPLF) had already started an armed struggle.

## The Somali Republic's Invasion of Ethiopia and the Intervention of USSR

Although internal opposition was now momentarily suppressed by the Red Terror, Ethiopia became the target of Somali invasion since June 1977. Mass mobilization was carried out and a militia force was organised. Armed with Soviet weapons and trained by Soviet military experts, the Somali forces penetrated into



Ethiopia across the ill defended Ogaden area and even threatened Dire Dawa and Harar. This full scale invasion of the Somali forces was successfully repulsed by the heroic counter - offensive of the newly recruited and trained Ethiopian forces. It was this event that brought about the alliance of the Soviet Union, Cuba and the Democratic Republic of Yemen with the Ethiopian State.

In its desire to have a firm foothold in the Horn of Africa for strategic purposes, the Soviet Union exploited the existing situation and started backing the military regime in Ethiopia after abandoning its former ally, Siad Barre of Somalia. The military regime also strengthened its ties with the Soviet Union. Economic, military and other forms of assistance were extended to the military regime. This, in turn, helped the military rule to consolidate its power. The alliance of the Soviets, Cubans and South Yemenis helped the Derg a great deal beyond repulsing the Somalia invasion. Given the atmosphere of the Cold War, Ethiopia finally joined the communist bloc spear-headed by the Soviet Union. However, with internal opposition mounting and the international situation changing, the military regime's downfall became inevitable.

## Decline and Fall of the Military Regime

There were several internal and external factors that precipitated the decline and fall of the military regime. The famine of 1984/5, that was preceded by drought and crop failure, forced military government to introduce a

program of forced mass resettlement and later that of forced villagization. People from drought affected regions of Tigrai, Wollo and others were resettled forcibly mostly in the regions of western and south - western Ethiopia. As we saw before, settlers had difficulty in adjusting themselves to the new environment and most of them returned to their former villages. The resetlement program failed due to several factors. No prior preparations were made. The good will of the people was not obtained. Villagization also faced similar opposition. The overall effect was

that the military regime lost popular support and showed its inability to solve such serious social problems at that crucial moment of drought and lamine. Urgent problems were not correctly addressed.

The protracted war in the north exposed the inefficiency of the top military leadership Some of whom were dismissed or killed. This intum forced the leaders of several army units to attempt to stage a *coup* in May 1989 against Mengistu's regime. Although Mengistus regime survived, the *coup* had resulted in adverse effects on the morale and fighting spirit of the military as a whole.

With these weaknesses, the army had to face the co - ordinated military challenges of the Eritrea.. People's Liberation Front (EPLF) and that of the Tigrai People's Liberation Front (TPLi ; Th* i PLF, popularly called the *Wuvcnw* movement since the 1970's, scored several victories on the *Derg.* In 19§9 the TPLF gained a decisive victory at the battle of, Shire. The EFLF *oo ♦ook control of the port of Massawa in 1990. The army of the state gradually lost confidence. The TPLF was determined to liberate the whole of Ethiopia from the military regime. To this end, the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front was formed. This Front was made up of the TPLF, the Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Movement (EPDM), the Oromo People's Democratic Organisation (OPDO) and the Ethiopian Democratic Officers' Revolutionary Movement (EDORM).

The international situation was also significantly changing after 1985, the year in which the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, introduced the restructuring program called *Perestroika,* and *Glastiosi.* The programs brought about the decline of the communist system in the Soviet Union and in the rest of Eastern Europe and thereby resulted in the end of the cold war.

Hence, pre-occupied with their own internal problems, the former allies of the military regime, could no longer extend their support to Ethiopia.

Encouraged by the above mentioned international situation and the mounting political and military crises of Mcngistu's regime, the EPRDF and the



EPLF intensified their military operations The fronts of military operations widened. Various liberation fronts such as the Oromo Liberation Front (OLFK-the Oromo Islamic Front, the Afar Liberation Front, the Senishangul Liberation Front, and the Gambella Libration Front also fought for 9eif:detenninaUon. After successful military operations, the EPLF controlled the Eritrean capital of Asmara in 1991. EPRDF forces made their advance into Addis Ababa from different directions and controlled it on 28 May 1991. One week earlier Mengistu had made his flight to Zimbabwe. The EPRDF undertook the task of maintaining peace and stability and establishing a new political order.

**From Military Dictatorship to A Federal Arrangement**

In the previous discussion, you have studied how the coordinated struggle of the opposition forces overthrew the military regime. You will study now how the change to constitutional democracy was made thrOugtt a transition period. The first tasks was arranging a Peace and Democratic Transitional Conference was held in Addis Ababa, from 1-5 July 1991. The Conference representing different political forces, national liberation movements, religious institutions, intellectuals and other participants was convened. It discussed and finally approved the Charter.

On the basis of a transitional charter several measures were under taken by the Transitional Government. In the first place, the urgent and importifnt 'task of establishing law and order after the overthrow of the military regime was a task of utmost priority. It also worked hard to heal the wounds caused by‘the war that took several years, to bring the institutions and force? of repression to an end and to establish mutual confidence among

peoples. In order t6 prepare the*way for a peaceful transition to a democratic order, the Charter was an effective tastrument.

