



WACHEMO UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT
PRE- UNIVERSITY PROGRAMME FOR THE 2014 E.C ESSLE EXAMINEES

HISTORY MODULE FOR REMEDIAL

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FEBRUARY, 2023
WACHEMO, ETHIOPIA

Descriptions

This module intends to identify core areas of knowledge that will be imparted to students who aspire to join higher education institutions in Ethiopia. Focus area of the material is according to national outline and curriculum. As is always the case, students will be dealing with ancient, medieval and modern history of different parts of the world. Historically relevant themes are also part of the module and standard review questions are also incorporated. This module will be a base for ESSLE but it is incomplete and it needs both students and instructors dealing with other relevant references.

This module is prepared for Students, Library and course instructors.

It is written and edited through great dedication of instructors of department of History and Heritage management and tireless follow up of college of Social Science and Humanities.

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CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. DEFINITION AND USES OF HISTORY

The term **history**, derived from the Greek word *Istoria*, means “inquiry” or “an account of one’s inquiries.” History is the story of humans in the past. It tells what they did and what happened to them. Historians are people who study and write about the human past. They tell us that history began about 5,500 years ago when people first began to write. However, the story of people begins in prehistory.

Prehistory is the study of the distant past. Prehistory was the time before people developed the art of writing. Archaeologists and Anthropologists have worked to find clues about early human life. Only a small part is studied of these events and deeds of the past. This small part, which is studied, is also called history. Unlike prehistory, however, the subject of history mainly deals with the past, beginning from when writing and recording started. Therefore, historians are people who study and write about the human past. However, the other disciplines do it in the present. Man interacts with the natural environment to produce his primary needs, such as food, shelter, and cloth. In the production process, human beings improved the production tools and the quality and quantity of the produce. History as a body of knowledge is an account of the past based on historical facts and evidence.

Historical fact refers to information or statement about the past that is known or proven to be true. History is all about providing an interpretation of what happened, why it happened, and how it happened based on sources. Therefore, history is both the facts of the past and inquiry made into the past facts. Thus, history is not an opinion or novel writing. Identifying historical facts from opinion requires critical thinking. Distinguishing between fact and opinion is one of the most important skills you can learn from studying history. A fact is a statement that can be proved with supporting information. On the other hand, an opinion is what a writer believes based on his or her viewpoint. History writers can keep their opinions with facts, but an opinion is something that cannot be proved. As a body of knowledge, History is a branch of social science that deals with what human beings did in the past. It studies changes in the development of past societies’ political, economic, social, and cultural life.

The Importance of History

History helps us know about the past, understand the present, and foresee future developments. It also allows us to understand national and international issues, including democratic principles and nationalism. History can also help us develop the necessary skill for collecting and analysing information to reach

conclusions. So, it helps us live our lives as conscious citizens actively participating in shaping our future. History teaches us critical skills. Studying History helps students to develop essential research skills. History helps us understand the present better and provides a sense of identity. It also entertains and makes us reasonable creatures.

1.2 Historiography and Historical Interpretations

A. Historiography

Historiography is studying how knowledge of the past is attained and transmitted. The world's oldest written History comes from China. Archaeologists have discovered records of Chinese History written before 1000BC. Ancient Greek historians, notably **Herodotus and Thucydides**, introduced the organized study and narration of the past. The term's first use is attributed to Herodotus (c. 484-425BC), who is often the "father of history". Thucydides wrote critically and accurately.

History emerged as an academic discipline in the second half of the 19th century, first in Europe and then other parts of the world. **Leopold Von Ranke** (1795-1886), the German historian, established History as an independent discipline. Ranke is considered the "father of modern historiography" for his effort to the scientific study of the past. Ethiopia had an indigenous tradition of history writing. It made some changes from the chronicle tradition in the early 20th century. History emerged as an academic discipline in the 1960s. This decade is vital in the growth of Ethiopian historiography.

B. Historical Interpretation

What happened in the past is endless. Thus, historians select topics or problems they desire to study. History is a systematic and objective study of the past as a field of discipline. It is a systematic study because historical study follows established rules, procedures, and standards. Historians use specific basic methods in writing History. The study of history also refers to the objective pursuit of truth. In principle, historians are expected to avoid bias though it is difficult in practice. Historical interpretation is the process by which we describe, analyse, evaluate, and create an explanation of past events. We base our interpretation on primary or secondary, or both sources.

1.2.1 Sources of History

History is the study of the past supported by evidence arising from sources. Sources are pillars and where there are no sources, there is no history. Sources are, therefore, key to the study and writing of History. Most commonly, historians divide sources into two broad groups. These are primary and secondary. Primary sources are those that are contemporary with the events under study. They are original materials that have direct relations to the events they describe. Examples of primary sources are monuments, tools, ornaments, **artefacts** (coins, fossils, inscriptions, weapons, utensils, and ruins of buildings), **written**

materials (manuscripts or handwritten materials, chronicles, diaries, letters, minutes, codes of laws, Holy Bible, Holy Qura'an, court records and administrative files, travel documents), photographs, jewellery, clothes, maps, video and audiovisual materials.

Secondary sources are sources that contain information that is derived from primary sources. In addition, they provide us with second-hand or indirect information. There is a gap in time and space with sources. Examples of secondary sources are articles, books, textbooks, journals, biographies, oral traditions and published stories or movies about historical events. Oral traditions are historical sources transmitted by word of mouth from one generation to the next. Oral data can qualify the position of primary or secondary sources based on the nature of informants. History can only be written based on data collected from the abovementioned sources. However, whatever the source of information, it should be subjected to critical evaluation before being used as evidence. Primary sources have to be verified for originality and authenticity to avoid forgery. Secondary sources have to be examined for the reliability of their reconstructions. Oral data should be cross-checked with other sources such as written documents to determine its truth; because it may lose its authenticity due to distortion through time.

1.2.2 Dating in History

In recording the past, historians try to determine the exact time when events occurred. That is what we call it dating. Dating is figures or numerical statements that express the time of historical events or processes. The duration in time could be short or long. Therefore, historians describe the period of events by using certain subdivisions or units of time. Hence, the figurative expression expresses the exact dates on which events occurred.

For example:

- The battle of Adwa took place on March 1, 1896
- Ethiopian Renaissance Dam was initiated on April 2, 2011

Dating in history is expressed in numerical statements such as a decade, century, and millennium. A decade refers to a period of ten years. A century is one hundred years, whereas a millennium refers to a thousand years. For example:

- The years from 1900 to 1909 is the first decade of the twentieth century
- The years from 1900 to 1999 is the twentieth century
- The years from 1000 to 1999 is the second millennium

The primary purpose of dating in history is to organise past events according to their sequence of occurrence by **using calendars**. This is what we call chronology. The two widely used calendars worldwide are the **Gregorian** and **Islamic**. According to the Gregorian calendar, time is counted forward and

backwards from the time of the birth of Jesus Christ. The time before the birth of Christ is referred to as BC. (Before Christ), whereas the time after the birth of Jesus Christ is expressed in AD (anno Domini), a Latin term meaning “The Year of the Lord”. Ethiopia uses its calendar, which began on September 11, of the Gregorian calendar. The Ethiopian Calendar is seven to eight years behind the Gregorian calendar. The Islamic Calendar follows the event called the Hijra to count time forwards and backwards. The Hijra was the flight of the prophet Mohammed and his early followers from the town of Mecca to Medina in 622AD. Hence, BH stands for the years before the Hijra, and AH refers to the years after the Hijra. Historians sometimes use a timeline. A timeline is a graphic representation of events in chronological order or periods of history. It is a horizontal or a vertical lineup of historical events. Historical timeline enables quick visualisation and forms a clear idea of the passage of time about events.

In addition, the timeline shows you when and where events happened during the discussion period. See the timeline below. Because of the length of time, historians organise the human past into separate periods after identifying significant developments and giving a label to each period. This is what we call periodization in history. Accordingly, history is conventionally divided into ancient, medieval and modern history.

1.3 Features, interdependence and achievements of major civilizations

1.3.1 Civilizations in Africa

Ancient Egypt

The civilisation of Ancient Egypt began at about 3000BC. It flourished in the Nile Valley. According to tradition, Upper and Lower Egypt were unified by Menes around 3200BC. **Agriculture** was the basis of the Egyptian economy. The silt from the Nile replenished the fertility of the soil and allowed the production of large amounts of crops. The Egyptian peasantry produced wheat and barley. Livestock also formed an integral part of the economy.

Trade was another important economic activity in the empire. The Egyptian empire was a large state ruled by an absolute king called a pharaoh. The king ruled Egypt through officials named Viziers. The Viziers acted as mayors, tax collectors and judges. The pharaohs were regarded as kings and gods. He was believed to be an incarnated god and would indeed be a god after death, watching over Egypt’s welfare. The Egyptians were polytheists. They worshipped many gods. Ancient Egyptians believe in life after death. The process of preserving the body is called mummification. Mummification later developed into skilled art. As a result, ancient Egyptians also advanced in medicine. Egyptian society was structured hierarchically.

Peasants undertook irrigational activities. They also constructed palaces, massive temples and tombs for the Pharaohs. These tombs are known as pyramids. Ancient Egyptians developed the art of writing known as hieroglyphics around 3000BC. It was a combination of pictograms, ideograms, phonograms and determinatives. Next, Egyptians introduced papyrus which was a paper-like substance

Nubia

Kush was a kingdom along the Nile River in what is now northeastern Sudan. It existed as early as 2000 BC and lasted until about 350AD. Agriculture was an important basis for social differentiation and stratification. The Nubians cultivated cereals, vegetables and dates fruit. In addition, pastoralism formed another important base of the subsistence economy. Finally, trade was another important source of wealth and power for Nubian states. At different times, Egypt conquered and ruled lower Nubia. Absolute kings and queens ruled the Nubian states. Nubian kings and queens were considered like the Egyptian pharaohs as divine rulers. Nubia was also known for its metal technology. Meroe was an important center of metal products such as gold, copper, silver, and iron. This indicates that Meroe had a flourishing iron industry. The Kushites conquered Egypt about the eighth century BC. Then, at about 350AD, the Aksumite king, Ezana, invaded and destroyed Meroe.

1.3.2. Civilisations in Asia

Mesopotamia

Mesopotamia included the area now eastern **Syria, Southern Turkey** and most parts of **Iraq**. The earliest of the great river valley civilisations was the civilisation of Sumerian found between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. The Sumerians began to build the first cities in the world. **Sumerians** used mud bricks dried in the sun in their buildings. Large temples of this kind were called Ziggurats (stepped towers). The soil of southern Mesopotamia was very fertile, and with flood control and irrigation, large crops were possible. The Sumerian kings had divine authority. A king ruled as representative of his city's major god. The Sumerians were Polytheists. The plough and the potter wheel first appeared in Mesopotamia. The Sumerians may have been the first to use bronze. The Sumerians developed a writing system around 3200 BC. Their writing system was known as cuneiform. Cuneiform was not an alphabet system. Instead, it was a highly complex system of ideographs. They also developed mathematics, astronomy, medicine and metal works.

Persia

Persia was a land that included parts of the area now called Iran and Afghanistan. The Persians called the

region the “Land of Aryans”, from which the name Iran is coined. The Persians called their language Aryan. They established a dynasty known as the Persian Empire, the largest empire in the ancient world. The first Persian Empire, founded by Cyrus the Great around 550BC, became one of the largest empires in history, stretching from Europe’s Balkan Peninsula in the West to India’s Indus Valley in the East. It also included parts of North Africa. They made an important contribution to government, law and religion. They built many new roads and developed the world’s first postal service. Their religion was known as Zoroastrianism, founded by a prophet called Zoroaster

India

The first Indian Civilisation began in the Indus Valley in Pakistan and Western India at about 2500BC and reached its apex at about 1500BC. The people had their counting, measuring, weighing, and writing systems. They dug ditches and canals around the cities to irrigate their farms. The people traded with one another and also with other civilisations like Mesopotamia. The Indus artisans used copper and bronze to make tools, mirrors, pots, and pans and crafted gold ornaments. The ancient Indian society was hierarchically divided into different social classes according to their work and birth; it goes back some 3,000 years. Hindu religion was developed from the beliefs of the early Indo-Aryans. Buddhism emerged from Hinduism as a reform movement. It spread outside of India to South East Asia, China and Japan.

China

The civilisation of ancient China first developed in the Yellow River Region of Northern China in the third millennium BC. Chinese civilisation expanded over time to present-day China's central and southern parts. Ancient Chinese civilisation reached its height about 3000 BC. in the Valley of Hwang Ho. The first dynasty in China was called the Shang dynasty (c. 1700-1122BC). Its achievements included the creation of bronze vessels, war chariots, and a writing system. At about 1122 BC., the Chou dynasty overthrew the Shang dynasty and established its own rule over China until 256BC. As a result, Chinese literary classics developed, and Chinese philosophy emerged. Confucius (551-479BC) was the most influential and respected philosopher in Chinese history, and his teaching was Confucianism. Confucianism teaches the importance of a well-ordered society in which parents rule their children; men lead women and the educated judge ordinary people. The ancient Chinese constructed the Great Wall of China to keep out invaders from central Asia. It extends about 7,400 Kilometers across northern China. The Chinese developed their system of writing called logographic, which meant the use of pictorial symbols to represent words of the Chinese language.

1.3.3. Ancient Civilisation of Latin America

Maya

The Maya were Native American people who developed a magnificent civilisation in the western hemisphere before the coming of the Europeans. This civilisation was at its peak from about 250-900AD. The Maya produced remarkable architecture, painting, pottery, and sculpture. They made outstanding achievements in astronomy mathematics and developed an accurate yearly calendar. They developed an advanced form of writing. The Maya worshipped many gods and goddesses. The Maya built tall pyramids of limestone with small temples on top. The Spanish had captured the southern part of the area in the 16th Century. Spanish domination of the entire Maya region was completed in the late 17th Century.

Inca

The Inca were a South American native people. They ruled one of the largest and richest empires in the Americas. The Inca Empire began to expand at about 1438. It included present-day **Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile and Argentina**. Its capital was Cusco, in southern Peru. The Inca were skilled in engineering and crafts. For example, they built a network of roads. Inca craftworkers made fine artefacts from gold, silver and other materials. The Inca also wove fine cotton and woollen cloth. Spanish forces conquered the Inca Empire after 1532.

Aztecs

The Aztecs were another Native American people who ruled a powerful empire in Mexico during the 15th and 16th centuries. The center of the Aztec civilisation was the valley of Mexico. The Aztecs empire included many cities and towns. The largest city was the capital Tenochtitlan, which stood on the site of present-day Mexico -City. Agriculture formed the basis of the Aztec economy. The Aztecs worshipped hundreds of gods and goddesses. They used a form of writing called pictographic writing. Unfortunately, their empire was destroyed by the Spaniards in 1521.

1.3.4. Civilisations in Europe

Ancient Greek Civilisation

Ancient Greece, which emerged about 2500 years ago, was the birthplace of western civilisation. Greeks' culture developed chiefly in small city-states called **Polis**. A city-state consists of a city or town and the surrounding villages and farmland. The best-known city-states were Athens and Sparta. The city-states never became united into a nation. However, they all had a common language, religion and culture. The Greeks called themselves Hellens and their land Hellas. Greek cultural achievements were outstanding in the classical period and were the ancient legacy to Europe and the world.

Some of the accomplishments were:

- Architecture. The temple of Athena in Athens (the Parthenon) is the finest example.
- Literature and Drama. The Greeks invented drama (theatre).

- Sculptures. The Greeks made statues of gods and heroes in marble and bronze.
- History writing. The two great Greek historians were Herodotus and Thucydides. Herodotus wrote about countries and civilisations outside Greece but is also our best source for the Persian Wars. Thucydides wrote a good account of the Peloponnesian War, without bias though he was Athenian.
- Medicine. Hippocrates began the tradition of modern medicine in Europe. He identified symptoms, classified diseases and suggested sensible remedies (for example, fresh air and a good diet).
- “Democracy”, “Psychology”, “Olympic”, and “Marathon” all have Greek origin.
- Philosophy. The two greatest philosophers of ancient Greece, who taught in Athens, were Plato and later Aristotle. The modern philosopher Bertrand Russell stated, “Plato and Aristotle were the most influential of all philosophers, ancient, medieval or modern.”

Ancient Roman Civilisation

The Roman civilisation was started in present-day Italy around 753BC on the hills above the River Tiber. Ancient Rome had a significant influence on the development of western civilisation. Roman law had become the foundation for the legal systems of most countries in Western Europe and Latin America. Roman roads, bridges, and aqueducts served as a model for engineering. Ancient Romans built public baths and amphitheatres (outdoor arenas). The most famous theatre in the city of Rome was the Coliseum.

A series of kings ruled ancient Rome at the beginning. The Roman Republic was established in 509BC after the Roman nobles overthrew the king. Two elected officials called Consuls headed the government of the republic. A Consul served for only a year. The Senate was the most powerful government body of the Roman Republic, and senators served for life. The Roman Republic lasted nearly 500 years, until 27BC. The Roman Empire was established after the republic was destroyed by the twenty years of civil war. The empire lasted until Rome fell in 476AD.

Rome expanded beyond Italy in aggressive wars. The bloodiest wars of Rome were the repetitive Punic wars (264-146) fought against Carthage. Rome then extended its empire, step by step, all around the Mediterranean Sea and beyond (Gaul, which is modern France, Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands). The main difference between the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire was that the former was a democratic society, and the latter was run only by one man. Also, the Roman Republic was in an almost constant state of war, whereas the Roman Empire's first 200 years were relatively peaceful. Rome left behind an important legacy, which it passed on to the world in its culture and institutions.

Some of the most important ones include the following:

- The Latin Language. Latin developed into the “Latin languages” of Europe and Latin America.

- Latin literature, authors like Cicero, Caesar (he wrote the history of his wars) and the poets Vergil, Horace and others.
- Roman law was revived in the European Middle Ages.
- The Julian calendar, introduced by Julius Caesar is the base for the current Gregorian calendar

Review Questions

Choose the best answers from the following alternatives.