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What were the major problems of the Transitional Period, and how were they solved? [Group work]

V.

1. What were the important tasks accomplished in your region by the Transitional Government?

2. Why was a transitional government necessary?

The Transitional Government aimed at preparing the way for the establishment of a popularly elected parliament and a democratic government. Some of the undertakings of the transitional government, based on the charter are:

- dismantling the repressive organs of the *Derg*
- restoration law and order for a peaceful transition.
- Different political organizations were" established and/or regrouped New administrative regional arrangement was made based on national and linguistic setting. Eritrea's independence as a separate state was recognized
- Centralized economic system is abolished and a transitional economic policy was issued aimed at laying the basis and creating favorable conditions for market economy.
- A constitutional commission was set to draft a constitution. The draft constitution was ratified in December 1994. According to this constitution Ethiopia got a new federal arrangement with ethnically defined regions.

The Transitional Government ended its mission in 1991. In that year the

country took a new name the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Meles

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Zenawi President of the Transitional government was elected as prime Minister. He was also reelected in October 2000.

# Summary

The period 1941^91 was the most eventful part of Ethiopian history characterized by combination of contradictory developments. The first half of the period began with the collapse of Fascist occupation and the restoration of Ethiopian independence. On the contrary the soveregnity of the country had considerably been threatened by British domination. The restored monarchy took various measures in economic, political, military and diplomatic affairs that were however mainly aimed at consolidating its autocratic rule. This intum led to the rise of nationwide opposition forces representing different groups of masses. Thus the second half of the period was mainly characterized by outbreak of different oppositions to the autocratic regime. Some of them include:

- the Eritrean armed struggle for independence,
- the abortive coup of 1960,
- the Ethiopian student movement,
- peasant rebellions of different regions,
- the mutiny of different contingents of the army, and
- strikes of workers, teachers and taxi drivers which grew from opposition to a popular revolution of 1974.

Combined all the struggles of the different opposition forces to the imperial regime resulted in the downfall of the monarchy.

However the champions of the popular revolution became the military junta of the Derg. The Derg was completely a totalitarian regime of military dictators. Despite some positive measures like eradication of feudal exploitation and launching of literacy campaigns the Derg was hardy ready to establish a popular government. Nor did it respect human and democratic right of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia.

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- The country continued to suffer from poverty, famine, indiscriminate , massacre of ppppsitipp.groups and individuals.

- Forced resettlement and villagiztion programmes as well as cooperative farming changed the life of the Ethiopian peasants from bad to worse

- Failure to respond positively to demands of liberation forces and democratic movements had gradually alienajed the Derg from the Ethiopian masses.

- The continuity of civil war left destructive consequence on human and material wealth of the country.

- The end of cold war and the dismemberment of the socialist allies of the Derg left the latter diplomatically isolated and militarily helpless.

Combined all these internal and external factors led to the fall of the

Derge. This event laid fertile ground for the establishment of a transitional government of Ethiopia consisting of various liberation and democratic forces representing the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. Within two years the Transitional government accomplished its historic mission of transferring power to an elected government of federal republic of Ethiopia whose authority emanated from a constitution of 1995.

# REVIEW QUESTIONS

Part I. Say True if the statement is correct and False if the statement is wrong

1. The second Anglo - Ethiopian Treaty of 1944 marked the end of British administration of Occupied Enemy Territories.

2. The revised constitution of 1955 was mainly motivated by the interest of Emperor Haile Selassie in hastening the unification of Eritrea with Ethiopia,

3. The 1960 abortive coup had no significant political consequence in Ethiopia since it was crushed within a few days,

4. Unlike the peasant rebellion of Bale, that of Gojam had no foreign intervention.

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5. The Red Terror of the Derg only targeted members of liberation

Movements

Part II. Match the following items uncf r column A with those umfer column B.

| **A** | | ***** |
|---|---|---|
| 1. The Crocodiles | a. | Voting for self-determination |
| 2. Legislative Body of FDRE | b. | House of Peoples Representative |
| 3. Point Four Programe | c. | a Militant group in the Ethiopian student movement |
| 4. Liberal Progressive Party | | |
| $. Referendum | d. | American Technical Assistance to |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **A** | * | |
| | | Ethiopia. |
| | e. | Judiciary branch of the Ethiopian |
| • | | government |
| | f. | Struggled for the independence of |
| | | Tigray and Tegrigna speakers of |
| *4* | | Ethiopia |

Part III. Choose the best answer

1. Which one of the following measures of the Derg marked a radical change in the economic foundation of Ethiopian feudalism?

a. Settlement and villagization. •

b. Nationalization and redistribution of rural land.

c. Establishment of co-operative farms.

d. Development through Cooperation campaing.

2. Which one of the forces of opposition to the autocratic state of Ethiopia launched its struggle at both the national and international arena?

a. The Imperial Bodyguard.

b. The Woyane Peasant rebellion of 1943.

*

c. The Ethiopian student movement.

d. The territorial army and Air Force.