- Which one of the following is a primary historical source?
A. Books B. Tools C. Films D. Plays
- Which of the following is **not** key element of civilized state?
A. Enforcing body of the law (government)
B. Right to be enjoyed (sovereignty)
C. Minted currency (coin) to collect revenue from territory
D. People to be ruled (population)
- The land of Aryan civilization included what are today
A. Tunisia and Ifrikiya C. Iraq and Afghanistan
B. Southern Turkey Iraq and Syria D. Pakistan and west Indus
- Oral traditions refers
A. Any oral data that is verified and established as true
B. Any important stories thought to the generations
C. Any historical accounts that reserved in Archives from gathers
D. Any significant information's that historians get from elders
- History is different from per history because history is
A. After art of writing C. After Hagiography record
B. After novel books written D. After primary sources collected
- The first native American who developed a magnificent civilization in Western hemisphere before the coming of Europeans were
A. Incas B. Greeks C. Mayas D. Aztecs
- From 509 BC onwards Ancient Rome ruled by
A. Consuls B. Senates C. Roman Nobles D. Roman Republic
- The final blow/end of Meroitic Civilization came from
A. Egyptians invasion C. Nubians invasion
B. Assyrians invasion D. Aksumites invasion

9. As Dravidians were for India civilization _____ were for Mesopotamian civilization
 A. Sumerians B. Syrians C. Phoenicians D. Shonas
10. Which one of the following ancient states had adopted some important elements from Mesopotamia and Assyrians? The civilization (of)
 A. Persia B. Bush/Nubia C. Greece D. India
11. The Azetics Empire collapsed in the 16th c due to
 A. The conquest of Portuguese C. The invasion of Spaniards
 B. The expansion of Maya D. The civil war which dethroned empire
12. Ancient states that were ruled by priests are known as
 A. Democracies B. Erastianists C. Theocracies D. Religousts
13. Southern Shona people rebelled against ____ and they established their own new empire
 A. Rozwi B. Nguni C. Mwena Mutapa D. Changemire E. None
14. Which of the following was /is not true about Sumerians civilization
 A. They introduced decimal point and Zero
 B. They introduced 360 Degree in a circle, 60 minute in a hour and 60 seconds in a minute
 C. They developed b/n rivers and laid foundation for modern astronomy by analyzing stars & planets
 D. Sumer was their land and Lugals were their rulers
 E. None
15. **Wrong** about achievement of ancient Egyptian civilization
 A. Mummification → Mechanism of preserving corps
 B. Pyramids → Burial place of all Egyptians
 C. Book of dead → Religious book, for incarnation of life
 D. Hieroglyphics → Complex and non-alphabetical writing system of Ancient Egyptians
16. Punic war was a war took place between
 A. Romans and Carthiogians
 B. Athenians and Spartans
 C. Persians and Iranians
 D. Greeks and Romans

CHAPTER TWO

2. State formation and population movements in the horn of Africa till seventeenth century

2.1 North: Punt, Dama'at , Aksum and Zagwe

Punt: Punt was an ancient and historically known state in the Horn of Africa. However, Punt's exact location and territorial limits are not well known. Historians suggest that its territory falls in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean coastal parts of present-day Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia. According to an Egyptian hieroglyphic, the land of Punt was located south of Egypt and had trade relations with Egypt since the third millennium BC. The trade was conducted by land and sea routes. Egyptian inscriptions and pictorial reliefs dating from early times indicate the objects that Punt supplied to Egypt. The land of Punt was commercially important for the goods it provided to Egypt. These exports originated in the interior, which later became Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. Such goods include gold undoubtedly from the Ethiopian interior mainly in western Ethiopia. Others such as ivory, panther and other skins, myrrh and myrrh trees, ostrich feathers, etc. were which could have come from anywhere in the Horn. The Egyptians sent hatchets, daggers, necklaces, etc.

Other pre-Aksumite states emerged since 1000BC. These include Yeha, Hawlti-Melazo, Addi-Seglemani, Metera, Kaskase, Coloe, etc. Yeha: is located 30 kms to the northeast of Aksum and was the oldest of these centers. It probably emerged around 1000BC as a small emporium where South Arabian merchants and their agents bought and stored ivory, rhinoceros horn and other commodities coming from the interior. The period of its prosperity (zenith) was from about 750 to 500BC. Remains of walls of some of its buildings and stone masonry and still standing temple and inscriptions indicate Yeha's glory.

Hawulti Melazo: is situated to the southeast of Aksum, where stone tablets inscribed in the rectangular temple surrounded by a wall decorated with paintings representing herds of cattle have been excavated.

Damat: Damat existed just before the rise of Aksum. Its center was little to the south of the town of Aksum. Information about this state comes from local archaeological sources. Some of Damat's rulers used the South Arabian political and religious title called Mukarib. This indicates that Damat had established external relations with South Arabia.

This can be understood from local inscriptions left by one of its rulers around the fifth century BC. Damat used the port of Adulis on the Red Sea coast.

Aksumite Kingdom

As discussed above, in the pre-Aksumite period, Aksum was not the first state that emerged in Ethiopia. The term Aksum was derived from two terms, Ak/ku means water in Agaw and sum/shum means chief in Semitic; hence 'chief of water'. Aksum emerged in the first century AD with its nucleus at Aksum. Therefore, the Aksumite civilisation resulted from the fusion of Cushitic and Semitic cultures. The City of Aksum was its political and religious center. The city was adorned by several temples and stone monuments like the monolithic steles of Aksum. Economically, the Aksumites depended on plough agriculture. Aksum as a kingdom was a powerful state with a well-demarcated social structure. The link between the king and the people was the payment of tribute. The state also generated considerable income from local and external trade conducted via the port of Adulis on the Red Sea coast.

To facilitate trade, coins of bronze, silver and gold were minted. In the first three centuries, Ge'ez evolved as a written language. Inscriptions and coins show that Sabeian and Greek languages were used in Aksum before Ge'ez. The use of the Greek language possibly resulted from trade contact with the Greco-Roman world. Greek was the lingua-franca of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean region by then. The Aksumites had beliefs in indigenous religions before the introduction of Christianity in the 4th century AD and Islam in the early 7th Islam. Unlike many other centers of civilisations like Yeha, Mattara and Adulis, Aksum continued to exist as the most important center of a highly developed civilisation for several centuries. This can be attested from the ruins of Aksumite temples, iron tools, bricks, coins, tombs and obelisk. In addition, shipbuilding technology was also well known in the port town of Adulis. As a result, those ruins have become among the known tourism centres in Ethiopia today.

Initially, Aksum was a small state. Between the fourth and sixth centuries, Aksumite kings expanded the kingdom significantly to include territories bounded in the east beyond the Red Sea (southern Arabia), the River Abay in the west, the northern tip of Eritrea in the north and north Shewa in the south. But gradually, Aksum deteriorated. The process of

decline started when the Red Sea had come under the control of Muslim Arabs and the subsequent destruction of the port of Adulis in 702AD. The loss of trade led to the decline of its economic, political and military power. Internally, rebellion against king Kaleb (r.500 - 535AD) broke out. Kaleb had once controlled South Arabia in 525AD. But the South Arabians finally expelled Aksumite governors and soldiers from their region between 580 and 590AD.

Thus, Aksum lost its control of the other side of the Red Sea trade. The decline continued in the following centuries, with internal political disturbances contributing as an additional factor. Finally, unable to check the rebellions of the Beja people from the north, Aksumite state was pushed southward to Kubar in southern Tigray, and by the late ninth century, it took refuge in the area predominantly inhabited by the Agaw people.

Zagwe Dynasty

The Zagwe dynasty came from the local Agaw ruling class in Lasta, part of the Aksumite Empire. The Zagwe dynasty was founded around 1150AD by Mera Tekle Haymnot. He established a new capital at Adefa (Roha) in Lasta. The founding of the Zagwe dynasty is not a new kingdom, but it is all about a political power shift. The economy of the Zagwe dynasty was based on agriculture. Trade brought additional income to the state. The Zeila port was the main outlet during the Zagwe time. The Dahlak Islands on the Red Sea coast served as an outlet. The Zagwe dynasty is known in Ethiopian history for its remarkable architectural achievement. This was the technology of building the monolithic rock-hewn Churches at Roha; later, the capital was renamed Lalibela. The surviving pieces of evidence are the eleven rock-hewn churches constructed during the reign of Emperor Lalibela in the first half of the thirteenth century.

The presence of these beautiful Churches made the town of Lalibela one of the most important centers of learning and Christian culture in Ethiopia. Many factors contributed to the downfall of the Zagwe dynasty. The first one was the problem of succession to the throne among the Zagwe princes. Most of the time, they settled this issue by force of arms. However, they could not be able to arrange a smooth succession to the throne. Secondly, there had been strong opposition to the Zagwe kings throughout their rule. This opposition was from the regions of Tigray and Amhara. Particularly in Tigray, the leading clergy members of the Churches of Aksum and Debre Damo spread anti-Zagwe propaganda related to the legend of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon of Israel.

Hence, the Zagwe kings were seen as illegitimate successors of Aksum. The intention

behind this legend was the restoration of the ancient dynasty of Aksum. However, despite the strong opposition in Tigray, the initiative to overthrow the Zagwe came from the Amhara region. The Amhara region was located to the south of Lasta, around southern Wollo and northern Shawa. An Amhara chief Yekuno Amlak organised a movement against the Zagwe rule. He defeated Yetbarek, the last Zagwe king, on the battlefield in 1270AD. Yekuno Amlak established a genealogy that made him a descendant of the last Aksumite king, Dil Naod, who was deposed by the Zagwe dynasty around 1150AD. Yekuno Amlak (r. 1270-1285) declared himself an Emperor and, at the same time, became the restorer of the so-called "Solomonic dynasty". Yekuno Amlak and his successors used this legend as an ideological arm to legitimise their political power. The tradition of identifying the Christian kings of Ethiopia with ancient Israel continued until 1974.

2.2 South and southwest: Bizamo, Damot , Enarya and Gafat

The Kingdom of Bizamo

The kingdom of Bizamo existed on the southern bend of the Abbay river just opposite to the present district of Wambarma in southern Gojjam. We do not know when the state of Bizamo came into existence. But it existed until the end of the sixteenth century under the control of the Christian kingdom. The medieval population of Bizamo consisted of the speakers of the Omotic language family. Among them the present day Shinasha ethnic group was one of the settlers of the kingdom. The population of Bizamo was constantly harassed by the Christian kings who led occasional slave raids into the kingdom. This reduced the population of Bizamo. On the arrival of the Mecha Oromo towards the end of the sixteenth century, part of the remaining population fled across the Abbay into Gojjam. Part of the population which remained behind retreated further west to the lowlands, while the remaining part was assimilated by the Mecha Oromo.

The Kingdom of Damot

Damot was one of the oldest and strongest states in the Ethiopian region. For most of its history Damot roughly occupied the western and southwestern part of the Ethiopian region. The eastern part of the state probably included what is now the territory of the Regional State of Beni Shangul- Gumuz. The northern frontier of the kingdom stretched to the present day northern Shewa, and Damot also included the central and southern parts of Shewa. A vast territory south of the Abbay gorge was also part of the territory of Damot. We do not know when the kingdom of Damot came into existence. However, the

history of the kingdom goes back to the Aksumite period. At that time Damot was known for its gold which reached the market of Aksum and the ports of the Red Sea coast. During the southward political orientation of the Christian kingdom of Aksum in the ninth and tenth centuries, it seems that the kingdom of Damot had put up a strong challenge against the further expansion of the Christian state.

The dominance of Damot in the Ethiopian region continued during the Zagwe period. During the period, Muslim and Christian trading communities depended on the kingdom of Damot for the sources of trade items. From Damot trade items such as gold, ginger and slaves were exported to countries as far as Arabia, Persia, India, Egypt and Greece. The communities served as middlemen between the coast and the kingdom. Therefore, trade influenced the pattern of their relation with the kingdom of Damot. In this respect, common interest promoted the maintenance of peaceful relations for most of the time. But there were occasions when Damot interfered in the commercial affairs of the communities. On such occasions the communities put pressure on the Zagwe kings to interfere on their behalf. Under such a pressure, one Zagwe king led a military expedition against Damot towards the end of the twelfth century. Unfortunately, the expedition ended in complete defeat of the Zagwe king. This shows that Damot was a viable state even by that time. Among the kings of Damot, Motalami is constantly mentioned in the records of the period. Damot seems to have attained the peak of its power during the reign of this king. One indication to this is a fierce struggle between Motalami and Yekuno-Amlak. The struggle was over the control of Shewa. In the struggle Motalami was finally defeated. After this defeat Motalami was converted to Christianity which marked the beginning of a growing Christian influence in Damot. But Damot continued its resistance from lands to the south of the Gibe River until 1316, when Amde Seyon finally annexed the kingdom. Subsequently, Damot became the tributary of the Christian kingdom and continued to exist up to the time of the expansion of the Mecha Oromo in the area towards the end of the sixteenth century. On the arrival of the Mecha, part of the population of Damot fled across the Abbay river to southern Gojjam. The district they settled at the time is still called Damot.

The Kingdom of Enarya

The medieval kingdom of Enarya was located immediately to the north of the Gojeb River and west of the upper course of the Gibe river. We do not know when this state came into

existence. But Enarya is mentioned for the first time in the documents of the Christian kings towards the end of the Aksumite period. Christian influence had reached Enarya as early as the middle of the thirteenth century. Subsequently, the Christian influence grew strong and finally, Enarya became the tributary of the Christian kingdom during the reign of Amde Seyon. Enarya was the main source of trade items for the trade of the region. Above all, pure gold from Enarya was exported to the countries as far as Egypt, Greece and Rome. Enarya continued to serve as an important source of trade items, particularly for gold, up to the sixteenth century.

The later history of Enarya was closely related to the history of the Oromo people. Enarya was one of the kingdoms which strongly resisted the expansion of the Mecha Oromo in the area beginning from the end of the sixteenth century. Enarya resisted the Mecha Oromo for more than a century. Finally, it was defeated by one of the clans of the Mecha called Limmu. Subsequently, the conquerors took the name Limmu-Enarya, signifying a complete assimilation of the people of Enarya to the Mecha Oromo.

Gafat

The original homeland of the Gafat lies south of Abay (Blue Nile) River adjoining Damot. It is not clear from the scanty records in Ethiopian chronicles whether the Gafat formed a “state” or “kingdom,” or not, but Gafat mountains provided a rich source of gold.

2.3 Muslim Sultanates: Shoa, Hadya, Fatagar, Bali, Ifat and Dawaro

The Sultanate of Shewa

The introduction of Islam to the Horn was followed by the emergence of a series of Muslim states since the ninth century AD. The northern Ethiopian trade declined due to the Arab control of the Red Sea and the destruction of Adulis. Thus, Zeila, on the coast of the Gulf of Aden, emerged as a primary port for south-eastern Ethiopian trade. This port became the most crucial gateway for Islam into the Horn of Africa. Several Muslim states were formed along the Zeila trade route, which linked the port with the rich interior. After the spread of Islam since the beginning of the eighth century, viable Muslim communities and states had been established at many locations, especially along the main trade routes from Zeila and its many branches penetrating the interior. The first to be established was the sultanate of Shawa in 896AD. Since the founders of this sultanate claimed descent from the Makhzunmite clan of southern Arabia, the dynasty became known as the Makhzunmite dynasty. Its location was in the hot lowland region on the left

of the Awash River. The ruling family of this state had an internal power struggle which later led to its final decline.

Ifat

Ifat emerged to the south of Shewa, founded by Umar Walasma (hence the Walasma dynasty) in 1285AD, it would have destroyed the older Makhzumite dynasty. Instead, it became the strongest Muslim sultanate in the region. Ifat controlled a vast territory through which the long-distance trade routes of Zeila passed. Therefore, most of the profitable Zeila trade came under the control of Ifat. Eventually, Ifat became the strongest rival of the Christian highland state. Since 1270 the Christian highland state had also developed a great interest in the Zeila trade and trade routes. Therefore, the need to control the Zeila trade became the main source of conflict between the two states

The Sultanate of Hadiya

Hadiya was one of the medieval Muslim sultanates of the Ethiopian region. We do not know when the sultanate came to power. However, the sultanate is mentioned for the first time during the reign of Amde Seyon. At the time the sultanate was one of the tributaries of the Christian Kingdom. Among the Muslim sultanates, Hadiya occupied the most westerly territory of the Ethiopian region. The western frontiers of Hadiya touched the Gibe River. In the south the territory of the sultanate seems to have stretched up to Lake Awasa, while in the north it extended a little to the north of Lake Zway. One problem in the history of the medieval **Muslim sultanates** is lack of information on the ethnic identity of their population. In the case of Hadiya, it is known that the ancestors of the present Hadiya ethnic group were among the original settlers of the sultanate. It is also suggested that the ancestors of the present ethnic groups like Burji, Kambatta, Tambaro, and part of the Halaba people constituted the medieval population of Hadiya. The economy of Hadiya sultanate was mainly depended on mixed farming, while some part of the population led a purely pastoral life. Trade also contributed to the economy of the state. Hadiya was the main source of slaves for the region. The sultanate of Hadiya possessed rich natural resources and mainly it was known for its wealth in human resource. Because of this the Christian kings gave much attention to Hadiya and defeated it in the early 1330s reducing it to a tributary status. Nevertheless, Hadiya had always caused problem to the Christian kings. The rulers had the title of *garad*. The garads rebelled now and then against the Christians kings. As a result, the Christian kings occasionally led punitive expeditions to retain the tributary status of Hadiya. They even

went to the extent of securing the loyalty of the rulers of Hadiya by means of political marriage. The daughter of a well-known Hadiya garad was married to Emperor Zar'a Ya'eqob and became **Queen Elleni**, famous women in the politics of the Christian Kingdom. Baide Mariyam and Libne Dengel were also officially married to Hadiya princesses. This policy was followed by the other members of the Christian ruling class. Yet, this dynastic marriage did not moderate the militancy of Hadiya. The last rebellion of Hadiya was during the reign of Sarsa Dengel (r.1563-1597) who totally abandoned the sultanate because of the increasing pressure from the expanding Mecha Oromo.

The Sultanate of Bali

Bali was another Muslim sultanate of the Ethiopian region. Its rulers also used the title of garad. We do not know when Bali emerged as a state. The sultanate is mentioned in the chronicles of the Christian kings beginning from the fourteenth century, when the sultanate came under the control of Amde Seyon. Since then the garad of Bali paid tribute to the Christian Kingdom up to the sixteenth century. Bali occupied the most southerly territory of the Ethiopian region. Except on the southern frontier, Bali was surrounded by various Muslim sultanates. North of Bali existed the sultanates of Dawaro and Sharka. In the west existed Hadiya, while the eastern frontier was occupied by the sultanate of Adal. The southern limit of the territory of Bali is not clearly known

The medieval population of Bali seems to have consisted of different ethnic groups. The ancestors of the present Sidama ethnic group were one of the settlers of the sultanate. Some groups of the Oromo people also occupied the highlands of Bali.

The Sultanate of Dawaro

Dawaro was situated South of Shoa, bordering on Ifat on the right bank of the Awash, stretching Southwards as far as the river Webi which marked the border with the neighbouring state of Bali. Dawaro therefore, corresponded roughly to present Arsi region. The ancestors of the present Sidama ethnic group are known to have settled in the territory of Dawaro. The present-day Dawro people also trace their origin to Dawaro. According to their tradition, they were forced to move to their present territory around the Omo River because of the wars of Imam Ahmad Ibrahim.

The Sultanate of Fatagar

The sultanate of Fatagar emerged around the middle of the thirteenth century. The sultanate was located between Lake Zway in the south and the present town of Bishoftu

(Debre Zeit) in the north. The territory of Fatagar included more or less the present districts of Minjar, Shenkora and Ada'a in Shewa. Fatagar also became the tributary of the Christian Kingdom during the reign of Amde Seyon. It was later reduced to a province directly ruled by the Christian Kingdom. Since then, the province became the center of the kingdom for almost a century.

2.4 Interstate relations: causes of the conflict

Relationship Between the Christian Kingdom and the Sultanate of Adal, 1520s-1559

The primary source of conflict among peoples and states in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa was the desire to monopolize long-distance trade. Long-distance trade was a source of great wealth. It also served as a link among the peoples of Ethiopia. The desire for territorial expansion was also another source of rivalry among the peoples and states of the Ethiopian region. Therefore, the desire for the monopoly of long-distance trade and territorial expansion proved to be sources for inter-state conflicts. The revival of long-distance trade caused competition and struggle for control over the trade routes between the Christian kingdoms and the Muslim principalities. This was followed by a series of wars, depicted as wars for religious supremacy in historical accounts of Christian and Muslim clerics. While maladministration and exploitation of the periphery made military mobilization possible, religion provided ideological justification for the wars. However, the interest in controlling trade routes lay at the heart of the conflict that continued for two centuries. The war culminated in the years from 1529 to 1543.

In the beginning, the Zeila trade route was under the control of the Muslim states, mainly Ifat. However, in 1332 Ifat was defeated by the Christian kingdom and lost its independence. Thus monopoly over the route went to Amde Seyon. To regain their independence and control over the Zeila trade route Haqadin II and Sa'adadin retreated to the Harar plateau and set up a new Muslim resistance base in the late fourteenth century. As a prelude to this conflict among the Muslim Sultanates, internal strife, corruption and anarchy were intensified, and new leadership was urgently called for. Such leadership came from Imam Ahmed ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi. The origin of Imam Ahmed, also named as "the left-handed" is obscure. He was born at Hubet in between Dire Dawa and Jigjiga and raised by his devout Muslim kin in one of the oases on the route to Zeila.

After Imam Ahmad came to power, the battles were not just fought to control the long-distance trade route going through Zeila but mainly because there was a demographic

pressure among the Afar and Somali pastoralists pushing to approach Harar and the Christian Kingdom. It was one of the Imam's remarkable achievements in leadership that he mobilized the pastoral communities of the Afar, the Argoba, the Somali, the Harla, Harari and others to a common cause. He convinced them not to fight amongst them but to unite and expand to the Christian Kingdom. It was to resolve their pressing material needs while at the same time keeping Islamic beliefs and practices from the infiltration of any alien religious doctrine. As a result, he was able to gain an audience as Imam. He consolidated his army to fight the Christian Kingdom. Meanwhile, Lebne-Dengel was enthroned when he was only eleven. Nevertheless, assisted by the elderly Elleni and due to internal conflicts in Adal, the Christian state initially retained its interest and even advanced into Muslim territory scoring significant victories in the early sixteenth century. As a result, most Muslim Sultanates, including Adal, were tributaries to the Christian Kingdom.

However, shortly, Adal fell to Imam Ahmed's army. By the time Imam Ahmed was strong enough for military confrontation in 1520. He refused to pay tribute, which was followed by a campaign against the Christian Kingdom in 1527. The Imam's army fought fiercely and controlled the territories including Bali, Dawaro, Fatagar, Sidama, Hadiya and Kambata, and the Christian Kingdom was at risk. In 1528, realizing the upcoming threat, Lebne-Dengel mobilized a vast force. However, there was a logistics problem, and the leadership of the army of the Christian Kingdom failed to adopt a common strategy to defeat Adal's force. On the other hand, enthusiastic Imam Ahmed's army managed logistics problems with its small-sized army. The Imam's army also had an excellent leadership characterized by better mobility and flexible tactics with a unified command. As a result, the larger and well-equipped Christian army was defeated in one of the most decisive engagements at the battle of Shimbira Kure in 1529, near present-day Mojo. After the victory, the Imam's army made a large-scale control of the territories of the Christian Kingdom, including Shewa, Amhara, Lasta, and moved as far north as Mereb Melash.

By 1535, Imam Ahmed's empire stretched from Zeila to Massawa on the coast, including the Ethiopian interior. As he penetrated deep into the Christian Kingdom, Imam Ahmed established a civil, administrative bureaucracy constituted by his men and newly recruited personnel from the Christian territories. One of the most helpful figures during the war

was the wife of the Imam, Bati Del Wanbara. She was the daughter of a Muslim military commander of Adal known as Mahfuz. She accompanied her husband throughout his expeditions. She is said to have marched even in a state of pregnancy during which she was unable to use mules. Indeed, she delivered her two sons during the campaigns of 1531 and 1533 in Ifat and present-day Tigray, respectively. On the part of the Christian Kingdom, the military setback forced the reigning king, Lebne Dengel, to retreat, who finally died in 1540 being fugitive. His son Gelawdewos (r. 1540-1559) ascended to the throne and continued to face the wars with more intensity.

2.5. International dimensions of the war

Conflict in the Ethiopian region began to take an international dimension when two foreign powers intervened for their advantage. These powers were Portugal and Ottoman Turkey. Since the twelfth century, Europeans had found the long-distance trade route from Europe to the Far East blocked by the Ottoman Turks. The Ottoman Turkish Empire was already in control of Arabia and Egypt. It also occupied areas in parts of the Red Sea coast and along the eastern coast of the Indian Ocean. Ottoman Turkey was an established power in the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean regions. After Vasco da Gama discovered a direct sea route to India for Europe in 1498, the Portuguese began to establish trading stations along the eastern coasts of Africa. They were also interested in getting new ones on the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea coasts. Having noticed the movement of diplomatic missions between the Christian Kingdoms and Portugal, the Turks gave moral and military support to Imam Ahmed. Imam Ahmed had received Turkish two hundred Muslim musketeers and ten cannons in 1540. In the meantime, based on the earlier request made by Lebne-Dengel in 1535, about four hundred Portuguese soldiers armed with matchlocks arrived in the Christian court in 1541.

The army was led by Christopher da Gama, the youngest son of Vasco da Gama. However, in August 1542, the Christian army was defeated in Ofla, in today's southern Tigray. In the battle, about two hundred Portuguese and their leader Christopher da Gama were killed, and the leader was beheaded. An important anecdote that should be mentioned here is the role of Lebne-Dengel's wife, Seblewongel. She is said to have participated in the war against Imam Ahmed in 1542. After the success, Imam Ahmed was confident about his army's ability to repulse any future attack by the force of the Christian Kingdom that he sent his allies back home and let his army camp. On the part of the Christians,

preparations were made for the final confrontation under the leadership of Emperor Gelawdewos. The Queen's mother, Seble-Wongel, advised the reigning emperor how to prepare and march for the battle of Woyna-Dega. Due to limited resources, the monarch employed hit and run strategy, which severely affected Imam's army. Imam Ahmed's army could not use its previous quality of easy mobility because they did not know where the attacks came from.

On February 25, 1543, while Imam Ahmed was encamped near Lake Tana, he was attacked and killed after fierce fighting at the battle of Woyna-Dega. Soon after the battle, Gelawdewos was confident that the nobility and his army were loyal to him. As a result, the king restored possession of almost all the northern and central plateau. Muslim communities in the highlands submitted to Gelawdewos. He was tolerant toward them to promote national conciliation and develop a revival of smooth relations with the Muslim world. Besides, Gelawdewos restored many of the pre-1520s territories and tributary regions. The king attempted to reconsolidate the state through campaigns to different areas and camping Chewa (regiment) in border areas. By the early 1550s, Gelawdewos had established a strong Christian Kingdom. However, controlling the Muslim-dominated areas was not an easy task. The growing challenge to the Christian state came from the retreating soldiers of the Sultanate of Adal, the Ottoman Turks, Jesuit interlude, and Oromo that advanced into the centre. Under the leadership of Nur Ibn al-Waazir Mujahid, Adal was ready to wage war against the Christian state for revenge.

In 1559, the forces of Emir Nur confronted Gelawdewos and killed the king himself. Emperor Minas (r.1559-1563), who succeeded Gelawdewos defeated the Turks' force and reclaimed territories on the coast, including Dabarwa. However, in the early 1560s, Yishaq revolted and allied with the Turks against him. Similarly, Sartsa-Dengle (r.1563- 1598) had to defend the Turks while fighting with the Agaw, Gumuz, Bete-Israel, Sidama, Ennarya and the Oromo. The emperor then marched to the north, defeated Turkish forces, and restored the territories.

The Muslim-Christian conflict had resulted in several consequences. One of the most obvious was the huge human and material cost. It is also evident that both the Muslim Sultanate and the Christian Kingdom were weakened, thereby paving the way for easy penetration and success of the Oromo population movement. On the positive side, it

should be restated that the war had arguably resulted in cultural interaction among the peoples of Ethiopia. Linguistic and religious interactions accompanied by intermarriages among peoples of the various cultural groups were one of these manifestations in the long history of Ethiopia and the Horn.

Competition for supremacy over the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean between Portugal and the Ottoman Turks gave the prolonged conflict between the Christian Kingdom and the Muslim principalities a global dimension. Apart from the hostile relations, wider socio-economic and cultural interactions were between the Christian Kingdoms and Muslim principalities. As in earlier periods, trade continued to be the major channel of social integration. Also, it had long been the source of friendship, interaction, interdependence and conflict among the region's states. The long-distance trade and local markets served as core areas of social ties. The difference in ecology between the Muslim sultanates and the Christian Kingdom created economic interdependence, which strengthened socio-economic bondage. Merchants of the two regions often moved from the highlands to the coast and vice versa. The social links were strengthened through such caravan merchants, and religions spread. These interactions and interdependence in economic, social, cultural and political spheres lay the foundation for modern Ethiopia

2.6 Population Movements, Expansion, and Integration in Ethiopia

The lowland in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa is inhabited by Afar, Oromo, Somali, Saho, and other Cushitic language family speakers. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the military conflict between the Christian kingdoms and the Sultanate of Adal was partly responsible for the Argoba, Afar and Somali population movement. In addition, the demographic pressure on the environment gave the background for the population movement. Their territories lay in the region where trade routes passed and were affected by the consequences of the military conflict. Therefore, these people moved back and forth in response to the ongoing military conflict.

Argoba: The Argoba were major agents of Islamic expansion, trade and Muslim state formation in the Horn. For instance, the sultanate of Shewa and Ifat was established by the Makhzumite and Walasma Dynasties, respectively. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, the sultanate of Shewa moved further to the east due to the pressure from the Christian Kingdom. The sultanate of Ifat, where the Argoba were dominant, became the center of Muslim resistance. On the eve of the wars of Imam Ahmed al-Ghazi, the Argoba

joined the Afar and the Somali against the Christian Kingdom. The area inhabited by the Argoba was also a target of the expanding Christian Kingdom. It was the major center of the conflict. This was because the major caravan trade routes passed through Argoba territory. As a result, the Christian-Muslim rivalry and the conflicts thereof led to the destruction of sultanates and dispersion of the people. The enduring effect of the conflict can be observed from the fragmented settlement patterns of the people.

Afar: Due to drought, the Afar moved towards the east until they reached the middle Awash. Trade routes linking the ports in the Horn passed through the Afar's territory. As a result, the region was the centre of competition between the Christian kingdoms and the Muslim sultanates to control the trade routes. Besides being actors in the conflict, the conflict inevitably pressurised the Afar to move in different directions to avoid the risk of disputes. In the sixteenth century, their pastoral economy helped them survive the destructive effects of the wars.

Somali: Their territory lay in the medieval competition to control trade routes. Likewise, before the wars of Imam Ahmed al-Ghazi, there was strong demographic pressure from the Somali. The population movement of the Somali was a strong force behind the military strength of the Imam. However, the population movement of the Somali did not last for long as they returned to their home base following the defeat of Imam Ahmed in 1543.

Oromo: The Oromos are an indigenous Cushitic people of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. When Aksum came into history, it was quite clear that the Oromo also occupied a considerable part of the land in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. According to Oromo oral traditions, the original homeland of the Oromo before the sixteenth century was the south-central part of Ethiopia's highlands. The political and religious centre of the Oromo settlement area was **Madda Walabu**, located on the Bale- Sidama borderlands. A combination of natural and manmade factors caused the movement of Oromo population in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These are:

- Demographic pressure and the subsequent need for land to accommodate the growing human and livestock population.
- The conflict between the Christian Kingdoms and Muslim Sultanates was the other factor that forced the Oromo to leave the lands they inhabited and move to other areas.

Long before their expansion, the Oromo people were divided into two major

confederacies: the Barentu and the Borana confederacies. Each confederacy comprised smaller divisions and clans. **The Borana** confederacy consisted of Mecha, Tulama, southern Borana and Guji clans.

The Barentu was composed of the Karayu, Marawa, Ittu, Humbana, Akachu, Wollo and Arsi clans. The movement and expansion took place from around 1522 to 1618. The movement was set in two major directions in the Ethiopian region. The Barentu moved out in a northeast direction. The Borana followed a north-westerly direction. They also moved out in the directions of Kenya and Somalia outside the Ethiopian region. The movement took place in two stages.

- The first stage was the period of a small and slow movement in the first half of the sixteenth century.
- The second stage started around the mid-sixteenth century and lasted up to 1618. This was a large-scale movement carried out using force.
- In 1522, when the population movement began, the Oromo were already organised under Borana and Barentu confederacies. The Oromo forces took northern direction and passed through a corridor between Mount Walabu and Lake Abaya. When they reached halfway between Lakes Abaya and Hawassa, they took westward. First, they penetrated across the Bilatte River to the southwest. Then they headed northwards to the lake's region of the Rift Valley. From 1522 to 1618, the Oromo fought twelve Butta wars. Accordingly,
- The first Gadaa, i.e. Melba (1522-1530), fought and defeated the Christian regiment Batra Amora led by Fasil and occupied Bali.
- Gadaa Mudena (1530-8) reached the edge of Awash River.
- The Kilole Gadaa (1538-46) controlled Dawaro after defeating Christian regiment Adal Mabraaq
- Bifole (1546-54) advanced to Waj and Erer.
- The Michille (1554-62) scored a victory over Hamalmal's force at Dago, Jan Amora forces, and Adal led by Emir Nur Mujahiddin at Mount Hazalo.
- The Harmufa (1562-70) fought Minas (r.1559-63) at Qacina and Wayyata; occupied Angot, Ganzyi, Sayint etc.
- In 1574, Sartsa Dingil's (r.1563-97) cavalry led by Azzaj Halibo defeated Robale Gadaa (1570-78) at Woyna Daga. However, Robale recovered by defeating Zara'a Yohannis' force.

- The Birmaji (1578-86) controlled Ar'ine in Waj, crossed Jama to Wolaqa and overwhelmed the Daragoti regiment.
- The Mul'ata (1586-94) seized Damot, Bizamo, Gafat, Dambiya and Tigray. In the early seventeenth century, the Dulo (1594-1602), Melba (1603-10), and Mudena (1610-18) expanded to the West and Northern parts of the Horn of Africa while others like the Warday moved to Kenya and Bur Haqaba and Majertin in Somalia.

In addition to the wars between the Christian Kingdoms and Muslim Sultanates, the organisation of the Oromo under the Gadaa system played a crucial role in the success of the Oromo population movement. In their movement into various regions, different Oromo branches established Gadaa centres. These centers were:

- Oda Nabee of Tulama (East Shewa), Oda Roba of Sikko-Mando (Arsi), Oda Bultum of Itu-Humbenna (Hararge), Oda Bisil of Mecha (West Shewa) and Oda Bulluq of Jawwi Mecha (Horro-Guduru). Other places, which became Gadaa centres, were Gayo of Sabbo-Gona, Me'e Bokko of Guji, Oda Dogi of Ilu, Oda Hulle of Jimma, Oda Garad of Wallo, etc. Gadaa leaders such as Dawe Gobbo of Borana, Anna Sorra of Guji, Makko-Bili of Mecha, Babbo Koyye of Jimma and others established Gadaa centres. They laid down cardinal laws in their respective areas. However, various Oromo groups kept their relations through the office of Abba Muda (the father of anointment) seated at Madda Walabu and formed alliances during times of difficulty. Besides, they obeyed similar culture and law (Seera) by sending their delegates to Madda-Walabu, the central chaffe, until the pan-Oromo assembly was forbidden in 1900 due to the political influence Ethiopian state.

The Oromo population movement and expansion was successful for several reasons:

- In the first place, the Gadaa system provided training and military organisation, which contributed much to the movement's success. Besides, almost all members of society participated in wars. So, it was a large-scale expansion so difficult to stop.
- The Oromo made wide and good use of the horse at the time of the expansion.
- One important Oromo institution which seems to have facilitated the expansion was adaptation. Moreover, the movement took place when the Sultanate of Adal- was exhausted and weakened due to the wars of the first half of the sixteenth century.

The Oromo population movement and expansion brought about fundamental changes in the Ethiopian region. Ethnic and cultural intermixing took place between the Oromo and

other peoples of the region. The expanding Oromo destroyed the old states of the kingdoms of Damot, Bizamo and Ennarya. The peoples of Damot and Gafat were either assimilated with the Oromo or forced to move out from the south to the north and intermingle with the Christian community of the area. The Christian kingdom was greatly disturbed by the Oromo population movement. The territorial and financial strengths of the kingdom were highly weakened. It was forced to shift its political centre from Shewa in the south to the Lake Tana area north and Gondar.

The Sultanate of Adal was reduced to the walled town of Harar as the result of the Oromo expansion. This was mainly because after the death of Iman Ahmed, the Muslims of Adal was reorganised under Emir Nur Mujahid. The Emir launched an offensive war against the Christian kingdom. In 1559 Nur Mujahid defeated and killed Gelawdewos in the Awash valley. Nevertheless, he could not pursue his victory over the Christian forces because the Oromo forces had already reached the Harar area at the time. So, he returned to Adal to defend it from falling to the Oromo. However, since most of Harar was occupied by the Oromo, he just built a wall around the town of Harar, which is known as the Jegol Gimb. This led to the end of an age-old conflict between Adal and the Christian kingdom. Following their movement and expansion, the Oromo became largely sedentary agriculturists. In time, the great majority of them also adopted Christianity and Islam. Still, later on, they were able to form kingdoms of their own in the Ethiopian region.

Review Questions

Choose the best answer from the following alternatives.