3. An immerse foreign investment on Ethiopian education at secondary and
tertiary levels by in the three decades after liberation was made by

a. USA b) Britain c) France d) Norway

4 The Slogan "Land to the tiller" in the struggle against the autocratic rule of
Haile Selassie was highly publicized by

a. The 1960 coup makers.

b. Peasant Rebellions of Bale and Gojam.

c. British documentary film on famine.

d. The Ethiopian Students.

Part IV. Fill in the blank space with correct answers

1 The two occupied Enemy territories of Ethiopia under the British

administration following the liberation of 1941 were and

2. Three of the liberation forces which were among the founding members of the
Transitional government of Ethiopia include ,

and

. Among the reforms of the imperial state of Ethiopia that were aimed at

appeasing the growing popular oppositions of the 1970s, the major three were

a.
b.
c.

Part V. Give short answers

1. Explain the Internal and external factors that speeded up the fall of the Derg.

2. Compare and contrast the intervention of the USSR and the USA in Ethiopian
political and military affairs in the years 1941-91?

3. What were the causes, and consequences of the Ethio-Somalia war of 1977?



Glossary

**A**

Abandon - give up, desert or leave permanently.

Abdicate - to give up or renounce an official position or power by a king or queen officially.

Abolish - formally put an end to, destroy, wipe out.

Abortive coup - unsuccessful coup de'tat

Absolute monarch - Supreme ruler (king, queen, emperor or empress)

**whose power is limitless**

**Absolutism** **- a political principle in which complete power should be in the hands of one ruler or a limited member of rulers.**

Accelerate - begin to move more quickly, increase in rate, amount, or extent.

Accumulate - build up, gather together a number or quantity.

Acquire
- come to possess, learn or develop a skill, quality, *etc.*

Adjacent
- neighbour, very close.

Affiliate
- to form relationship or connection with somebody or group.

Afqala - Merchants of the 19$^{lh}$century long distance trade who originated from south - western regions. They are also referred to as ex-servants and ex-slaves of the Jabarti.

Aftermath r*

- consequence of an event, something that comes after.

Aftertaste - a strong or unpleasant taste in the mouth after eating or drinking;

here means effects of past failure.

Aggression j

Agitate
- violent behavior; attacking in a war, invasion.

Agrarian
- to cause anxiety to, to arouse.

Alienate
- agricultural, farming.
- to break the friendship of a person or a croup.

Ally - unite, join, friend.

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**Ambush - to make a surprise attack from a hidden place.**

Amend - make additional changes or improvements such as in a constitution.

Anarchy - lawlessness, disorder.

Annex - take or control the land of another country mainly by force.

Anoint - put oil on the head of a king or a queen as a formal sign of showing that he or she has become a king or a queen.

Antagonize
- go or be against the interest of someone and make an enemy.

Anthem
- song during flag ceremonies, (i.e. national anthem).

Appease - satisfy someone by fulfilling his/her demands.

Appeasement - a political idea that peace can be obtained by giving an enemy what he demands.

Appoint - place in position of authority, make a placement.

Arab League - The League of Arab state is the outcome of a national awakening

| | |
|---|---|
| **Arbitration** | **of ihe Arabs following the fall of the Ottoman Empire in .he First World War. It was formally established on 22 March 1945 - settlement of an argument or conflict through a person or a group of people chosen by both sides.** |
| Aristocracy | * A small, priviledged class whose position is usually based on inherited wealth and social position |
| Aristocrat | - Nobility, elite, the best, etc. |
| Armistice | - an agreement made to stop fighting |
| Arms race | - competition among major powers in military build-up to have an upper hand over the other. |
| Askaris | - troops recruited from colonies |
| Assassinate | - to kill or murder, for instance a ruler or a politician for political reasons. |
| Attempt | - to try to do something. |
| Attempt | - make an effort to achieve or complete a bid. |
| Autocracy | - rule by one person with unlimited power |



| | |
|---|---|
| **Autonomous** | **' jsri*qw a* \ *T*■■ < ■ 1 - free, independent, having its own self-government.** |
| Axis | - a line that divides a part of something. |

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| | |
|---|---|
| **Autonomous** | **' jsri*qw a* \ *T*■■ < ■ 1 - free, independent, having its own self-government.** |
| Banda | - a traitor or a person disloyal to his country. |
| Bandit | - an armed robber. |
| Banner | - sign, flag. |
| Barbed wire | - wire with sharp points usually used for fences to keep away people or animals. |
| Barter | - an exchange of goods, i.e. an exchange in kind than the use of money. |
| Basic Causes | - major causes, primary causes, etc. |
| Behead | - to cut off a person's head. |
| Besiege | - to surround with armed forces. |
| Bloc | - A group of countries that work closely together, because they have similar political interest, eg Soviet bloc, western bloc, etc. |
| Bloodshed | - the killing or wounding of people, event accompanied by loss of |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Autonomous** | **' jsri*qw a* \ *T*■■ < ■ 1 - free, independent, having its own self-government.** |

*s′* life such as in conflicts and wars.

Boer - a South African whose family originally came from the Netherlands.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Bombard** | **Sometimes called Afrikaner. - to attack with bombs.** |
| Boom | - a rapid growth or increase. |
| Brisk | - quick, active. |
| Broker | - a person who buys and sells things for others. |
| Brutal | - cruel, with no feeling of kindness. |
| Bureaucracy | - a system of government by appointed government officials. |
| By and large | - on the whole. |
| Bypass | - change direction of movement to avoid something risky. |

Cabinet - council of ministers.

Campaign - an organized course of action to achieve a goal, it could be a military, social or economic action.

Cannibalism - an instance in which people eat human flesh.

Captrves - prisoners (of war).

Caravan - a group of people with animals travelling together.

Cartridge - a container for propelling charge for bullets.

Catastrophe - great calamity, great destruction.

*Cats* a ry - soldiers fighting on horseback.

Centralized administration - a system of administration in which the central government directly controls its integral provinces through its

own appointees.

Challenge - compete with, test the abilities of; a demanding task or situation,

problem.

Chamber of Deputies - members of parliament that play the role of executive

body of the government

Chamber of senate - a legislative body of the parliament.

Chamber - elected law making body.

*Chancellor* - the head of government or priitae minister as in Germany or

Austria.

Chau' inism - very great or exaggerated admiration of one's country or the sex to which one belong is better that the other.

Civil right - nght of a citizen regardless of race, religion, color, or sex. Clandestine - acting secretly or underground against the law of an existing government or any other authority. "V __

Co operative form - a socialist system of producing and sharing collectively by

different groups or association of farmers.

240

Coercive - using force to achieve something.

Cold War - a very unfriendly relationship between two countries. Usually refers to the situation between the USA and the Soviet Union after the Second World War.

Collaboration - the act of helping an energy country which has entered and taken control of one’s country

Collaborator - someone who cooperates or takes side with the enemy; supporter. Colonialism - The practice by which a powerful country controls another country or other countries.

Commander - in-Chief (C-in-C) -head army officer controlling the armed forces

of a country.

Commune - people working on farms in an organized group in rural areas of communist China, and believed to be the vehicle that would take China to the second stage of communism.

Concubine - a woman who lives as a wife sometimes in addition to a lawful

wife.

Condominium - joint control of a state's affairs by two or more other states. Conduct - to direct or to run.

Confederation - a loose political unity of several states or peoples.

Confine - limit, keep or restrict someone or something within certain limits. Confiscate - take or seize property with authority, take away by force of law ^ or by force only.

Confront - stand or meet face to face with an enemy; face up to and deal with a problem.

Conscription - the practice of forcing people by law to serve in the armed forces Conservative party - a party that favours the old or established order of society a

party that dislikes change.

Consolidate - to make strong and firm, strengthen.



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Demobilize

Demonstrate

Demote

Denounce

Deport

Depression

Despotic

Deteriorate

Determine

Diarchy

Dictator

Dictatorship

Dimension

Disarm

Disarmament

Disband

Discontent

Discredit

Discriminate

Dislocate

Dislodge

- allow soldiers to leave their regular military service usually after the end of a war.

  - to make a public show of strong feeling or opinion often by marching; show.

- give a lower rank or less senior position to somebody often as a punishment.
- to speak or write against.
- to send somebody out of a country.
- a period of lew business activity, high unemployment.
- exercising absolute power especially in a cruel or oppressive way.
- to become worse (such as in health).
- decide firmly, ascertain, be the decisive factor, fix.
- dual rule or an overlap in the power of two figures.
- a ruler with complete power.
- rule by a person having complete power in a country as in Nazi Germany, with complete absence of democracy.
- measurable extent such as length, breadth or height; an aspect or feature.
- to reduce the size of armed forces (of a country); to take away someone's arms
- reduction of arms.
- to break up and separate (a group).
- dissatisfaction, unhappiness.
- to cause people to lack faith in a person, a people, a state or othei things.

- make distinction / ^
- to put something out of its proper place, put in disorder.
- to force out

243

Dismember

Dispute

Disseminate

Doctrine

Draft

Drought

Dual

Dynasty

- partition or divide up a territory or organization.
- quarrel against somebody on or about something, oppose; try to prevent; question the truth or justice of something.
- spread ideas, ideology.
- principles (as in religion).
- original roughly written document.
- a prolonged period of abnormally low rainfall, a shortage of water.
- consisting of two parts.

- line of kings of the same family

£

Edit of Emancipation - an official order by the Russian Czar to free the serfs-a

1861.

Education sector review - a project of reorganization undertaken in the field of

education

Effect - a change which is a result or consequence of an action or other

cause.

Effective - producing a desired or intended result.

Efficient - working productively with minimum wasted effort or expense.

Effigy - a carved figure representing a person or animal.

Elite - special or distinguished sector of a society, group taken to be the

best or most

Emancipate - set free, especially from legal, social or political restrictions; free from slavery.

Embargo - an official order forbiddirg some activity (as in trade).

Empire - a group of countries or states that are controlled by one ruler or

government.