1. One of the following is an achievement of the Aksumit civilization?
 - A. The development of a Latin alphabet
 - B. The development of building technology
 - C. The invention of the wheel
 - D. The development of a written legal code
2. The Islamic calendar is based on
 - A. The volume of the world's big rivers

- B. The life cycle of the big stars
 - C. The prophet's flight from Mecca to Medina
 - D. The birth of the prophet Mohammed
3. The main cause of the Oromo population movement and expansion th16thc was
- A. the war of 16thc
 - B. external pressure
 - C. environmental reasons
 - D. land fragmentation
4. The reason for the success of the Oromo in their expansion during 16thc was
- A. their policy of assimilation.
 - B. the support they got from Muslims
 - C. the quality of firearm they used
 - D. the support they got from ottoman Turks
5. Who of the following muslim sultan killed by Geladiwos at the battle of WoinaDega?
- A. Imam Mahfuz
 - B. Ahmed Badly
 - C. Ahmed Gagn
 - D. Imam Mahmad
6. Which of the following Confederacy of Oromo dwelled in and outside Ethiopia
- A. Borena
 - B. Barentu
 - C. Southern Borena
 - D. Mecha and Tulama
 - E. All
7. **Not False**
- A. Traditional religion of Oromo based on → Qallu
 - B. Culture of adopting new youths → Mogassa
 - C. Abba Dulla → spokesmen of Chaffe
 - D. Abba sera → Traditional law of Oromo which favours women
 - E. Early age grades of Oromo → Regarded as leadership age
8. Which of the following Muslim Sultanet of medieval period extended its territory which included present day Minjar, Shenkora and Ada'a in Shewa
- A. The Sultanate of Dawaro
 - B. The Sultanate of Dera
 - C. The sultanate of Bali
 - D. The Sultanate of Fatagar
9. Founding dynasty of Muslim sultanate of Ifat and Adal was _____
- A. Makzumite dynasty
 - C. Ummayd dynasty

B. Malla dynasty D. Abbabasid dynasty E. None

10. Which of the ff is true about the Medieval Islamic states in East- Central Ethiopia?

- A. They were entirely theocratic
- B. They were dominated principally by trading interests
- C. They were always dependents of the Christian state in the north
- D. All of them were Arabic speaking

11. The root cause for the conflict and wars between the Muslims and Christian kingdom was

- A. Religious difference and dominance
- B. Safety and security of the king's court
- C. The need to control the territories along the trade route
- D. The refusal of the Muslim traders to become agents of the king

12. Which of the ff is **not** true about the Population movement of Oromo

- A. Religion was traditional, believed on waqa as sky god and led by qallu
- B. Movement was not to control trade route and not for trade benefit
- C. Movement was to get breathing place for themselves, grazing land for their cattle
- D. Assembly was called chaffe which led by Abba Dula

13. Which of the following is true about the state of Hadiya during the Medieval period?

- A. Its rulers claimed a northern Ethiopian origin
- B. It was the friendliest state towards the Christian kingdom.
- C. It tried to maintain its independence by combining resistance with diplomacy
- D. It was able to coordinate and lead a Muslim front against the Christian Kingdom

14. Which city of Kush was destroyed by Assyrians

- A. Sennar B. Napata C. Meroe D. Thebes

15. The indication that Ancient state of Damat used to have the relation with Saudi Arabia was the fact:

- A. It was using the port of Adulis for trade
- B. Its rulers speak Arabic language
- C. Its rulers used religio-political title Mukarib
- D. It fought against Persia alliance with Saudi Arabia

16. Which of the following was **not** major achievements of Zagawe
- A. They controlled Jerusalem and made tour to there
 - B. The built 13 Christian churches during the period 1150-1270
 - C. They had strong military that strengthened by trade benefit and keep security of the kingdom like procedures
 - D. They made Geez church language and Christianity as state religion
 - E. None of the mentioned

17. Which of the following pairs did not come under control of the Christian state b/n 1270-1529?

A. Damot and Keffa B. Wolaita and Ifat C. Gojjam and Hadiya D. Keffa and

Adal

18. An inter – state conflict in Ethiopia in the 16th c was primarily caused by

- A. monopoly over the Zelia trade route
- B. religious difference b/n the Christians & Muslims
- C. political instability in the horn of Africa
- D. external pressure

19. Which of the following contributed for the emergence of Muslim states in Medieval Ethiopia?

- A. The migration and settlement of Arabs in the region
- B. The Jihad that Arabs conducted in the region
- C. The threat of the lowlanders by the Christians
- D. The expansion of trade through the port of Zeila

20. An inter – state conflict in Ethiopia in the 16th c was primarily caused by

- A. monopoly over the Zelia trade route
- B. religious difference b/n the Christians & Muslims
- C. political instability in the horn of Africa
- D. external pressure

21. Which one of the ff was a characteristic of the state of Kaffa?

- A. Its democratic administration system based on the Mikrecho
- B. Its organization of an effective defence structure
- C. Its organization the economy on slave-cultivated plantations

D. Its endurance for a long time as a result of political alliance with the Oromo

22. What was the relationship between the medieval state of Damot and Wolaita?

A. Both states emerged in the same geographical area but in different historical periods

B. Wolaita tradition claims that one of its dynasties had links with Damot

C. The ruling dynasty of wolaita was established by refugees from Damot following its conquest by the Oromo

D. The political institutions of wolaita were exact reproduction of the political institutions of Damot and both were founded by Motalam

23. The two Countries which directly involved in the military conflict of 16th c Ethiopia were

A. Portugal and Spain

C. Ottoman Turkey & Portugal

B. Britain and France

D. Italy and France

24. Which one of the following features doesn't explain the period of Zagwe dynasty rule in Ethiopia?

A. Zagwe rulers continued the cultural tradition of the Aksumite state

B. Religious pilgrimage to Jerusalem reached its peak

C. Construction of churches and expanded Christian faith

D. At the end of their rule there was a smooth power succession among the Zagwe rulers

25. The success of Adal's victory over the Christian kingdom in 16thc was due to:

A. Imam's army was backed up by Turkish

B. Imam's military and leadership qualities

C. Superiority of imam's army compared to Lepene Bengel's force.

D. Christian army equipped with traditional weapons unlike Ahmed Gragh's.

26. The main cause of the Oromo population movement and expansion th16thc was

A. the war of 16thc

C. environmental reasons

B. external pressure

D. land fragmentation

27. The reason for the success of the Oromo in their expansion during 16thc was

A. their policy of assimilation.

B. the support they got from Muslims

C. the quality of firearm they used

D. the support they got from ottoman Turks

A. use of firearms C. disunity of the Oromo
B. Gada military organization D. strength of their kings.

29. The Oromo social practices facilitated the absorption of non – Oromo groups in the corte of expansion was -----

A. Guddifacha B. Warship of Waqa C. Mogassa D. Atete.

30. Who was the war leader of the Oromo in the course of their movement in 16th c

A. Abba Lafa B. Abba Dula C. Abba Boku D. Abba Sera

31. The Muslim state which reorganized the Muslim resistance against Christian kingdom since the late 14th c

A. Adal B. Ifat C. Shoa D. Bali

32. In the eve of their expansion, the Oromo organized in to -----

A. tribes B. confederacy C. clans D. age-grade

33. The traditional council of the Oromo community which elected the officials of the Gada government was -----

A. Chaffe B. Luba C. Qallu D. Muda

34. The Oromo socio economic and military organization was based on the -----

A. Monarchical institution C. Qallu institution
B. Gada system D. Hierarchy social class

35. Leadership such as Abba Boku, Abba Dula and Abba Sera traditional Oromo society were --

A. hereditary C. based on divine right
B. based on descent D. derived from the Gada system

36. The Imam of Adal who came to power in Adal in Early 1520s was _____

C. Mahfuz C. Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim al - Ghazi
D. Mohammed Badley D. Ahmed Nur

CHAPTER THREE

The Modern World since 1500

3.1. The Renaissance

Renaissance was an intellectual movement. The word renaissance indicates the “rebirth” of learning. It began in the 14th century and ended in the 17th century. Renaissance began in Italy and spread to the rest of Europe, mainly to England, France, Germany, Spain and Holland. First, Renaissance Italy was essentially an urban society. Second, the Renaissance was an age of recovery from the disasters of the fourteenth century. This revival affected both politics and art. Third, a new view of human beings emerged as people in the Italian Renaissance began to emphasise individual ability

The Renaissance had the following characteristics:

- The study of ancient Rome and Greek languages, literature, arts and the use of reason.
- The support of freedom of thought and questioning mind.
- The use of the vernacular, or the national language such as the Italian and the English language rather than Latin in writing

The outstanding persons of the Renaissance produced great works of literature, painting, sculpture, architecture and science. In literature: Divine Comedy was written by Italian Dante Alighieri; Utopia by Englishman Thomas More; Don Quixote by the Spaniard Cervantes; Holy Bible was translated into German by Martin Luther and various great plays by Englishman William Shakespeare. In arts: Italian Leonardo da Vinci painted Last Supper and Monalisa; Italian Michael Angelo painted the Creation of Adam and made statues of David, Moses and the Virgin & the dead Christ. In science, the Belgian Vesalius studied human anatomy. The Polish Nicholas Copernicus declared that the earth revolved around the sun. Previously, it was thought that planets revolved around the earth. The Renaissance had a profound influence on the development of modern society culture, and since it is a natural extension of both, artistic expression. The Renaissance influence in the world brought about a new focus on humanism and, as a result, a subsequent turning away from the dominant ideas put forth by the church. The dawning recognition of human potential and scientific inquiry shaped the course of world history and still influences contemporary societies' culture today

3.2 The Age of Explorations and Discoveries

The age of European explorations and discoveries was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The explorations were, in part, initiated by the need to bypass the Ottoman Turkish blockade of the old long-distance trade route from Europe to the Far East.

Factors that encouraged explorations and discoveries were:

- European interest in long-distance trade and new inventions like the compass.
- In addition, the development of better maps and ships and the growing interest in geographical knowledge fueled the idea of exploration.
- Prince Henry, the Navigator (1394-1460) of Portugal and Queen Isabella (1451- 1504) of Spain, who supported the voyages of explorers, also inspired the exploration. They sponsored voyages for the sake of their economy, religion and glory.

Spain and Portugal were the leaders in the exploration and discoveries in the 15th and 16th centuries. They were closely followed by Holland, Britain, France and Russia. Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama discovered a new sea route to India and the Far East in 1498. Christopher Columbus was the first European explorer to reach America in 1492 while he was in service of Spain. Unfortunately, Columbus died without knowing that he had found new lands. The land found came to be known as America from the name of an Italian mapmaker called Amerigo Vespucci. The newly “discovered” areas also became known as the “New World”. The Portuguese, Ferdinand Magellan, circumnavigated the world between 1519 and 1522 in the service of Spain. The newly discovered lands were later conquered and became colonies of European powers

There are economic impacts of the age of exploration and discoveries. Economically, Europeans gained huge profits from local trade networks, which enhanced the globalising process. Moreover, with the subsequent colonial conquest, the voyages promoted the faster development of capitalism

3.3 The English Bourgeois Revolution

In 1603, the last ruler of the English Tudor dynasty, Queen Elizabeth I (r. 1558-1603), died unmarried. She was succeeded by her nearest relative, James VI, King of Scotland, who became also James I, King of England and Ireland, the first King of England of the Scottish Stuart dynasty. From 1603 on England and Scotland had the same ruler but remained separate countries in all other respects. England and Scotland were both Protestant. However, the Scottish Church, called the Presbyterian Church, was more

strictly and thoroughly Calvinist than the official Church of England. England and Scotland did not become politically united, except briefly in the time of Cromwell, until the Act of Union in 1707. Then after 1707 with a single parliament and government, England and Scotland became known as "Great Britain" but usually just "Britain" for short.

The Tudor dynasty (1485-1603) had made the English monarchy strong but not absolute and the Stuart dynasty stepped into these strong position in 1603. The English monarchy was not absolute because although there was a royal navy, the king had no regular, professional army and only a small bureaucracy of paid officials. The monarchy needed the co-operation of the land owning nobles and gentry, and the richer citizens (bourgeoisie) of the towns and cities, to govern the country effectively. The gentry were just below the nobles in rank and really part of the same class, except that they had no noble titles. The English economy was not yet very advanced: the Dutch were leaders in merchant capitalism in the 17th century.

The English monarchy was not absolute for another reason, that is the existence of a representative national assembly called parliament. All laws and taxation had to be approved by parliament but parliament only met when the king called it. Its meetings were at Westminster, which was then just outside London. Parliament was two Houses (assemblies): the House of Lords, not elected, consisting of the heads of noble families and the archbishops and bishops of the official Church of England; and the House of Commons, which was elected and represented the people. The voting in elections for members (M.P.s) of the House of Commons was not democratic. A fairly, large number of adult males could vote but certainly not all adult males. Also, there was respect and obedience towards gentry families and these families took the lead in public affairs. It was members of the gentry and a few bourgeois merchants and lawyers who were elected as members of Parliament in the House of Commons.

Serious conflict between the king and parliament began in the reign of Charles I (r. 1625-1649) and co-operation between the king and the ruling class began to break down. The most serious disputes were about foreign policy, then money and religion. Early in his reign, England was involved in two expensive and unsuccessful wars against Spain and France and failure led to criticism of the king and his ministers. Charles, like most European kings, was usually in financial difficulties. When parliament did not vote sufficient money in taxation, Charles collected money without parliament's approval in a number of ways which his people felt were illegal. The religious problem was the growing

suspicion in England that Charles and his French Catholic queen, Henrietta Maria, were taking England away from Protestantism and back to Catholicism. This was not true, Charles was not secret Catholic, but in history very often it is not what is true that matters but what people believed to be true. Charles had so much trouble from parliament that after 1629 he did not call a meeting of parliament again until 1640. In the eleven years, 1629-40, Charles ruled without parliament and continued to collect money in what people believed to be illegal ways. He was ruling like an absolute monarch.

Beginning of the Revolution

The revolutionary crisis began in Scotland. Charles was king of Scotland as well as king of England. In 1637, without consulting the Scots, Charles imposed the Church of England Prayer Book for Church services in Scotland. The Scots opposed this for nationalist reasons and because to the Calvinist (Presbyterian) Scots the prayer Book really did look Catholic. The Scots rebelled. Hoping to obtain money to suppress the rebellion in **Scotland**. Charles called a meeting of the English Parliament. However, Parliament refused to approve any taxation and the king quickly dissolved what was called the **Short Parliament**, because its meeting was so brief (April – May 1640). Charles wanted to defeat the Scots without money from Parliament but was unable to suppress the rebellion. The government's authority began to break down in England as well as having broken down in Scotland. The king could not avoid calling the English parliament again. It met in November 1640 and became known as the **Long Parliament** because it met from 1640 to 1653.

At the beginning the members (Lords and Commons) of the Long Parliament were united against the king. Charles was forced to accept laws seriously limiting his powers. Then parliament itself became divided. A majority, but only a small majority, of the House of Commons, and a few of the House of Lords, wanted to take away all the powers of the king and make him a puppet of the parliamentary leaders. They believed they could not trust the king and they feared his revenge against themselves if he kept any of his powers. A little less than half the Commons and most of the Lords believed that parliament was going too far in opposing the king. They also feared that the political crisis was breaking down all authority in the country, not only the king's authority, and that political and religious radicalism among the lower classes was a growing danger. These conservatives turned to the king, who now found he had growing support. The conservatives also opposed the wish of the strict Calvinists in parliament to abolish archbishops and

bishops in the Church of England and change the English Prayer Book.

The basic question, on which the king and the opposition to him in parliament would not compromise, rose following a rebellion in Ireland. The parliamentary opposition demanded control over an army which would be raised to suppress this revolt, fearing that otherwise the army would be used against themselves. The king refused this demand. The final incident, making civil war unavoidable, was the king's attempt, which failed, to arrest five leading members of the parliamentary opposition. The king then left the capital to raise an army from his supporters in the provinces. Parliament also raised an army and fighting began in the summer of 1640. In this First Civil War (1642-46), London, the richest part of the country, and the navy supported parliament. In 1643, the Parliamentarians, as the opponents to the king were called, also got military help from Scotland. Nevertheless, the Royalists, who supported the king, did well in the fighting at first. Parliament won the war by raising a new centralized force called the New Model Army and putting it under the command of two able generals, Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell. The Civil War began Cromwell's military and political career. After the **First Civil War**, Fairfax, in the end, withdrew from political life and Cromwell became the principal army leader. After the First Civil War the problem was to get a firm political settlement. A settlement involved the king, parliament and the army. Although Charles had lost the Civil War, almost everyone at first expected and wanted the monarchy to continue with Charles still king. This meant reaching an agreement with him about the distribution of political power and about religion. Both parliament and the army leaders negotiated with the king but with no success. Charles believed he was indispensable and could win in negotiation what he had lost on the battlefield, and in the end in the Second Civil War in 1648, he attempted to get military victory again.

Parliament, without, of course, its Royalist members who had joined the king in 1642, apparently had power at the end of the First Civil War. However, the New Model Army had the guns and the army was not willing just to be disbanded (dismissed, demobilized) or sent to suppress the rebellion in Ireland. The army wanted its voice to be heard in the settlement. But the army was itself divided. Its leaders, including Cromwell were socially and politically quite conservative but part of the army had become much more radical. Before and during the Civil War radical religious and political ideas had emerged. A

largely secular political movement called the Leveller movement had appeared. The Levellers wanted democracy, religious toleration with no state church and reform of the slow complicated, expensive and harsh legal system. The Levellers had strong support among particularly, small master craftsmen and wage workers in the towns, especially London. They also had support among the ordinary soldiers and junior officers of the New Model Army.

These elements in the army said that they did not want to have shed their blood in the Civil War for nothing. They had been fighting for political and religious freedom for ordinary people. The lower ranks of the army were strong enough to force the army leadership to hold a political discussion with their representatives. This discussion, called the Putney Debates (1647), Ended without conclusions or agreement. Then, in 1648, came the Second Civil War. This was an invasion of England by a Scottish army. One political group of Scots had reached an agreement with Charles and sent an army to support him. The Second Civil War was also a Royalist insurrection in England. The New Model Army quickly defeated the Scots and the English Royalists. The majority of the army was now determined to put an end to Charles and the monarchy. Cromwell finally agreed to this. In December 1648 the army, excluded from parliament all members of the House of Commons who did not agree with the army's programme. The members of the House of Commons who remained were called the "Rump", meaning remnant or left-overs. The "Rump" and the army then staged a show trial of the king and Charles I was publicly beheaded in January 1649. The House of Lords was abolished. England was declared a republic, called the **Commonwealth**. It was not, however, in any way a democratic state. After the Second Civil War, Cromwell moved fast to smash the Leveller movement inside and outside the army. You have no other way with these men but to break them "he said", for either you will break them or they will break you". This was the defeat of the first secular democratic movement in modern Europe.

From 1648 to 1653 the "Rump" of the Long parliament ruled England, upheld by the army. However, the army and its leaders became dissatisfied with the Rump. In April 1653, Cromwell took soldiers into the House of Commons and dismissed the Rump, and this ended the Long Parliament. Cromwell himself now ruled England, and Scotland and Ireland too by conquest. Cromwell ruled until his death in September 1658. The problem

was then what form of government should England have? The ruling classes of England, who had been divided by the civil wars, reunited a restoration of the monarchy. It was a security for political stability, traditional rule by traditional

laws and a security against any revival of political radicalism, which seemed a danger after Cromwell's death. Restoration of monarchy was more acceptable to more people than any other possible political solution. When general Monk, who commanded a strong section of the army, decided to support a restoration of the monarchy, restoration became certain. In May 1660 Charles I's eldest son who was also named Charles, entered London and began to rule as Charles II. This event is known as the Restoration.

The Restoration brought back the monarchy, the House of Lords, the state Church of England with its archbishops and bishops, who had been abolished by the Long Parliament in 1646, and the traditional constitution. Charles II did not come back as an absolute monarch. He had to rule with parliament and with the support of the nobility and gentry. Charles had no legitimate children and when he died his brother became king as James II (r. 1685-1688). He was accepted as king on the understanding that, though himself a Catholic, he would not interfere with the Protestant state Church of England. People soon began to suspect that James intended to undermine the Church of England and make England Catholic. They also suspected that James was trying to establish an absolute monarchy, like Louis XIV's in France, which was the absolutist model for other European kings. A small group of ruling class conspirators secretly invited William of Orange, the Protestant leader of the Dutch Republic and Mary's (James's Protestant daughter) husband to come to England with an army. William was willing to do this to bring England into his alliance system against the power of France and Louis XIV. William arrived in England with a Dutch army in November 1688.

Parliamentary Supremacy and the Bill of Rights

In 1689, when King William III and Queen Mary became joint rulers of England, Parliament presented to them a declaration that became known as the **Bill of Rights**. This famous document assured the people certain basic civil rights. It stands with **Magna Carta** and the **Petition of Rights** as the legal guarantees of English liberty. The Bill of Rights listed certain rights that were the "true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people" of the English Kingdom. It settled the succession to the throne. It also made it illegal for the king to keep a standing army, to levy taxes without Parliament's approval, or to be a Roman Catholic.