**Empower** • **to give power or legal right to a person, group or institution.**

**Encompass** • **surround and hold within, include comprehensively.**

**Entente** • **a friendly relationship between two countries.**

Enthusiasm - a strong feeling of interest and admiiaii great supportive and favourable feeling.

Envoy • a messenger (of a government) sent to another government.

Epidemic * widespread infectious disease.

Eslapad* • an incident involving daring adventure, here refers to immoral practices.

Evacuate - to move out from a place in mass possibly *lo* escape danger or risk.

Evangelize • to teach a religion.

Evict • to take a person away (from his land).

Evil - harmful, bad thing.

Evolution - gradual development; the process by which different kinds of living organisms are believed to have developed from earlier forms, especially by natural selection.

Excel - to do better.

Excommunicate punishing by canceling one's membership from a community

**or a religion.**

**Execute**

**- to kill someone; put into practice.**

Exempt
- to free from duty, service or tax.

Exhibit
- display publicly, show as a sign or symptom.

Exile - to send someone out of his country or region.

Expedition - journey undertaken by *?* group of people with a particular purpose.

24S

Explore

Expropriate

Extensive

Extensive

£

Face value

Facilitate

Fake

Famine

r • • *ri* ’

Fascism

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Federation

Firm

Flog

Fortify

Fortress

Fortune

- to travel across the seas and/or oceans to discover sea routes; make other scientific discoveries or learn about new lands; look

around.

- take property from its owner.
- covering a large area; large in amount or scale.
- far-reaching; wide.

important due to their wealth, power, talent, *etc.*

- the importance or value of something as seen from its first appearance

- make easy.
- not genuine, false.
- extreme scarcity or shortage of food, condition of hunger due to lack of food as in crop failure.

a political system in which the state controls all economic activities,

no political opposition is allowed strong support for nationalism

and opposition to socialism

- a number of stales each having its own independent existence uniting under a central government which decides on defence, foreign affairs, *etc.*
- strong, not changing.
- to beat severely by way of punishment.
- protect, provide with defensive works as protection against attack.
- a place strongly made or built for defence.
- chance, luck; a large amount of money or asset.

■ .. • . <. ,(•' (cwul.l *Oi* -

Freedom of the press - the freedom or right to print news or fair opinion on matters of public interest without fear for government

intervention or supression.

Friction

- disagreement, conflict (of ideas, opinions).

Fugitive

- a person escaping from law, police, *etc.*

Fundamental - basic, necessary or essential part on which others are based.

£

- a body of troops stationed in a place to defend it.

Garrison

Genaide Convention - In 1948, the UN, General Assembly approved the

| | |
|---|---|
| **Generate** | **prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide. - to cause to exist.** |
| Genocide | • The murder of a whole race or group of people. |
| Gentry | • people of good position that owned lands. |
| Gesture | • an action that shows one's feelings. |
| Grand | • very important and great (of plan, ambition, *etc.)*. |
| Grant | • to give. |
| Grievances | • causes for complaining against unfair treatment. |
| Guerrilla<br>£ | • a small fighting group that attacks an enemy unexpectedly and secretly. |
| Halt | • to stop. |
| Harmonious | • peaceful, friendly. |

Headquarters- central place from which an organization is controlled, main office of an organization.

Heartened - make more cheerful or confident.

Heir - the person who has a lawful right to inherit property or title (power).
Hide-out - dug out holes for hiding during wars.



**Hithertho** - until this/that time.

**Homestead** - a house with its farmlands

**Humanitarian** - concerned with or seeking to promote human welfare.

**Humiliate** **- to make someone feel ashamed or lose the respect of others.**

1

**Immigrate** - to come inwards as opposed to emigrate which means leaving a region or country for another.

**Imperial Body Guard** - an army put in charge of keeping the safety of life and

property of the Emperor his place and family.

**Implement**

- **put into effect.**

**Inalienable**

- **which cannot be taken away, as in human rights which are already acquired simply because people are human beings. Such rights cannot be given or taken away because they are natural.**

**Inaugurate** - to mark a formal beginning of a period, organization, introduction a new public official at a formal ceremony.

**Incident** - happening, event.

**Incipient**

- something that is in its early stages of development.

**Incorporate**

- take in or include as a part of a whole.

**Incursion**

- a sudden entrance into a place belonging to other people.

**Indemnity** - a sum of money paid as compensation especially by a country defeated in war for the damages done during a war.

**Indiscriminate** - to make no distinction or judgment between the innocent and

**Infantry** the criminal (as total elimination of innocent victims is done).

**Inflation**

- soldiers fighting on foot.
- a general increase in prices and fall in the purchasing value of

money.

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Inherit

Initial

Inspire

Insurrection

Integrate

Intend

Intensify

Intervene

Invest

Irredentism - Isolation

- receive from a former owner; derive quality from a parent **of**

predecessor.

- at the beginning.