3.4 The French Revolution

The period from the middle of the 17th century to 1789 in France was called the Old Regime. The Old Regime government was absolute monarchy with no constitution. Society in Old Regime France was still divided into three estates, meaning social groups. The 1st estate was the Catholic clergy, the 2nd estate was the nobility and the 3rd estate was -bourgeois, petty bourgeois, wage workers and peasants. The 1st and 2nd estates had more privileges than the 3rd estate, meaning that their legal position was more favorable. In particular, the clergy and the nobility paid less taxes than the 3rd estate. Within the 3rd estate, the peasants were the most oppressed of all; they paid more taxes than any other group in relation to their income and they still paid feudal dues to lords and the Church tax called the tithe to the Church. In the second half of the 18th century, there was increasing criticism in France of absolute monarchy, which people now called "despotism". There was increasing criticism of unjust privileges. As the French economy expanded, the bourgeoisie increased in number and wealth. The bourgeoisie no longer accepted their inferior position compared to the 1st and 2nd estates and were more dissatisfied about the privileges which the 1st and 2nd estates enjoyed. The peasants were also becoming less passive and more discontented with unjust taxation and feudal dues. These criticisms and discontents were the long term causes of the Revolution.

The immediate cause of the Revolution was France's participation in the American War of Independence(1778-83). The war led to revolution in two ways. First, officers who had served in America returned to France full of ideas about liberty. French people also wondered why the French should help to liberate Americans, yet still live under despotism themselves. So there was increased criticism of the absolute monarchy. Second, the war was very expensive and resulted in financial crisis for the government. By 1788 there was no more money in the Treasury, the government could borrow no more money and the authority of the government was breaking down. The government was forced to announce a meeting of the Stages-General.

The States-General was the national representative assembly of France. It consisted of representatives elected by the three estates. It had not met since 1614. In 1788 the government announced that elections would be held for the States-General and that it would meet at Versailles, the royal residence near Paris, in 1789. Meanwhile, the political crisis was made worse by economic crisis. The French economy had been in depression

since the 1770s. Things were made worse by a very bad harvest, caused by the bad weather in 1788. Food was scarce, price rose and there was high unemployment. The suffering and discontent of the poor increased. Paris, the capital, had about 500,000-600,000 people in 1789. In general, the masses in Paris were discontented enough to provide a fighting force for the revolution of the bourgeoisie. Added to all this, the king, Louis XVI (r. 1774-1792), was weak and incompetent and his wife, Marie Antoinette, was very unpopular and criticized for her extravagant spending. She was disliked too, because she was a foreigner, Austrian princess.

The States-General met in May 1789. The representatives of the 3rd estate were the most numerous. On June 17, the 3rd estate passed a resolution. They declared that, since they represented 96% of the French people, they alone were competent to make a constitution. They declared themselves alone to be a National Assembly of the French Nation. The representatives of the 3rd estate took the name National Assembly and invited the representatives of the other estates to join them which some did. The members of the National Assembly then took another that they would not end the meetings of the National Assembly, whatever the king ordered until they had given France a proper constitution. This event is called the Tennis Court Oath because the oath was made in large, indoor tennis court on June 20, 1789. The king planned counter-revolution, ordering army regiments to march to Paris and Versailles.

The National Assembly was saved from counter-revolution by a mass insurrection of the ordinary people of Paris, the wage workers and small craftsmen. On 14 July 1789 the people captured the Bastille, the royal prison, fortress and arsenal in the middle of Paris. The soldiers in Paris were too few to suppress the rising and also the soldiers sympathized with the people, so that officers dared not to order them to fire on the crowds. The Bastille was considered as a symbol of tyranny and oppression. The fall of the Bastille marked the end of absolute monarchy (though not yet the end of the monarchy) in France, and July 14, is celebrated by the French people as the anniversary of this liberty. Meanwhile, in the summer of 1789, there were mass peasant disturbances in many areas of France. The National Assembly satisfied the peasant by decreeing on August 4, 1789 the abolition of feudal dues and the Church tax, the tithe. The national Assembly did even more: on the night of August 4, 1789 it proclaimed the abolition of all forms of privilege, including tax exemptions. The events of July and

August 1789 ended the Old Regime in France. The National Assembly took authority to create new social and political conditions in France. It did this by writing a constitution and decreeing a number of reforms. Before getting to work on the constitution, the National Assembly decreed on August 26, 1789 the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. This set out the political principles on which the new constitution would be based. The Declaration said that all political authority comes from the people and that laws and taxation must be approved by an elected representative assembly of the nation. All members of the nation are equal in rights and duties. The division of France into estates had thus been rejected; all Frenchmen were equal citizens of one nation. The Declaration also expressed various civil rights like freedom of speech and religion.

In October 1789 there was another mass disturbance. The people of Paris heard rumours of more counter-revolution at Versailles. On October 5-6, 1789 a large crowd, with many women in it, marched to Versailles and forced the king and his family to come back with them to Paris. The National Assembly soon moved its meetings from Versailles to Paris. After this, there was relative calm for the next two years and the National Assembly was able to concentrate on building up a New France. The French Revolution was a bourgeois revolution. Most of the leadership was bourgeois and the bourgeois majority of the National Assembly reflected mainly bourgeois interests. However, some of what it did also benefited the people as a whole. The National Assembly ended government of the provinces by royal officials and replaced this by government at different levels by elected councils. To cope with the financial crisis, the National Assembly nationalized all the land belonging to the Catholic Church. This land was then sold. It was members of the bourgeoisie, some nobles and some rich peasants who had the financial capacity to buy the land. The poor peasants and land-less people in the countryside got nothing. In 1790 the National Assembly also voted to put the Catholic Church in France under the control of the state. The measure was not accepted by pope in Rome and many Catholic clergy in France. This led to a quarrel between the Revolutionaries and the Church. As a result, the counter-revolutionary forces in France support for the first time. The situation was acute especially in rural areas where the influence of the Church was strong.

In June 1790 the king and his family fled from Paris to join the counter-revolutionaries who had already left France. The king was recognized before he got to the frontier,

stopped and brought back to Paris. This made the royal family still more unpopular with the ordinary people of Paris but the National Assembly was not willing to abolish the monarchy. A mass demonstration in Paris in favor of a republic was suppressed by the bourgeois security force called the National Guard.

In September 1791 the new constitution had been completed. It made France a constitutional monarchy. However, the constitution contradicted the principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen declared in August 1789. The new constitution gave full political rights of voting and being elected only to "active citizens", who had enough property. Others were called "passive citizens" and did not have full political rights. Women denied all political rights. Slavery continued in the French overseas colonies. The National Assembly did not give political rights to the poor, because the bourgeoisie feared giving political rights would endanger the guarantee of private property. Having finished its work, the National Assembly arranged elections under the new constitution for a new Legislative Assembly which met in October 1791. The new constitution did not last long as, France soon entered war that made the revolution more extreme. The monarchies of Europe disliked the revolution and wanted to crush it. The Legislative Assembly also believed that a revolutionary war would spread revolution to the rest of Europe. As the result of these reasons, in 1792 war began between France on one side and Austria and Prussia on the other. As the scope of the war spread France was at war against most European states in 1793.

Austro-Prussian army invaded eastern France. As the war went against France, the people of Paris believed, that the royal family was secretly on the side of the enemy. A new rising broke out in Paris and overthrew the monarchy on August 10, 1792. Peoples also rejected the constitution of 1791. Thus, Legislative Assembly dissolved itself for new assembly called the Convention. The task of the convention was to write a new constitution. Meanwhile, at the war front, the revolution was saved for the moment. The French army won an important victory against the Austrian force victory at the battle of Valmy in September 1792.

The Convention met in September 1792 and immediately declared France a republic. The ex-king, Louis XVI, was executed in public by the guillotine in January 1793 and Marie Antoinette was guillotined later in October 1793. In the meantime, political groups and parties had emerged, since the beginning of the revolution. The two rival political parties

in the convention were the Jacobins and the Girondins. The Jacobins believed to have represented the middle and petty bourgeoisie whereas the Girondins that of the big bourgeoisie. However, the real difference between the Jacobins and the Girondins was that the Jacobins were willing to go to more radical extremes to save France and the revolution.

In 1793 the revolution and France were again in serious danger. There were economic problems because of war and internal instability. There was counter-revolution in parts of France. France was again invaded by the armies of the European monarchies. The people of Paris turned to the support of Jacobins whom they believed the radical and determined party which could save the country. From May 31 to June 2, 1793 another big rising forced the Convention to purge the Girondins. The Jacobins, though a minority in the Convention, were now in power in a revolutionary dictatorship. The Convention continued to meet but the Jacobins were in control. Until July 1794 the Convention did what the Jacobins wanted it to do. The chief Jacobin leader and theorist was Maximilien Robespierre. The Jacobins ruled France through a 12-man Committee of Public Safety. The Jacobins introduced a new, very democratic constitution in (June 1793), which was to come into effect only at the end of the war. However, it never did come into effect. Food rationing was introduced and controls on prices and wages called (the Law of the Maximum) was also enforced. These measures were used to stabilise the economic situation. The reign of Terror was used to crush counter-revolution. Terrorism meant execution of individuals convicted of being "enemies of the people". The Committee of Public Safety raised mass armies by conscription to face the external invasions. Different methods were used to supply the armies. Organizing the large scale production of arms and seizing by government order everything necessary for the war fronts were some of the methods used. The invasions were repulsed. The Jacobin revolutionary dictatorship, June 1793 – July 1794, was the height of the French Revolution and its bloodiest stage.

The Jacobins were an extreme revolutionary minority in the Convention and outside it. The Convention and the bourgeoisie accepted the Jacobin dictatorship while the military situation was critical. However, when the danger was over, they turned against the Jacobins. The Jacobins also lost support among the people of Paris by their suppression of popular democracy at the local level. Also, the terror got out of control

and made enemies in all classes. Finally, the Jacobins failed to keep discipline among themselves. Their quarrels gave an opportunity for the non-Jacobin majority in the Convention to turn against the Jacobin leadership. On July 27-28, 1794 the Convention voted the arrest of Robespierre and other Jacobin leaders and sent them to the guillotine. This was the end of the Jacobin revolutionary dictatorship and the revolution now became more conservative. The Convention voted a new constitution in 1795. This constitution restricted political rights even more than the 1791 constitution had done. The 1795 constitution established a regime called the Directory. The Directory was unable to give France a stable, conservative bourgeois republic.

The regime was corrupt, weak and unpopular, without much support even among the bourgeoisie. For a time it kept power with the support of the army. Finally, in November 1799, an ambitious, popular and successful general overthrew the Directory in a military coup and took power. This general was Napoleon Bonaparte.

Democratic Gains

The French Revolution brought about great changes in the society and government of France. It introduced democratic ideals to France but did not make the nation a democracy. However, it ended supreme rule by French kings and strengthened the middle class. The Revolution abolished serfdom, slavery, inherited privileges and judicial torture. Legal equality gradually became the norm in France. The French Revolution created the long-lasting foundation for a unified state, a strong central government, and a free society dominated by the middle class and landowners.

The Revolution, which lasted from 1789 to 1799, also had a far-reaching effect on the rest of Europe. After the Revolution began, no European kings, nobles or other privileged groups could ever again take their powers for granted, or ignore the ideals of liberty and equality.

The Napoleonic Era (1799-1815) and Its Consequences

Military Dictatorship Napoleon was born on August 15, 1769, in Ajaccio, on the island of Corsica in the Mediterranean sea. Napoleon's parents were members of noble Italian families.

He had received his education in a military school and had become a second lieutenant in the French army at the age of 16. He had won favour with the revolutionary government by a victory against the English (at Toulon when the British and the French rebels against the revolutionary government in 1793) and the Spanish and by successfully defending

the National Convention from attack by a bomb. In 1796, Napoleon was given command of an army fighting the Austrians in northern Italy. With astonishing speed he conquered the little republics and kingdoms of northern Italy and smashed the Austrian army sent against him. He persuaded the Austrians to make peace by allowing them to have Venice. But Austria agreed to surrender the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) to France and to permit most of northern Italy to be divided into little republics under France's "protection". Prussia and Holland had already made peace. Great Britain remained France's only powerful enemy.

France lacked the sea power needed to make a direct attack upon the British Isles. So Napoleon persuaded the Directory that the next best thing for France would be to conquer Egypt and Syria in the eastern Mediterranean region. Such a move would strike a blow at the British trade in the East. But Napoleon's campaigns in Egypt and Syria were not successful entirely. He won victories by land, but the British fleet, under Admiral Nelson, destroyed his fleet and forced him to return to France. On his return to France, however, Napoleon was hailed as a hero. The French people had heard much about his victories and little about his defeats.

In 1799, Napoleon overthrew the Directory and proclaimed a new constitution for France. Napoleon's own title was to be First Consul. Two other consuls were to aid him as advisers. There were several government bodies including a legislature and a council, but Napoleon, as First Consul could control this membership. Outwardly France remained a republic, but actually it was a military dictatorship with the real power in the hands of the First Consul, Napoleon.

Napoleon filled the position of First Consul of France from 1799 to 1804. During this period, called the consulate Napoleon showed a genius in both military and governmental affairs. A new alliance of Russia, Austria, Great Britain and certain smaller states had been formed to drive the French from Italy, Germany and the Netherlands. But Napoleon smashed the alliance against the French and gained all Germany west of the Rhine River. He extended France's influence over all Italy and strengthened France's grip on Holland and Switzerland. He even forced Great Britain to make peace in 1802. In 1804, Napoleon cast aside his title of First Consul of French Republic and became Emperor of the French. Shortly after Napoleon became Emperor, war broke out again. Still another alliance was organized against Napoleon. Great Britain, Austria, Russia and Sweden were the principal members. In the campaigns that followed, Napoleon displayed his greatest

genius and own his greatest victories. The result was to bring most of the continent of Europe directly or indirectly under his control.

By 1810, the French Empire itself had been extended to include Belgium, Holland, western Germany, northwestern Italy, and part of what is now Yugoslavia. A large part of Europe-Spain, most of Poland, the rest of Italy, Switzerland, and a group of German states known as the Confederation of the Rhine-though not annexed to the Empire, was under the French Emperor's control. States such as Austria, Prussia, Denmark and Norway (which belongs to Denmark) had been forced against their will to become allies of France. Even the Russian Czar had been obliged to promise aid to Napoleon. To help in the control of Europe, Napoleon had given thrones to his relatives and favourite generals But Great Britain remained undefeated. This was due to its island position and to its command of the seas. In 1805, the British fleet, commanded by the great Lord Nelson had crushed the French fleet in the important sea battle of Trafalgar off the coast of Spain. This victory not only saved England from a French invasion but gave conquered Europe new hope.

Meanwhile, Napoleon had problems of his own. He had not only the British army and navy to contend with, but the populations of the countries he had overrun. At first the French armies had been welcomed as "liberators" by the common people of Holland, Belgium, Germany and Italy. These people thought that French armies would free them from unpopular rulers and unjust laws. But as time went on, the people of the conquered territories began to wonder about the high price they had to pay for the "benefits" of French rule. Napoleon plundered captured cities of their works of art and shipped them to France to beautify the city of Paris. He forced conquered peoples to contribute soldiers to swell his armies and money to pay his wars.

The people of Europe came to hate and fear Napoleon. Discontent turned into rebellion as the people of different countries banded together to throw off French control. So long as Napoleon had merely to overthrow kings or defeat professional armies, he was victorious. But when he had to fight conquered peoples who were stirred by national patriotism, Napoleon began to lose. He did not have armies strong enough to hold them down.

In 1812, Napoleon made the mistake of invading Russia. At first he was successful. He defeated the Russian army and captured Moscow. But he had failed to reckon on two things-the spirit of the Russian people and the cold of the Russian winter. Finding it

impossible to remain in Moscow, much of which the Russians had burned, Napoleon began one of the most disastrous retreats in military history. The Russians cut off supplies of food, destroyed roads and bridges and captured stragglers. And always there was the terrible, biting cold. When Napoleon reached German soil again, little was left of his army. Meanwhile, all his enemies had turned on him. Rebellion breakout among the Germans, while French armies were defeated in Portugal and Spain. In 1813, in the battle of the nations near Leipzig, Germany, Napoleon suffered a disastrous defeat. He was driven back to France and finally forced to surrender.

In 1814, the victorious allies sent Napoleon into exile on the island of Elba in the Mediterranean Sea. They restored the monarchy, put Louis XVIII, brother of the guillotined King, on the throne of France, and turned to the problems of bringing peace to Europe. But suddenly the peacemakers were interrupted by startling rumors. Napoleon had escaped from Elba! He was in France! He was marching on Paris! The French troops sent to capture Napoleon joined his army instead. To one of his old regiments he said. "Here I am. You know me. If there is a soldier among you who wishes to shoot his Emperor, he can do it". King Louis XVIII fled the country, and for 100 days (March to June, 1815) Napoleon was again in control of France.

The master of France, however, was no longer the master of Europe. Napoleon's enemies united in a last campaign in 1815. On the field of Waterloo, in Belgium, the British led by the Duke of

Wellington, and the Prussians under Blücher defeated Napoleon. This time the British found a safe place for Napoleon the faraway little island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic. Then he died a few years later at the age of 52. His body now rests in a magnificent tomb in Paris.

What effects did Napoleon's rule have upon France? While Napoleon was in power, he had two main goals-to replace the confusion of Revolution with law and order and to keep those achievements of Revolution which were dear to most Frenchmen. Napoleon set up a centralized efficient government for France. Taxes were collected properly. Roads, canals, and bridges were built which helped to unite France.

Napoleon appointed lawyers to finish organizing French law into a uniform code for all France. The new law codes-seven in number-incorporated some of the freedoms gained by the people of France during the revolution including religious toleration and the abolition of serfdom. To this code of laws he gave his own name, the Code Napoleon.

This code has had wide use in Belgium, western Germany, and Italy, as well as in France. Napoleon set up a whole system of public schools-elementary schools, high schools, military academies, and universities-all under the supervision of the central government. French men continued to have complete freedom to worship as they wished, but an agreement was reached with the pope in 1801 whereby the Catholic Church became the established Church of France. The Church agreed to give up claims to its former lands, but regained ownership of church buildings. The government agreed to pay the salaries of the clergy. You can see that this agreement, while it restored the Catholic Church in France, kept it under the close control of the government.

3.5 American War of Independence

The American Revolution was also called the U.S. War of Independence. The war was the insurrection fought between 1775 and 1783, through which 13(thirteen) of Great Britain's North American colonies threw off British rule to establish the sovereign United States of America. Since Columbus's discovery of the "New World" in 1492, people from Europe began to inhabit, searching for a better life there. Nevertheless, these people gradually developed settled life as colonists and began to claim colonial territories in the "New World". Among Europeans, between 1607 and 1682, the British have succeeded in establishing thirteen colonies in North America. The struggle of these European settlers (thirteen colonists) against British colonial rule for independence was coined in world history as the American War of Independence.

As the British began to impose heavy taxations, the thirteen colonists gathered at Philadelphia - the First Continental Congress. They adopted a non-importation, non-consumption agreement, which virtually cut off imports from Britain. Again, they met in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775. The Congress set the Army of the United Colonies and Colonel George Washington to be Commander-in-Chief of the Army. The fighting started in the largest cities and trading ports. Finally, in 1776, representatives from 13 colonies met in Philadelphia to declare themselves independent. Thomas Jefferson drafted a document called the Declaration of Independence (July 14, 1776). It justified the act of rebellion and announced the birth of a new nation called the USA. The document also set forth the philosophy of human freedom, which later became a dynamic force in the rest of the western world. In 1783, the British government accepted defeat. The majority of delegates signed a constitution on September 17, 1787

The constitutional convention of 1787 faced severe challenges in 1788 when a gulf was

created between federalists and anti-federalists. Nevertheless, finally, anti-federalists joined the federalists to ratify the constitution on June 25. The war of independence brought about the liberation of the American people from British rule. It also created independent American nations, which were formerly the British colonies. These nations finally created the United States of America. The American War of Independence highly influenced many countries like the French and Latin Americans. It was one of the immediate causes for the French Revolution outbreak in 1789. In the case of the Latin American countries, they started to raise arms against their colonial masters, Spain and Portugal. In March 1889, elections were held for the Presidency of the new federal government, and George Washington became the first President of the USA. The American War of Independence did not abolish slavery. At the same time, it did not consider the Red Indians as citizens. Nevertheless, it was an essential step towards creating the United States of America, which has shown a more rapid industrial development since then.

3.6. The Industrial Revolution and Its consequences

The Industrial Revolution began in Great Britain in the late 1700s but slowly spread across the globe. The Industrial Revolution was new manufacturing processes in Europe and the United States that took place between the 18th and the 19th centuries. Before the Industrial Revolution, the economic needs of the society were met through the farming and production of simple handmade articles. During the Industrial Revolution, manufacturing rapidly changed from mainly hand production to the use of machinery. This transition from old modes of production to new technologically driven production brought drastic changes in the European way of life. Making cloth moved from homes to large factories. Britain also had plenty of coal and iron, which was essential to power and produced machine for the factories.

The consolidation of capitalism in Europe was an outcome of change in producing cloth, iron, steel, and other manufactured goods. It was essentially the replacement of manual works by the new machine that made the large-scale production of goods possible. Capitalism emerged in the 16th to 17th centuries in Northwestern Europe, especially in Great Britain. Industrial capitalism is a mode of production consisting of large, centrally controlled accumulations of capital that is used to finance production of commodities. One of the biggest factors contributing to the rise of industrial capitalism was technology. Characteristics of capitalism include capital accumulation, competitive markets, a price

system, private property and the recognition of property rights, voluntary exchange and wage labour. In addition, there were new technologies that helped business: the telephone to coordinate transactions over long distances, the typewriter to speed up record-keeping, and electricity which made it possible to work safely after dark. The ethos of industrial capitalism also began to challenge mercantilist doctrines of trade barriers and protective monopolies, and by the mid-19th century, Britain had fully embraced laissez-faire economy. Liberalism and competition in trade and the development of a free-market economy are now capitalism's main political and economic philosophies. By the 19th century, Britain was seen (and saw herself) as the world's workshop. However, the driving forces of industrial capitalism, comparable to those experienced in the Britain, also impacted landscapes in other parts of Europe and North America. Steam engine technology underpinned the invention in the early 19th century of steam-powered locomotive engines and the development of railways. Railways made possible the integration of vast continental spaces politically, culturally, and economically. For example, the British began to build railways in India in the 1850s.

In North America, the first transcontinental railroad opened in 1869. As a result, the transport costs of raw materials and finished products were significantly reduced, new sources of supply became accessible, and new markets were opened. Politically, industrialization had effects on the political structure due to the increase of power of the industries that would later become monopolies. The mechanization of labour caused the displacement of thousands of labourers. The rise of industrial capitalism throughout the nineteenth century went hand in hand with the rise of strikes and other forms of labour protests. Socially, Industrial Revolution drastically changed the social life of Europe and the world. This change was evident in the growth of cities and the emergence of two new social classes: the bourgeoisie and proletariat.

The bourgeoisie owned the factory, machine in its raw materials and the finished goods. The proletariats sold their labour for money wages. They were poorly paid under strict work discipline and faced unemployment. Living conditions were changed along with the emergence of class differences. Children represented a cheap supply of labour. Economically, the Industrial Revolution transformed agriculture and handicrafts economies to large-scale industry, mechanized manufacturing, and the factory system. This transformation resulted in increase in wealth, production of goods and standard of living. In addition, people had access to healthier diets, better housing, better education,

and cheaper goods.

Industrial Revolution had also many negative effects. Among those were:

- environmental degradation.
- pollution.
- poor sanitation.
- poor working conditions and low wage.
- spread of diseases.
- child labor.

Review Questions

Choose the best answer from the following alternatives.

1. A major result of the age of exploration was
 - A. expansion of population
 - B. the beginning of a period of European global domination.
 - C. a long period of peace & stability
 - D. the fall of European monarchies
2. Western Europeans achieved in the 15th c exploration was the -----
 - A. discovery of America
 - C. conquest of Jerusalem
 - B. defeat of ottoman turkey
 - D. domination of Indian ocean
3. What did the term renaissance refers to?
 - A. It studies about natural science
 - B. It simply means “ rebirths “
 - C. It was concerned with religious issues
 - D. It was rediscovery of Europe
4. The renaissance period mainly emphasized
 - A. the support of freedom of thought
 - B. devotion to religion
 - C. revival of the Latin language instead of vernacular language
 - D. obedience of government officials.
5. Which statement best describes a characteristic of the renaissance?
 - A. Creativity in the art
 - C. Organized political system

- B. Decrease in the use of reason D. Decline in life after death
6. Who was the writer of a book entitled *Utopia* in the Renaissance era?
- A. W. Shakespeare C. Thomas More
- B. Leonardo da Vinci D. Michelangelo
7. Europeans' explorations and discoveries were made possible by
- A. the trade of luxury goods
- B. inventions of compass and letter ships
- C. trade winds
- D. the discovery of science
8. Which one of the following is **not** the major features of the Byzantine Empire?
- A. It survived until 1453 A.D.
- B. The Empire was ruled by the Emperor
- C. Its capital was Constantinople
- D. It had no longer defend its territory from foreign invasion.
9. The European countries pioneered in explorations and discoveries were
- A. Britain and France C. Spain and Portugal
- B. Russia and Holland D. Italy and Germany
10. What was the main motive for organized overseas voyages of Europeans in the 15th and 16th centuries?
- A. conquest of territory B. Expanding Christianity
- C. The search for precious goods D. Access to goods from the east
11. Which one of the following is a correct contrast of absolutism in France and England?
- A. Absolutism in France reached its highest point under Louis XIV while in England it started to decline about the same time.
- B. Absolutism in France was weakened by the backwardness of the economy while in England it benefitted from economic expansion
- C. Absolutism in France benefitted from the acquisition of overseas territories while this undermined its growth in England

- D. Absolutism in France was strengthened by the teachings of the Catholic church while it was undermined by the Anglican Church in England
12. England regarded as birth place of Industrial revolution because of
- A. They have enough land for investment
 - B. They had foreign scholars
 - C. The colonized Africa and Asia sooner than industrial revolution which became source of raw materials
 - D. Accessibility of port and ownership of well skilled workers
13. Western Europeans achieved in the 15th c exploration was the -----
- C. discovery of America
 - C. conquest of Jerusalem
 - D. defeat of ottoman turkey
 - D. domination of Indian ocean
14. Which of the following is **Not** correct about three estates of France
- A. The first estate included the royal family and clergy whereas the second estate consisted of nobility
 - B. The third estate made up of peasants and bourgeois and had big lands, free from government taxation
 - C. The third and second estates were not equally privileged
 - D. The first and second estates were special in socio-economic and political privileges unlike third states
15. During French revolution "The reign of terror" reached its climax by which of the following political wing?
- A. Jacobins
 - B. Girondists
 - C. Urban workers
 - D. Bourgeoisie
16. When the European coalition forces occupied Paris, on march 31, 1814 Napoleon I was exiled to the Island of
- A. St. Helena
 - B. Waterloo
 - C. Sedan
 - D. Elba
17. The renaissance period mainly emphasized
- A. the support of freedom of thought
 - B. devotion to religion
 - C. revival of the Latin language instead of vernacular language
 - D. obedience of government officials.
18. The Glorious Revolution in England marked (1688-1689)

- A. The victory of the parliament and the final defeat of the English autocracy
- B. The bloodless change of the regime in place of Charles II
- C. The decline of Tudor dynasty and the coming of Stuart dynasty
- D. The declaration of England as republic and Cromwell as lord protector

19. Which one of the following was **NOT** the root cause of the oppositions against Haile Selassie's government?

- A. National oppression
- B. Absence of democratic rights
- C. The popular revolution of 1974
- D. Economic and social inequalities

20. What was the Tennis court oath of the 1789 French national assembly about?

- A. The overthrow of the monarchy
- B. The freeing of political prisoners
- C. The drafting of a new constitution
- D. The reduction of the size of the military

21. Which of the following is **Not** correct about three estates of France

- A. The first estate included the royal family and clergy whereas the second estate consisted of nobility
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22. During French revolution "The reign of terror" reached its climax by which of the following political wing?

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- A. St. Helena B. Waterloo C. Sedan D. Elba

24. The French Empire in North America immediately came to an end

- A. When French defeated in seven years war by Americans
- B. When French defeated by British at the Battle of Quebec
- C. When French signed Paris peace treaty in 1763

- D. When British force occupied New York
25. Which of the following water way link that flourished due to industrial capitalism which interlinked the two greatest oceans of the world
- A. Suez canal B. Panama canal C. Eri Canal D. Russian Canal
26. The leader of the confederacy during the American civil war was
- A. Ulysses Grant C. Abraham Lincoln
- B. Jefferson Davis D. Thomas Jefferson
27. Which of the following is a political philosophy that spread to the world in advent of Industrial capitalism by having multi-political parties with full rights and duties?
- A. Nationalism B. Pluralism C. Liberalism D. Democracy
28. What was main driving agent toward Berlin conference
- A. Portioning of Africa among themselves (Europeans) peacefully
- B. Opening of Suez Canal and rapid involvement of Belgium and Germany towards colonialism
- C. Battle of Omdurman between Sudan and Anglo Egyptian
- D. Development of disagreements and rivalries among Europeans forced them to have agreement.
29. Which one of the following is not consequence of American civil war?
- A. Slavery and slave trade abolished
- B. Northern preserved their ideology, economy and politics unlike southerners
- C. Ethnic and discriminations immediately stopped in American land
- D. USA emerged as global or super power
30. Which of the following is correct about American civil war
- A. Abolitionist lost the war against preserves
- B. It fastened industrialization of North America.
- C. It fastened in human acts like slavery over American Land
- D. It marked USA to be formed and become global power

CHAPTER FOUR

4. The Gondarine Period and Its Socio Economic and Political Development

The Gondar period refers to the years during which the rulers of the highland Christian Kingdom ruled from a new capital called Gondar. Beginning from the mid-sixteenth century, the Kingdom gradually shifted its political center from the Shewan highlands to

the Lake Tana region. The shift was caused by Adal's continued threat and the pressure of the Oromo population movement. After the death of Gelawdows in 1559, Minas (r.1559 - 63), brother and successor of Gelawdewos, retreated to the lands north of the Abay River. However, his successors continued to live in mobile capitals. Denqez, Gorgora, Azezo, Dembiya, and Qoga in Gojjam and Begemidir were sites where this mobile capital rested at different times. Gondar was founded by Fasiladas around 1636. Gondar was strategically located on the long-distance trade route linking southwestern regions with Massawa on the Red Sea and Mettema on the Ethio-Sudanese border. Its establishment as a permanent capital city ended the tradition of ruling from temporary camps. Gondar continued to serve as a political center for the next two centuries. Gondar became known for its architectural achievements and building technology. Several kings who ruled from Gondar built magnificent castles as palaces. In addition, churches, bridges and swimming pools were constructed. Notably, during the reigns of its three successive kings: Fasiladas (r. 1632- 1667), Yohanes I (r. 1667- 1682) and Iyasu I (1682-1706), Gondar attained great prosperity and technological developments. The city grew, and traditional schools of learning were built and expanded around their palaces and Churches. These three Gondarine rulers were also politically stronger than their successors. Gondar developed certain urban features very soon. It had about 70,000 inhabitants. Its population was composed of different religious, cultural, indigenous and foreign communities. Gondar became an important commercial center with a daily market attracting merchants, crafts and rural people to exchange their respective products. This led to intense urban-rural interactions. Traders were mostly Ethiopian Muslims, known as the Jeberti. However, there were also other occupational groups like the Bete Israel. They were engaged in craft activities such as masonry, pottery, basketry and ironworks. There were separate living quarters for the Muslim communities, for the Bete Israel and also for some foreign communities from India, Greek, Armenia and Persia. Cash payment for labour services was also introduced. The ruling class enjoyed luxurious life and lived in their beautiful palaces and castles. They took advantage of Gondar's commercial and urban prosperity.

However, it was only during the reigns of the first three kings that Gondar led a life of glory. Later on, Gondar declined as an important political center and economic prosperity. Political disorder and social unrest became common in the city. Court intrigues became common, accompanied by poisoning and assassinations of kings and princes. The

Gondarine monarchy could not keep its former political power. This was partly because of its military weakness. Finally, they were unable to impose control over regional lords and provinces. Following the assassination of Iyasu I in 1706, the imperial court itself had to be guarded by powerful warlords with regional bases. The period led to the strengthening of warlords of different regions with little or no control from the weakening centre. The last stage of the Gondarine period was dominated by the growing power and importance of a Quara born woman called Itege Mentewab. She was the wife of Emperor Bakafa (r. 1721-30). Soon after the death of Bakafa, she began to rule over the kingdom as a regent for her young son and the successor of Bakafa, Iyasu II (r.1730-55). Until he died in 1767, she was supported by her strong brother, Welde Leul, on whom she bestowed the prestigious title of Ras Bitweded. The warlords were contending for the title of Ras Bitweded and position during the whole period of the Zemene Mesafint. Mentewab lost power in 1769 to the Tigrean warlord Ras Michael Sehul. Michael Sehul came to Gondar, killed the reigning king, Iyoas (1755-1769), and took over the title of Ras Bitweded. Gondar also suffered from internal splits within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In addition, the clergy were engaged in conflicts over religious principles or doctrines that also had a regional character. The combination of political and religious disputes finally led to the period of the Zemene Mesafint or the Era of warlords

4.1 The Jesuit and their evangelization in Ethiopia

Catholicization and Civil Wars

We discussed the development of early contacts between the Christian kingdom and Portugal. On the basis of this contact, Libne Dingil sent a letter to Portugal in which he requested military assistance for the war against Imam Ahmad Ibrahim. As stated earlier, that military help came in 1541 and played a decisive role in ending the Muslim hegemony in the Christian kingdom. The Portuguese soldiers killed Imam Ahmad and forced the Muslim army to retreat to Adal. However, once they accomplished their task, the Portuguese soldiers did not withdraw from Ethiopia. Rather they stayed in the country and invited the Catholic missionaries, known as the Jesuits, who sought to convert the Orthodox Christian of Ethiopia to Catholicism.

Although we do not know what was discussed between the king and his Portuguese messenger, Bermudez, Libne Dingil's letter of 1535 did not mention anything about his intention to be converted to Catholicism. However, Bermudez later claimed that in return for military assistance, Libne Dingil had promised to give a third of his kingdom to the king

of Portugal and to be converted, together with his subjects, to Catholicism. This claim gave the Portuguese government and the Pope of Rome a ground for their steady effort to convert the Orthodox Christians of the kingdom to Roman Catholicism. The attempt at conversion began as soon as the Portuguese soldiers entered the Christian kingdom in 1541. At the time, Gelawdewos had already succeeded his father, who died in 1540. Bermudez heard of the death of the king while he was still in Goa.

The ambitious Portuguese soon made himself patriarch of the Christian kingdom. In fact, he was not ordained by the Pope of Rome. However, he claimed that Libne Dingil had nominated him patriarch of the kingdom, provided that his nomination was approved by the Pope of Rome. On the basis of this claim, Bermudez began to try to force Gelawdewos to fulfill the alleged promises of his father. He required the Emperor to convert to Catholicism and recognize his position as a patriarch of the kingdom. He also insisted him to assist in converting the subjects of the kingdom to Catholicism. Bermudez knew how much Gelawdewos depended on the Portuguese army he brought from India. Therefore, he used this situation as a leverage to force Gelawdewos into fulfilling his demands. But Gelawdewos who was with his father until the Emperor's death, knew that Libne Dingil did not make the alleged promise. Therefore, he rejected the request of Bermudez. Bermudez then, tried to induce the Portuguese soldiers not to fight for Gelawdewos. However, the Portuguese soldiers who knew about the story rejected Bermudez's attempt to stop them from fighting on the side of Gelawdewos.

The king of Portugal, John III, also refused to recognize Bermudez as the patriarch of the kingdom. Finally, the frustrated Bermudez retired to Debarwa in 1553. The official appointment of patriarchs and bishops for the Christian kingdom began after the retirement of Bermudez. The appointees were selected from the Society of Jesus or the Jesuits. Nevertheless, the first attempt at appointment of a patriarch and bishops for the Christian kingdom was the result of a misunderstanding of the letter of Gelawdewos. After the war with Ahmad Ibrahim was over, some of the Portuguese soldiers who fought in the army of Gelawdewos accepted the request the king to live permanently in the kingdom. So, the grateful king wrote a letter to the king of Portugal to send Catholic priests who could render religious services for the Portuguese soldiers.

But King John III of Portugal thought that Gelawdewos wanted to be converted to Catholicism. Therefore, the king and the pope, decided to send one patriarch and two bishops who were selected and ordained from among the Jesuits. When Gelawdewos

heard about the arrangements made in Europe for his conversion, he wrote a letter of objection to the Portuguese governor of India. The governor sent a young Jesuit priest called Rodriguez to convince the king to accept the patriarch and become a Catholic. On his way to the court, Rodriguez met Bermudez who advised him to use threat in forcing Gelawdewos to accept his request. Soon after he arrived, the young Jesuit priest openly criticized the Orthodox Christian practices such as circumcision, food taboos, fasting and the observance of Saturdays as heresies.

Gelawdewos tolerated the priest, because he needed the Portuguese army, as the military conflict with Adal had not yet abated. However, Geladewos rejected the demand for his conversion and Rodriguez returned to Goa. The recruited patriarch and the bishops decided to go to the Christian kingdom and asked the governor of Goa for an armed escort. But the governor opposed the idea of using force and instead sent again a bishop called Andre de Oviedo to try to convince Gelawdewos. The bishop arrived at the court of Gelawdewos in 1557 and followed the king from one campaign to another trying to convince him. But Oviedo failed to convince the king. Indeed, the king wrote a book called Confessions of Gelawdewos, in which he defended the practices of the Orthodox faith of his kingdom against the criticisms of the Catholic priests. As a result, Oviedo retaliated by isolating the Portuguese army from Gelawdewos. It was at this time that Gelawdewos, who was abandoned by the Portuguese army, faced the army of Adal who defeated and killed him in 1559. After the death of Gelawdewos, Oviedo moved with the Portuguese army to the province of Tigray, where he joined Bahr Negash Yeshaq, the leader of opposition forces against King Minas. Oviedo assured Yeshaq that Portuguese military assistance would come soon to depose Minas and appoint a puppet king of their own choice. Yeshaq and his followers agreed to be converted when the said military assistance arrive.