- create a feeling in a person, fill with the urge or ability to do **or** feel something, give rise to.
- the act of rising against the people who have power or the government.
- to cause to join.
- have as one's plan or aim.
- make strong, activate strongly.
- to interrupt; to become involved in, come in-between.
- put in such as money in a business with the expectation of achieving a profit.

reclaiming of a territory lost to an enemy country

- to be alone or separated from others (regions, countries).

£

Jabala - caravan merchants a long the Ethio- Sudanese in/and trade Jabarti. - Muslim merchants of the 19th century long distance trade who originated from northern Ethiopia.

*Jihad* - a Muslim religious war.

Jurisdiction - legal right of a government, organization or person to use its power to decide on issues of law.

Just war - a war fought in defense of one's country sovereignty or the right of suppressed nation or against any war of aggression



L

Launch

Legation

Liberal

Liquidate

Loot

Loyalty

Lucrative

Luxurious

M

Mahal safari Mandate

Manifest

Manifesto

Manipulate March Martial la*

'} 'vr

• to cause to begin.

- a group of people or an office representing its government in a foreign country.
- willing to understand and tolerate the ideas, feelings and behabiour of others; belonging to bourgeois liberal political parties or belief in the ideas of such parties.
- kill, destroy, get rid off.

- take away goods unlawfully.
- the state of being true/honest to one’s group or country.
- profitable, bringing in plenty of money.
- very fine (goods), bringing comfort.
- a politics military groups attached to the palace in charge of both

civil and military duties.

- the authority or power given to the winners of World War I by the League of Nations to rule over the former colonies of Germany and Ottoman Turkey.
- show, exhibit.
- a written public declaration of policies, intentions, opinions or motives especially one produced by a political party or candidate.
- to use someone for one's own purpose.
- to move foreward (soldiers) in a procession.
- a city, town, region or country under special law by the army
  * specially at the time of fighting against a state or in time of rebellion or civil disorder. Normal law is suspended.

I

**Martyr** **- a person who died for his/her belief or for the cause of others.**

Massacre - to kill many people that are defenceless.

Mechanized form • a great form conducted through the use of machines instead

Mediate of human labor or animals.

- to try to bring peace between two opposing groups

Media of exchange * valued item in kind or cash that facilitates excha nge.

**Mercenary** **- a soldier fighting for any country that pays him/her (not his/her own country).**

Merchandise • goods for trade.

Militant - expressing readiness to fight or use force.

Military dictatorship - a system of rule in which the military has taken complete

pow er over a country

Minor - a person below the age of full responsibility; smaller as iri a small war.

**Minority** **- a small group as compared with another bigger group (groups).**

Miserable - very unhappy, very poor as in quality.

Mobilize - prepare and organize troops, people or resources for a particular task or active service.

Moderate - a sensible or reasonable person, not harsh, not extreme

Monarchy - a rule by a king, queen or emperor.

Monitor - watch, control or follow carefully over something for a given period of time.

Monopoly - exclusive possession or control of something, sole control of supply or trade in a commodity or service, *etc*.

Mortality - the number of deaths in a specified period of time, (Mortality rate means the number of people dead in a given period of time out of a fixed number normally every 100 or 1000.).

Mounting - rising.

Multi-national Empire - several nations or nationalities under one government

ruler by emperor or empress.

Mutiny - an action against someone's power as in refusal to obey the authorities in the army.

Mutual - experienced or done by each of two or more parties towards the othei^or others^-held in common by two or more participants or members.

Nagadras - king of caravan merchants

Nationalism
- strong feeling of love and pride in one's own country, patriotism.

Native
- a person belonging to the place of his birth.

Negotiate
- try to reach an agreement or compromise by discussion with others.

Neo-colonialism - new form of colonialism.

**Neutral**
- **a person (country) taking no part on either side in times war.**

**Nobility**
- **belonging by rank, title or birth to the aristocracy, the privileged**

**class.**

**Neutral**

- **a person (country) taking no part on either side in times war.**

**Nobility**

- **belonging by rank, title or birth to the aristocracy, the privileged**

**class.**

Notable - important, key, worthy of note.

*Q*

Oath

Obligation

- promise.
- duty or action to which a person is morally, or legally bound.

Occupied Enemy Territory - an emeny territory taken and hold by an othei

power.

Offensive - to begin to attack.

Opponent - enemy, a person who opposes.



**Option**

- **choice, alternative, the freedom or right to choose.**

**Outset**

- **beginning stage, point of departure.**

Overshadow - to make (something /somebody) look less important.

£

**Option** • **choice, alternative, the freedom or right to choose.**

**Outset** • **beginning stage, point of departure.**

Pacify • to bring peace.

Pact • a formal agreement between individuals or parties.

Pan - trying to get a precious metal (ex. gold) from soil by washing; all.

Partition - divide into parts, such as dividing up Africa among colonial powers.

Patriot - a person who strongly supports his/ her country and is prepared to defend it.

Patriot - a person who loves or is willing to defend his country.

Patriotic resistance - fighting or opposing an enemy or aggressor in defense of **one's country as a sign of love and loyality.**

**Patronage** • **support given to a person a group or an institution.**

**Peninsula** • **a land surrounded by water but attached to another land on one side**

| | |
|---|---|
| Persecute | - to treat cruelly or to cause a suffering (for religious or political reasons). |
| Persuade | - to convince. |
| Petition | - a formal written request or demand made to a government, parliament or any organization. |
| Pillar | - a strong supporter of a system, building or a person; main source of power. |
| Platform | - a common ground, idea, aim around which different groups can come together; the promises of a party in an election as in US politics. |

253

Political marriage - a mamage contract aimed at political rewards such as for buying loyals, for resolving dynastic conflicts or career promotion on the part of a lower official.

Polygamy - a marriage contract of a man with many wives.

Popular revolution - revolution that is admitted by and/or that has involved many groups of peoples.

**Possess - own.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Preserve | - maintain in its original or existing state; keep safe from harm or injury; keep alive. |
| Prestige | • respect based on good reputation, past achievements, quality, *ere.* |
| Pretext | • a reason given to hide the real intention, excuse. |

**Possess - own.**

Proclaim - to make something known publicly.

Prohibit • forbid.

Propagate - to influence many people.

Proprietorship - right to ownership of a business or holding of property.
Protectorate - a country controlled and / or protected by a more powerful action

| | |
|---|---|
| **Protest** | **- a complaint or expression of dissatisfaction, opposition** |
| Protracted | - that lasted for longer duration. |
| Puppet | - a person or a group directed or controlled by the will of someone else; a nominal figure or group. |
| Purchase | - buy. |
| Purge | - to eliminate or get rid of unwanted sectors of society or ; vth:cal party often suddenly and by using force. |

**E**

| | |
|---|---|
| Racist | - person/prir.ciple based on difference between the races of people. |
| Radical | - a person in favour of complete change. |

**Protest** **- a complaint or expression of dissatisfaction, opposition**

Raid • to attack and carry away goods animals or peoples (slaves).

254

**Ratify** **- to approve a document (as in constitution) and make it official by signing it.**

Reassemble - come or bnng together again usually after being dispersed in parliamentary sessions.

Rebel > nse in opposition or armed resistance to an established government or ruler; resist authority or control.

Recognize - acknowledge the existence, validity or legality of say a country or a person's authority.

Recruit - enlist, enroll in the armed forces or as a member in an organization.

Red Terror - a period of tyrany in which rebels and opponents of a ruling party were treated harshly by indiscrinmate massacre.

Referendum - a direct vote by all the people to decide on national issues; also

**called plebiscite.**

**Reform** **- make less than total changes.**

Regent - a person who governs in place of a king or queen, caretaker of government power.

Regime - government.

**called plebiscite.**

**Reform**

**- make less than total changes.**

Regulate • control oi supervise by means of rules and regulations.

Relentless • never ending, constant; strict, harsh.

Religious revivalism - an effort of a missionary character in a rebirth or renewal

of a gi ven religion.

**Renounce - to give up, forfeit.**

Reparations - the compensation for war damage paid by a state.

Repressive • undemocratic, harsh or cruel (system of government).

Reservation • expression of doubt attached to a statement or claim.

Resign • to give up one's position.

Resist • fight back, defend.



'

**RoisUice - determination to refuse or opposition.**

| | |
|---|---|
| **RoisUice** | **- determination to refuse or opposition.** |
| Resolve | - to settle a problem (conflict), find a satisfactory solution. |
| Restore | - to put or bring back to a former state or position. |
| Retain | - keep. |
| Reversal | - to change to the opposite. |
| Revisionist | • person, group or ideology questioning the already existing thought or idea; questioning the radical views of Marxism. |
| Revitalize | - make strong again, bring new life into something, reactivate. |
| Revive | - to renew, or be bom again. |
| Revolution | - a dramatic, wide-reaching and radical change; overthrow of a government or system/social order by force. |
| Riot | - behave in unrestricted way; a violent disturbance of the peace by a crowd. |
| Rh airy | • competition. |
| Root out | • to get rid of or destroy completely. |

| | |
|---|---|
| **RoisUice** | **- determination to refuse or opposition.** |
| S | |
| Sacred | - considered to be holy, regard with great respect. |
| Saffari | - caravan merchants that traded along the Ethio-Somali border trade |
| Sanction | - an action taken (like stopping trade) by one or a group of countries on a country that has broken international law. |
| Sandwich | • to put something, somebody or a group, say soldiers, in-between. |
| •ft<br>Sanction | • an official order that limits trade, contract, etc with a particular country, in order to make it do something, such as obeying international law. eg. trade sanitation, etc. |
| Satellite | - a town, a country or an organization that is controlled by and dependent on another larger or more powerful one. |



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255

•\

**Resistance - determination to refuse or opposition.**

Resolve - to settle a problem (conflict), find a satisfactory solution.

Restore - to put or bring back to a former state or position.

Retain - keep.

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| | *4* |
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| Satellite | - a town, a country or an organization that is controlled by and dependent on another larger or more powerful one. |

256

Scramble

- rush, make one's way quickly, such as the quick competitive 15 move of the European colonizers* in acquiring territories in-Africa. . #

Secede - to separate from a union, break away.