But, Oviedo's promise was not fulfilled and he himself died in 1597 without any success in his mission. After the death of Oviedo, two other bishops, Pedro Paez and Alfonso Mendez were successively ordained for the Christian kingdom. Paez came in 1603 and died in 1622, while Mendez arrived in 1622 and stayed until all Portuguese and Jesuits were expelled from the kingdom in 1632. Paez was particularly successful in converting many influential dignitaries of the kingdom, including King Suseniyos (1607 - 1632). Let us see how he succeeded and the consequences of his success Upon the death of Sarsa Dingil in 1597, the Christian kingdom faced political disorder as a result of an acute power

struggle. Since the wars of Imam Ahmad, there has been a gradual erosion of the power of the kings. The weakness of the kings led the Orthodox Church leaders to ally with the more powerful provincial governors. Besides, the kings could not depend on the loyalty of the army. Therefore, they began to consider the advantage of converting to Catholicism, i.e getting military assistance, etc, from Portugal. All Jesuit bishops who came to the Christian kingdom knew about the situation in which the kings reigned. But some bishops, particularly the first arrivals, did not succeed in their mission, mainly because they were not wise in their dealings with the kings. Among them, Paez was the most successful.

When Paez arrived at Massawa in 1603, the reigning king was the fourteen-year-old Ya'iqob. Paez was informed that the young king knew Arabic and was fond of the language. The bishop who also knew Arabic hoped to use the language to get along with the king smoothly. But, before he reached the Christian court, Ya'iqob was deposed and replaced by Za Dingil. Za Dingil was fully aware of the political problem faced by his predecessors. Therefore, he was determined to get rid of the disloyal soldiers and their commanders as well as the clergy, whom he thought were the sources of the weaknesses of the monarchy. When Paez understood this attitude of the king, he directly told Za Dingil that if he agreed to be converted to Catholicism, he could get Portuguese military assistance with which he could deal with his enemies and consolidate his political power.

Even before the agreement could get acceptance in Portugal, the impatient king intended to take measures like banning the observance of Saturdays to satisfy the demand of Paez. However, Paez advised the king to be cautious and not to take hasty measures that might lead to failure. Whatever the case, Za Dingil had already been suspected of being secretly converted, and consequently, he faced strong opposition from the Orthodox Church which accused him of being converted to Catholicism. In the civil war that followed, Za Dingil was killed in 1604. After the death of the king, Ya'iqob was again put on the throne. Paez continued the same dealing with Ya'iqob, who agreed to accept Catholicism. But, before the agreement was implemented, Ya'iqob was killed in battle in 1607. Ya'iqob was succeeded by Suseniyos.

The reign of Suseniyos saw the success of the long effort of the Jesuit bishops. Just like his immediate predecessors, Suseniyos leaned towards Catholicism in order to get Portuguese military assistance to maintain a strong and peaceful monarchy. So, the Jesuits got freedom to preach and recruit converts even in the court itself. Suseniyos did not take the lead in being converted to Catholicism. The first important convert was his

brother, the old powerful general, Si'ile Kristos, who was rebaptized publicly in 1611. The palace clergy and other influential cousins of the king followed the example of Si'ile Kristos. Beginning from 1612 a series of public debates on Catholic principles were held in the court. The debate was chaired by Suseniyos himself. In the debate, the Catholics were represented by Si'ile Kristos.

In the meantime, the Orthodox Church practices such as circumcision, fasting on Fridays and Wednesdays and the observance of Saturdays were condemned as heresies. The Orthodox clergymen who stood against Catholicism also faced mistreatment in the court. All these measures brought about the rebellion of the peasants headed by the clergy and the nobility. Suseniyos, himself, was officially converted to Catholicism in public and made Catholicism the official state religion in 1622.

The first peasant rebellion against Suseniyos and Catholicism broke out in 1617 and from 1626 to 1632 Suseniyos fought many battles. This was mainly because of the hasty imposition of the new religion on the peasants of the kingdom. Besides many of the long established Ethiopian Christian practices were also banned. So, both the peasantry and the clergy joined in rebellion to defend their religion from falling to Catholicism and the period witnessed one of the large scale peasant uprising in Ethiopian history.

Eventually, Suseniyos came to understand that he could not suppress the staunch opposition of the Church and peasants militarily. In the meantime, the Portuguese soldiers and firearms which he had hoped to obtain from Portugal failed to arrive. Therefore, he realised that he had simply incurred the enmity of his people and the clergy in vain. He understood that in an attempt to build a strong and peaceful government using Catholicism, he was leading the country to a bloody civil war. So, after his last battle, the Battle of Denqez in 1632, he decided to withdraw from the experiment with Catholicism. In the same year he abdicated in favor of his son, Fasiledes, whose first measure was the restoration of the Orthodox Church to its traditional position.

In the reaction that followed, many Catholic converts were killed. The first victim was Si'ile Kristos, who was publicly hanged. On the other hand, the Catholic missionaries were not harmed, because Fasiledes feared Portuguese interference. Instead, Fasiledes ordered the expulsion of the Jesuit missionaries from the country.

The theological controversies that shook the foundation of the Orthodox Church in the subsequent centuries were the consequence of the religious conflict between Orthodox Christianity and Roman Catholicism. The religious controversy had also a long-term

consequence for the foreign relations of the Christian kingdom. It was believed that the bloody civil war was caused by the interference of alien forces. Thereafter, all European Christians were suspected as Catholics. Therefore, to avoid similar problems in the future, Fasiledes made an alliance with the hitherto traditionally hostile Muslim neighbors. He signed treaties with the Imams of Yemen and the Pashas of Swakin and Massawa, who agreed to prevent or report the coming of any European to the Christian kingdom. Thus, the Christian kingdom adopted a closed-door policy which isolated the kingdom from the Christian Europeans for about two centuries i.e., from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries. During this long period of isolation, only two Europeans succeeded in reaching the Christian court. They were a French physician named Jaques Poncet and the Scottish traveler, James Bruce, who came to discover the source of the Blue Nile.

4.2 The ascendancy of the Yejju dynasty

After the defeat of Michael Sehul, chaos and disorder continued until the coming to power of Ali Gwangul (Ali I) from the Yejju Oromo family. Ali founded a new ruling dynasty known as the Yejju dynasty or the Warra Sheh in 1786. This dynasty dominated the politics of northern Ethiopia in the name of the puppet kings of Gondar until the middle of the nineteenth century. During this period of Yejju rule, the most important centers of political power were the territories of the present-day Gojjam, Gondar, Tigray and Wollo.

When compared to each other, the “Yejju dynasty” was the leading power during the Zemen-Mesafint with the center at Debre- Tabor. Ali Gwangul (Ali I or Ali Talaq) was considered the founder of the “Yejju dynasty” in 1786. The Yejju dynasty strengthened its power during its strongest ruler Ras Gugsa (1803- 1825). The two successive Tigrian rulers, Ras Walda Sellase of Indarta (r. 1790 - 1816) and Dejjazmach Sabagadis (r. 1822- 1831), resisted Gugsa's power in the north. Nevertheless, he tried to neutralize them through marriage relations and diplomacy. Moreover, Gugsa's military and diplomatic skills helped him exercise his power over the lords of Gojjam, Wollo, Lasta, Semen, Wagara and Dambya.

Following the death of Gugsa in 1825, the Yejju dynasty met strong challenges from Semen and Tigray. Semen was defeated by Gugsa's son and successor, Ras Yemam (1825-1828). Ras Marye succeeded Yemam in 1828. However, Dajjach Sabagadis of Tigray decided to end the Yejju political domination. This led to the battle in 1831 of May -Aslamay, near Dabra Abay, in western Tigray. The two rivals, Ras Marye and Dejjazmach Sabagadis were killed in this battle, but the final victory went to the Yejju dynasty. The ruler of Semen, Dejjazmach Wube, was rewarded Tigray for his contribution siding with the Yejju lords during the battle of May-Aslamay. However, the Yejju political dominance over northern Ethiopia continued for the next two decades under Ras Ali Alula or Ali II (r. 1831-1853). Yejju rule reached its zenith under Gugsa Marso (r.1803- 1825), who made an incessant struggle against Ras Walde-Silassie of Enderta and Dejjazmatch Sabagadis Woldu of Agame. In 1826, Gugsa's successor, Yimam (r.1825-8), defeated Hayle-Mariam Gebre of Simen. Maru of Dambiya was also killed at the battle of Koso-Ber in 1827. The period of zemene mesafint was brought to an end by Kasa

Hailu of Qwara through battles that lasted from the 1840s to 1855.

4.3. Decadence with the ruling house and the Zemene Mesafint (The Era of Warlords)

From 1767 to 1769, there was a power struggle in Gondar between groups of Wollo and Quara political factions. Wollo was represented by Wabi, the wife of Iyassu II and mother of the young monarch, Iyoas (r. 1755-1769). Quara, on the other hand, was represented by her mother-in-law, Itege Mentewab, who then controlled state power in the name of her grandson, Iyoas. This rivalry took place following the death of Ras Bitweded Welde Leul in 1767. Mentewab had given a power base to the Wollo Oromo by arranging a political marriage between her son Iyassu II and Wabi, from the Wollo Oromo family. In addition, she intended to secure their military support to consolidate her power in the Gondarine state.

After that, however, the Wollo Oromo gradually began to enjoy a leading political role and influence. The conflict between Quara and the Wollo Oromo factions created political disorder around the capital. This endangered Mentewab's power. She was thus forced to look for any strong personality who could help her control the situation. The most powerful candidate in 1768 was Ras Michael Sehul of Tigray. He had a big army and more modern firearms due to his access to foreign trade through the Red Sea. Michael Sehul was invited to Gondar by Mentewab and soon restored peace and order in the city. He was awarded the highest title of Ras Bitweded. When king Iyoas ordered him to go back to Tigray, Michael felt strong and refused to obey the king's order. He assassinated King Iyoas in 1769. This event marked the beginning of a new era in which powerful regional warlords undermined the monarchy's power.

Zemene-Mesafint refers to the period when the actual position of political power was in the hands of different regional lords. The period from 1769 when Ras Michael Sehul "assassinated" king Iyoas to 1855 when Kasa Hailu was crowned as Tewodros II. Ras Michael, a kingmaker during the period, took strong measures against the nobility. A coalition of lords of Gojjam, Amhara, Lasta and Wollo defeated him at the battle of Sarba-Kussa in 1771 and forced him to go back to his power base in Tigray. He ruled over Tigray for the next nine years until his death in 1780.

After the defeat of Michael Sehul, chaos and disorder continued until the coming to

power of Ali Gwangul (Ali I) from the Yejju Oromo family. Ali founded a new ruling dynasty known as the Yejju dynasty or the Warra Sheh in 1786. Under the reigns of his successors, there was relative stability, but several regional lords evolved. The main political regions that Zemene-Mesafint lords ruled were Tigray, Semen, Debye, Begemedir, Lasta, Yejju, Wollo, Gojjam and Shewa. This era is commonly known in Ethiopian history as the Zemene Mesafint (1769 – 1855).

The different regionally based northern Ethiopian warlords of the Zemene Mesafint fought against each other for various objectives:

- They wanted to expand their territories at the expense of their neighbours because large territory means enormous human and material resources.
- They wanted to have the title of Ras Bitwedde to become guardians of the weak Gondarine kings and their court.
- They wanted to collect as much tribute as possible in the name of these weak kings.
- Religious conflicts worsened the regional power conflicts of the Zemene Mesafint.

There was an intense doctrinal controversy within the Orthodox Church during the period. This weakened the position of both the Ethiopian state and the Church. The Orthodox Church could not enforce unity among the Christian masses because it was deeply divided into different factions within itself. The divisions took a regional character. The internal religious division gave an ideological dimension to the power conflict and further intensified the power struggle of the Zemene Mesafint. The endless wars of the Zemene Mesafint affected the social and economic life of the peasantry. The peasants suffered from frequent wars. The peasants were forced to feed the enormous armies of the local and regional lords. The many shiftas (bandits) also forced the peasant to supply them food. Therefore, the various dependents discouraged the peasantry from working hard and producing surplus production. Moreover, the farmlands of the peasantry often became battlefields, and their villages were burnt down. Therefore, agriculture which formed the backbone of the peasant economy, was depressed in the period of the Zemene Mesafint. The continuous wars of the Zemene Mesafint also affected the development of trade. Merchants could not travel peacefully along the long-distance trade routes due to endless wars and robbery. Moreover, they were forced to pay heavy taxes at the different warlords' gates (tax stations). The most

important trade items during the Zemene Mesafint were natural products such as ivory, gold, and civet. Enslaved people formed an important element of trading items. As a result of feudal wars, war captives increased the supply of enslaved people who were in high demand in Arabia. By and large, the continuous wars of the Zemene Mesafint had undermined the sense of nationalism. It was a period of weak national feeling and national power

4.4. Politics of Shoa, Omo and the Gibe regions, the Emirate of Harar and Shiekdome of Assosa

The Omotic States

The peoples and the states which occupied the territory around the Omo river basin speak various languages collectively known by linguists as Omotic languages. The peoples and the states are also known by the genetic linguistic term of Omotic. So around thirty different languages are classified under the Omotic family. The most important languages under the Omotic language family are Kaffa, Walayita, Dawuro, Bench, Dorze Gamo, Gofa, Koyra, Yem, Sheka, and Maji.

The Kingdom of Kaffa

It is found south of the Gojeb river. The land is Kaffa and the people are called Kaffecho. The origins of the kingdom can be traced as far back as the fourteenth century. The names of two dynasties are very important in the history of the Kaffa Kingdom. These dynasties were Matto and Minjo. The Matto dynasty ruled Kaffa before 1390. The first king of the Minjo dynasty was Minjilo and after whom, the ruling dynasty came to be known as Minjo. In the 19th century, particularly between 1821 and 1897, five prominent kings successively ruled Kaffa. They were: Gahe Nhchochi (r.1821-1841), Kawe Erochi (r. 1841-1843), Kaji Sharochi (r.1843-1868), (Gali Sarochi r.1868- 1890 (Galito), Gaki Sharochi. (r 1890-1897).

During the reign of these kings, the kingdom developed its monarchical system and was extended to south, southwest northeast of Kaffa. The administration of the kingdom was divided in to twelve and later into eighteen provinces. The Kaffa kings held a royal title called tato. The tato was assisted by a state councilors called Mikerecho. There were eight Mikerecho with one non- permanent member. The land in the Kingdom was

considered as the property of the king. Here the concept of the king and the state are overlapped. The kingdom of Kaffa was known to have an efficient system of frontier defense. All along the territory of Kaffa, watch towers were secretly erected at high points to watch and detect the approach of the enemy. The approach of the enemy was signaled by beating drums that imply call for mobilization. The drums from the border were beaten by assigned clans called the Manjo. The Manjo are known to have been outcaste clans in Kaffa.

The economy of Kaffa was based on agriculture. The peasants produced different kinds of crops. They also kept Civet cat to collect musk. The peasants paid taxes from their products including the collected musk. Taxes were collected by assigned collectors called Tate- kisho, meaning the hand of the king. Taxes were collected in kinds. The economy of Kaffa was also supplemented by trade. The most trade items of Kaffa were: coffee, ivory, musk, slave and gold. Long distance trade routes linked Bonga, the center of the kingdom with the center and the coast of Ethiopian region. Many merchants from different directions came to Kaffa market places in search of lucrative commodities, which are mentioned above. Kaffa is also known for its coffee production. Beads, salt bars and iron bars were used as medium of exchange. There also existed traditional iron industry. Following the expansion of Menilik, Kaffa was finally incorporated into the Ethiopian Empire in 1897.

The kingdom of Yem

Another Omotic state was the kingdom of Yem. The Yem people occupied the western bank of Gibe river. Yem existed as political entity since the fourteenth century. In the nineteenth century the kingdom of Yem was ruled by a dynasty called the Mowa. The kings of Yem adopted a title called ano. The kings were both religious and political heads of their people. The administration of the kingdom was hierarchically organized. The king was at the top of the social pyramid, and he was the most powerful figure in the kingdom. Below him, there was a council of officials known as astesor.

The astesor was chaired by an official who had the title called waso. The kingdom of Yem was divided into provinces and subprovinces. These provinces and subprovinces were ruled by officials known as erasho(rasho)and gena respectively. The economy of the kingdom was based on agriculture. The peasants paid tributes directly to the king.

Trade and handicrafts such as weaving and iron work, were auxiliary economic activities for the people of Yem. This kingdom was finally conquered by the force of Menelik in 1894.

The Kingdom of Wolaita

The other prominent state in southwestern Ethiopia was the kingdom of Walayita. This kingdom had a strong connection with the medieval state of Damot. The founder of this kingdom was Motalami. Motalami founded a dynasty called Walayita Malla. Walayita Malla was established around the beginning of fourteenth century. In the fifteen century the Walayita Malla dynasty was ousted from power and replaced by a rival dynasty called "Tigre". The Tigre dynasty ruled Walayita until the end of nineteenth century. While this dynasty was in power, Walayita expanded its territory towards the south and west. The kings of Walayita used the royal title called Kawo. The "goqa" were the privileged warrior class of Walayita kingdom. The economy of Walayita was based on Agriculture. All land in the kingdom was the property of a king. The king had also absolute power over the life and property of his people. These warrior classes resided around the court of the Walayita kings. The last king to rule independent Walayita was Kawo Tona. Walayita was finally conquered by Menilik II in 1894 after a stiff resistance.

The Kingdom of Sheka

This kingdom was found to the east of Baro and west of Gojeb Rivers or to the west of Kaffa kingdom. Sheka had two ruling dynasties before the end of the nineteenth century. These ruling dynasties were Batto and Bushasho. Much is not known about the Batto dynasty. The first Sheka Bushasho king migrated from neighbouring Anfillo to Sheka at the end of sixteen century. The Bushasho dynasty of Sheka ruled from the end of 16th to the 19th centuries. Christianity is believed to have been introduced to Sheka in the late sixteenth century. For the brief period in the seventeen century, Sheka was conquered by the Mecha Oromo Tribe. But it regained its independence at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The kings of Sheka like Kaffa used the royal title "tato". The kingdom of Sheka had a close economic, political and historical relationship with Enarya, Kaffa and Anfillo.

Traditions of Sheka kingdom recognized the names of five kings of the nineteenth century. These were: Bedi Nechochi (r.1800-1805), Tachi Nechechi (r.1805-1810), Gali Goechi

(r.1820-1850), Deji Goechi (r.1850-1887), Techie Goechi (r.1887-1898)

Besides the above states, there were also other Omotic states. Among these the most important were the kingdoms of Dawuro, Konta, Gamo and Gofa.

The Oromo Monarchies

What was the major political transformation the Oromo of the Gibe valley had undergone in the 19th century?

Another group of states emerged in the south-western Ethiopia in the eighteenth and nineteenth belonged to the Oromo people. At the beginning of nineteenth century, monarchical states emerged in Oromo settled areas of Gibe Valley. At the time of the Oromo population movement and expansion, the Gibe basin was occupied by the various clans of the Macha Oromo. At the time of their expansion and the Mecha Oromo mainly led pastoral life and they were governed by the gada system.