Sect - a small group separated from a large group in idea, principles or

beliefs.

Secure - get hold of.

Sedentary - settled (in one place).

Self-determination * the process by which a country determines us won

statehood and forms its own government

Separatist movement - an act of struggling for the formation of a separate or

independent territory or country.

Serf - a person who was forced to live and work on land that belonged to

a land owner, whom they had to obey.

Serfdom - the system under which crops were grown by serfs.

Settlement - the movement of a new population into a place to live there

Shell - to fire artillery against enemy targets during war.

Significance - importance.

Simultaneous - occurring or happening/done at the same time

Slaughter - the killing of a large number of people in a cruel or violent way

Solidarity - agreement of interest or aims

Sovereignty - the condition of complete freddom and- lt? lf*governmem a
country).

Spearhead - those that start and lead a course of action, person or group taking
the vanguard role.

Specific - clearly defined or identified, precise and clear, relating to a particular subject.

Springboard - a starting point.

Statue - a figure of a person made of stone or any other solid material.

Stock - a store of goods and other materials.

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Mrike

- lo slop working because of disagreement.

Subjugate - bnng under domination or control especially by conquest.
Submarine - a streamlined warship designed to operate completely submerged

m the sea for long periods.

Submission - to 'aelri oneself to or to obey another.

Submit - accept or yield to a superior force or stronger person.

Subsequent - following.

Subservient - prepared to obev others unquestioningiy; less important.
Subsistence - a lower level of living, living with lower money or food.

Subvert - to destroy or to make less the loyalty of individual or groups to a

person in power.

Succeed - achieve an aim or purpose; take over an office, title, *etc.,* come
after and take the place of.

Suffrage - the nght to vote in national election.

Suicide •• the act of killing oneself.

Superhuman - person thought to have more than normal human power, size or

knowledge.

Super power - one o[r] the countries in the world that has very great military or
economic power and a lot of influence-for example the USA,

etc.

Supremacy - the highest state of power, having a higher authority.

Surpass - to go beyond, to excel.

Surreuder - to yield or give oneself to (an enemy); like in cases of defeat, give

uo.

Sympathy - feeling support, sharing someone's feelings.

**X**

| | |
|---|---|
| Take-over | - to take control of political power or business. |
| Terror | - very great fear; acts that cause great fear. |
| Threat | - a sign or warning of the coming of danger. |
| Threaten | - endanger, put at risk. |
| Toil | - to perform a continuous and hard work, work hard. |
| Totalitarian | - (of a country or system of government) in which there is only one political party that has complete power and control over the people. |
| Trade route | -lines or roads linking different places for trading activities |
| Traditional | - old opinions, beliefs, customs, practices. |
| Transform | - change. |
| Transition | - period in-between the old and the new. |
| Transitional | - changing from one term to another (as from dictatorship to democracy, as the government between an overthrown government and a newly coming one). |

**Transitional** charter - a written or printed statement giving the principles, duties and forms of a governing body for a short period of transition.

**Trench - deep ditch or hole dug in the ground as a protection for soldiers in war.**

Trigger - factor causing another thing to happen, as a small piece of metal in a gun causes the gun to fire when pressed by a finger

Tripartite treaty - a treaty signed among three signatory powers
Turning point - the time when an important change take place usually with the result that a situation improves.

Tyranny - cruel use of force or despotic power by a ruler or a government-

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11

Ultimatum - last warning or statement of conditions that must be met usually under

threat of force or war

Undertaking - a forma! promise to do something, a task that is taken on, an enterprise.
Unilateral - one-sided, without involving others concerned.

Unionist a group of people or party that supports a union of a territory or a country

with another.

Unitary - bighlv centralized (state).

Universal - concerning all members of groups, all people.

Unwitting accomplice - note aware of the full fact, unintentional.

Utilitarianism - a set of values based on the belief that an action is morally right if it

benefits the majority of people Such ethical values were popularized by
John mill and others in the 19lh c.

inoculation, the process of administering to a person or an animal a vaccine that gives immunity from a disease.

- differ in size, degree or nature from others, change from one form or state
  to another

- a person who sen es another (his lord); loyal servant under a feudal

overlord.

- a particular form of something differing from an earlier form.

- the right to refuse to allow something to be done especially the right to
  stop a law from being passed or a decision from being taken.

- constitutional right of a person oi a legislative body on other body, a
  member of the UN Security to reject or prohibit something

• by wav of by means of, through
a king's representative, ruling for him in another country.

- a programme of establishing planned village or collection of houses in a
  given area

to disregard or go against.

- to lake part in political elections, showing one's formal choice between
  two or among several candidates.

- to bear the responsibility for starting a war or the destruction caused by a
war (as in the case of Germany during World War I.)

X

Vaccination

Vary

Vassal

Version

Veto

Veto power

Via

Viceroy

Villagization

Violate

Vote

&

War-guilt

*w*

Withstand - to resist, opposing formally, meet a challenge, and resist successfully.

*X*

Yewaxt \rhcgna innei patriots living with the enemy but secretely engaged in support of

fighting patriots in different ways.

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