By about 1800, however, the Oromo of the Gibe Valley had undergone a profound political transformation. The traditional gada system was transformed into monarchical system of government.

Many factors accounted for this transformation. Firstly, the Oromo of this region had come into contact with Omotic states which had a long tradition of monarchical government. Secondly, the expansion of Oromo into wide area affected the system which worked very well in small groups. Thirdly, the long distance trade and the spread of Islam seem to have undermined the power of the gada government. Finally, frequent wars gave rise to powerful individuals such as the Abba dulas who became influential. On the whole, the combination of the above factors were responsible for the decline of the gada system and the rise of monarchical government.

The monarchical system of government first emerged around the beginning of nineteenth century. This historical development took place among the Oromo around the Gibe River and Wellega. Five states emerged around Gibe River which came to be known as the "Gibe monarchies". These were Gera, Goma, Guma, Jimma and Limu-Enarya. The earliest of these monarchical states was Limu-Enarya. This state was built on the ruins of the medieval kingdom of Enarya/ Hinnario. Enarya was defeated after long period of resistance by the Mecha Oromo.

Limu-Enarya became powerful because it controlled the long distance trade route of the

region. Limu-Enarya reached the height of its power during the reign of Abba- Bagibo, or Ibsa (r.1825-1861). From the middle of nineteenth century on Limu-Enarya declined and gave way to its rival, Jimma Kaka. Jimma under its ruler, Abba Jifar became powerful and controlled trade and trade routes. At about the same time, three Oromo kingdoms emerged to the west and southwest of Jimma. These were Gera Goma and Guma. All the Gibe states were located along the trade route which accounted for their rise and prosperity.

At about the middle of nineteenth century, two other Oromo states emerged in Wollega region. One of these states was Leqa Neqemt. This state was founded by a Bakare Godana. This state reached at the height of its power during the reigns of Moroda and his son Kumsa. Kumsa was later baptized taking the Christian name, Gebre Igzeber. When Menelik's territorial expansion was under way, Kumsa peacefully subdued and was able to maintain his local autonomy. Kumsa ruled Leqa Neqemt in the 2nd half of the nineteenth century.

The other Oromo state in Wollega region was Leqa Qellam. Leqa Qellam was founded by Tullu and became powerful during the reign of his son Jote Tullu. The main source of Leqa Quellam wealth and power was its cross-frontier gold trade and the trade with neighbouring Shiekdoms of Aqoldy and Bela Shangul.

The Emirates of Harar

Explain why the Harari people build wall around the city of Harar.

The Harari people lived in the city of Harar. In the nineteenth century, they possessed a highly organized system of government. The political organization of Harari people was the result of political developments of the past centuries. The Sultanate of Adal was the most powerful state in the 15th and 16th centuries and much of the territory in the East had been under the hegemony of this sultanate. For most of this period, the sultanate ruled the region from its center in Harar.

In 1577 the pressure of the Oromo expansion forced the sultanate of Adal to shift its center from Harar to Ausa in the north east of the Awash valley. A little before this time, Harar city was also surrounded by a stone wall to resist the Oromo pressure. This wall was built by Emir Nur, the immediate successor of Ahmed Ibrahim Ibin El Ghazi, commonly known as Ahmed Gagn.

The shift of the Adalite political center had one important consequence. This was the emergence of the Harar Emirate. From 1577 to the middle of the seventeenth century on, the emirs of Harar paid annual tribute to the Imam of Aussa. The tributary relation came to an end with rise of Emir Ali Dawud. Ali Dawud (r. 1647-1662). He declared the independence of the Harar emirate. The Emir established a dynasty that was to rule Harar up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

For more than two centuries, Harar became the most important trade center in the East. The city was strategically situated between the trade routes of the northern Somali Coasts and the Interior of the Ethiopian region. Two routes from the northern Somali ports of Zeila and Berbera meet at Harar. These trade routes further proceeded to the interior of the Ethiopian region. These trade routes were controlled by the state of Harar, which made it very prosperous. The commerce of Harar was an important economic asset to the surrounding Oromos and Somalis. During the first wave of the Oromo expansion, the city had secluded itself from the communities outside the city. As the initial waves of the Oromo expansion subsided, the seclusion gave way for the economic interaction between the Harari behind the wall and the Oromos and the Somalis outside the wall. When this process started, the contact between two groups was very limited. The gates of the wall were opened only for trading purposes. The merchants and local traders from outside the wall were forced to surrender their weapons at the city gates.

The security measures were gradually abandoned and free movement inside and outside the city started. In fact, common economic interests determined closer and peaceful interactions among the peoples. The Oromos around the city became good farmers. These farmers exchanged their agricultural products for items brought to the city by foreign merchants.

The fertile territories around Harar produced grain, varieties of fruits and vegetables, coffee and chat. Above all, the last two items, coffee and chat, together with dyes and ostrich feathers, formed the major export of Harar. These items were supplied by the communities around the city of Harar. Therefore, economic interdependence created the ground for more and broader interaction among the peoples of the region.

The growth of the trade of the region made Harar wealthy and prosperous. The city

developed its own currency as early as the 17th century. The wealth made the emirate very powerful and it gradually extended its hegemony over the surrounding Oromos and the Somalis. The extension of hegemonic power was facilitated by economic links and marriage relations. Above all, the spread of Islam among the Oromos and the Somalis was important in promoting the power of the Harar Emirate.

Harar is one of the earliest centers of Islam in Ethiopian region. The city of Harar continued to serve as the center of Islamic religious study and training. In this way, the Emirate became a center of the Islamic culture. A number of mosques were built in the city. The Grand Mosque and the palace of Emir were the most important edifices of the city. There were also several religious shrines in the city. The Harari possessed well developed handicrafts. The emirate had maintained close economic and political ties with Yemen and the Arabian Peninsula through Zeilla and Berbera ports. Many foreigners lived in the city of Harar. Among these, the most important were the Arabs, Persians, Turks, Armenians and the Greeks. But the emirate had no direct relations with Europeans. The emirs were suspicious of Europeans whom they did not allow to enter into their territory. Europeans who tried to enter Harar were often imprisoned or killed. But in 1855, the British traveler Sir Richard Burton was able to stay in the city for ten days. Burton's visit had strong impact on the emirates future. This traveler disclosed the wealth of the city as well as the strategic importance of the emirate to the outside world. In the consequence the first threat came from the Egyptians. In 1875 the ruler of Egypt, Khedive Ishmael (r.1863-1879) sent a military expedition led by Mohammed Rauf Pasha and occupied Harar. After ten years of occupation. The Egyptian army withdrew in 1885. Soon after the withdrawal of the Egyptian troops Menelik of Shawa, defeated the force of the last Emir of Harar, Emir Abdullahi at the battle of Chalenqo, on January 6, 1887 and conquered Harar. With that the independent existence of Harar came to an end. The Emirate as well as the surrounding Oromos and Somalis were incorporated into the Ethiopian Empire.

The Sheikdoms Asosa, Benishangul and Komosha

During the nineteenth century, there existed Muslim states or Sheikdoms situated along the Ethio- Sudan border. These were Asosa, or Aqoldi, Beni Shangul and Khoosha. The

main factor for the rise of these Muslim States was the influence of Islam and the border trade. This region was very rich in gold. This and other natural resources of these states attracted the Sudanese (the Mahdists) and the Egyptians to develop a special interest in the region. However, their attempt to control the region failed as the result of the incorporation of the whole region in to Menelik's Empire in 1880s and in 1890s.

The Shawan Kingdom

How do you account to the growth of Shawan autonomy?

Shawa was founded in 1695 by the local aristocrat called Negasi Kirstos. The core area of the Shawa state was a locality called Menz. After Negasi Kirstos, Shawa was ruled by his successors; Sibste (r.1703- 1745), Amha Yesus (r.1745-1775), Asfa Wossen(r.1775-1808), and Wosen Seged (r.1808-1813). These successors of Negasi expanded the frontiers of Shawa into the territories of the neighbouring Oromo and Gurage lands.

The distance Shawa had from the center of Christian kingdom (Gondar) allowed the Shawan rulers to exercise full authority in their kingdom. From about the middle of eighteenth century, Shawa ceased to pay tribute to Gondar and became virtually independent from Gonderian rule.

Shawa reached the height of its power during the reign of Shale Selassie(r.1813-1847). He was the first Shawan ruler to adopt the title Negus for himself. The former rulers of Shawa were simply contained with the titles like Meridazmach and Abeto. Shale Selassie was able to organize an effective administrative system for his kingdom. The administration of Shawa was sub-divided in to nine provinces, namely, Minjar; Bulga, Yafat, Gidim, Tegulet, Menze, Gishe, Moret and Shawa-Meda. These were administered by their respective governors who were appointed by the king and answerable to him.

The economy of Shawa was based on agriculture. Trade also contributed a great deal to the wealth and consolidation of the kingdom. The territorial expansions of king Shale Selassie enabled the kingdom to have access to a supply of ivory, coffee, Gold, civet cat and slaves. These trade items were very important to get fire arms. King Shale Selassie, like other rulers and chief of his time, was interested in firearms and military technology as this would enable him to silence his rivals.

The economic prosperity and political stability of the Kingdom attracted a considerable European interest in Shawa. During the reign of king Shale Selassie, many Europeans

who visited Shewa tried to influence their governments to establish relations with the Shewan rulers. The first Europeans to approach the Shewan king were the missionaries Isenberg and Krapf, who arrived at the court of Sahle Selassie in 1837. In 1839 another European, the French chemist Rochet d'Hericourt, came to Shewa. He tried to influence the French government to establish relations with the kingdom.

However, the British government took the lead in establishing relation with the kingdom. On the basis of Krapf's recommendation, Britain sent an envoy to Shawa in 1841. This envoy was led by W.C.Harris who succeeded in securing a formal treaty between the British and Shawa. Later in 1843 the French envoy Rochet d'Hericourt, on the behalf of his Government signed a treaty of commerce and friendship with Sahle Selassie. These foreign contacts helped king Sahle Selassie to get firearms with which he was able to expand his kingdom.

King Sahle Selassie died in 1847 and was succeeded by his son Haile Melekot. The reign of Haile Melekot (r.1847-1856), marked the end of the autonomous existence of Shawa. This was because Emperor Tewodros II (r.1855-1868) campaigned to Shawa in 1856 and made it one of his provinces. King Haile Melekot died a little before Tewodros defeated the Shewan force at the Battle of Bereket, in November 1855. At the end of his Shewan campaign Tewodros captured Menilik, the son of Haile Melekot and brought him to his court where he stayed for the coming ten years. In 1865, Menilik escaped from Meqdele royal prison and established his power in Shawa. His first capital was at Ankober and with the expansion of his domain; he shifted his center to Entoto until the founding of Addis Ababa.

Review Questions

Choose the best answers from the following alternatives.

1. In the last quarter of 19thC Menelik allowed for Italian Geographical society a camping site, Let Marefia in Shoa. An Italian society which was under leadership of
A. Antoneri B. Antonelli C. Barateri D. Crispi

2. Why did king Susenyos officially embraced Catholicism in 1612 and made it official religion in 1622?
 - A. In order to an end peasantry and noble oppositions
 - B. Because he had conflict with Orthodox church
 - C. In order to gain military support from Portuguese to build royal power base.
 - D. Because the remnant Portuguese soldiers refused to fight for Geladiwos and ready to fight for Susynos against enemies.
3. Who were the Jesuits? They were
 - A. Catholic missionaries who attempted to covert Geladiwos to Catholicism but unsuccessful ,formed by Ignatos Loyala
 - B. Who declared Catholicism as official religion of Ethiopia, since their main objective was spreading Catholicism
 - C. Who Isolated Ethiopia from Muslim world
 - D. Who converted Za Dingil to Catholicism
4. Why did kings of CHK used Mobile camps before the foundation of Gondor in 1636 as their seat?
 - A. Because the shift was caused by Adali's continued threat as well as the pressure of the Oromo movement
 - B. Because the they regarded mobile camps as more safe than permanent camps.
 - C. Because they did not gain towns that were in the center
 - D. Because they calculated the shift had trade benefit
5. **Not True** about societies dweller at Gondor
 - A. Jebarti→ Muslim clerics in Gondor
 - B. Felasha → Beta Israel (Jewish) in Gondor
 - C. Muslim communities → Settled in Addis Alem
 - D. Foreigners → Persians, Greeks, Arabs ...etc. E.None
6. Immediate factor for the decline of Gondorian period was?
 - A. Assassination of king Iyasu II by Mikael Sehul
 - B. The coming of Michael Sehul as king maker
 - C. Church split in different doctrines

- D. Social instability and civil wars
- E. Assassination of king Iyoas by Mikael Sehul

7. What was the reason behind formation of Sheikdoms in Western Border of the Country?

- A. Gold trade and Islam
- B. political power and Egyptians came
- C. foreign relation with Sudan
- D. Absence of foreign threat and Long distance trade

8. Why did Emir Nuri Mujahid build Jegol Gimb?

- A. To defend emirate from CHK
- B. To defend emirate from Oromo
- C. To speculate emirate from Somali
- D. Not to Convert the emirate to Islam

9. What was economic condition look like during Zemene Mesfant?

- A. Peasants became exporters and importers than slave traders
- B. Agriculture became basic economic activity of ruling classes
- C. Economy degraded because peasants forced to feed horses, robbers and asked high tax and farm lands became battle fields
- D. Orthodox church supported slave trading Companies

10. Founder of Yejju or the warrasheh dynasty in 1786 was

- A. Ali II
- B. Ras Gugsa
- C. Ras Yemam
- D. Ali Gwang

11. The two sides war commanders Ras Marya and Dej Sabagadis killed at the battle of __

- A. Sabarkus
- B. May Aslamay
- C. Ayshal
- D. Deressgie

12. The factor which contributed most of regionalism during the Zemene Mesafint from the religious point view was

- A. The challenge from Muslim Clerics
- B. The influence Christian missionaries and the need to hold title "Ras Bituwaded"
- C. The plot by catholic and reduction of priests and deacons to 2:3.
- D. The doctrinal conflict within Orthodox Church and disunity in sects.

13. Which of the following was true about Zemena Mesafint

- A. It Outbreak because of assassination of Iyasu II

- B. It ended with coming of Kassa Hailu
- C. It was the period when the power of the regional lords was weak by emperor
- D. It was characterized by identical doctrine of church

14. Hey day of Gondar ended because of

- A. Bete Israel (Felasha) introduced their own art style
- B. Through Muslims attack over Addis Zemen court
- C. Court intrigue, political disorder, social unrest & military weakness as well as assassination of kings
- D. The dominance of Gondar trade by Oromo Muslim merchants called Jebart

15. Of the following individual who expelled out catholic missionaries out of Gondar and De Jacobins from his country respectively

A. Susynos, Lij Iyasu B. Galadiwos, Yohannis I C. Faslides, Tewodros II D. Iyasu I, Iyoas

16. Which of the following event marked immediate outbreak of Zemene Mesfanit

- A. Coming of Kassa Hailu to the power in 1769
- B. Assassination of Iyoas in 1769
- C. Assassination of Iyasu in 1769
- D. Coming Michael Sehul to the Gondarian court from Tigrai

CHAPTER FIVE

Africa and the outside World to 1900s

5.1 Genesis, development and Consequences of trans- Atlantic Slave trade

The background to the beginning of the Atlantic slave trade had been set up by the voyage of Christopher Columbus to the new continent, America in 1492. Soon afterwards, the Spanish conquerors and other adventurers entered the territory of North, Central and South America. In these areas, very large plantations were established by the Europeans. The native Americans, the American Indians, called Red Indians by Europeans in the past, had been brutally exterminated by the Europeans. Those Red Indians who escaped the brutal extermination were forced to work in the European plantations and mine fields under dreadful conditions. This was completely unknown to the natives of America in their traditional way of life. When they tried to rebel in mass they were suppressed with great atrocities.

Most of the American Indians died from European diseases and harsh treatment. As a result, a severe shortage of free labour was created in the European plantations. The Europeans tried to solve the problem by transporting the indentured white slaves from Europe. However, the white slaves were unable to resist the hardships. Therefore, the idea of transporting the natives of West Africa originated at this critical point.

Portugal was the first European country that began the slave trade in Africa. Then Spain followed. The Portuguese and the Spanish had already transported a limited number of West African slaves to their own countries before the demand for free labour arose in the American plantations. After the demand for slaves grew in the American plantations, they now began to export West African slaves across the Atlantic Ocean to the American continent.

In Africa, the slave trade was conducted for over 300 years. During these years, the Atlantic slave trade passed through three distinct phases. The first phase was commonly known as the **piratic** slave trade. In this phases the traders who hunted slaves in West Africa were individual merchants, adventurers, navigators or sea robbers. In this phase, European governments did not take part in the slave trade nor did they give official support to their citizens engaged in this evil business. The slave trade which began in this manner in the 15th century continued upto the last quarter of the 16th century.

The second phase, which began in the 1580's, was known as the **monopolistic** slave trade. In this phase the trade was conducted by monopolistic slave trading companies, which were officially **chartered** by their respective governments. These companies operated in a highly organized system which was assisted by regular armed forces. With the help of these forces they penetrated deep into the interior of West Africa where they captured the natives in great numbers. The slave-hunting ground was widened and the volume of the trade also increased. Slave merchants and companies made enormous profit. The price of a slave in Africa was 100-200 francs. But in America the market price of the same slave was 1000-2000 frames.

The second phase is also known as the **triangular trade**, because the route of this trade tied, in somewhat a triangular shape three continents-the Americas, Europe and Africa.

From western European parts, goods such as cotton, alcoholic beverages, metal wares and firearms were transported to West Africa, where they were exchanged for slaves. African slaves were transported across the Atlantic to be sold to the plantation owners in exchange for sugar, tobacco, rum and other products which in turn were taken back to Europe and sold at high prices.

The West European nations accumulated enormous wealth as a result of the triangular trade. These accumulated wealth helped the industrialization of Western Europe starting from the 18th century.

The third phase which began in the second half of the 17th century, was called **free trade**. In 1689, the British government took a legal action by instituting free trade. The law provided for every individual of the British Empire the right of participation in any kind of business, including the slave trade. Several men joined the slave trade on an individual bases. The increasing number of slave dealers, incited a fierce competition between the companies as well as among the individual traders.

The Horrors of the Slave Trade

African slaves suffered torture of various degree at different stages of the trade. First, slaves were captured like beasts. Then they were chained and hurried, often bearing heavy burden of ivory, to the coastal ports which might be located hundreds of miles from places of origin. The African slaves underwent a bitter hardship in the voyage across the Atlantic. The following description given by one scholar seems to give us some idea about the hardship.

---- they were stripped, branded and pushed into airless under decks, crushed together, often chained by hand and foot. Like this, they crossed the Atlantic in harsh weeks of sailing. Perhaps as many as one in every six captives died on their voyage across the ocean.

The last stage of the horror, which was a lifelong hardship, began in the American plantations. They toiled daily from dawn to dusk, often in chains. During this lifelong torture, their owners provided them only with basic necessities barely enough to keep them alive and work. Death was preferable to living and working in the plantations.

The Abolition of the Slave Trade

With the growth of the **abolitionist movement** in Europe, the volume of the slave trade started to show a marked decline. From the very beginning there had been movements against the slave trade in Africa. But it was not well-organized at its early stage. Religious people and humanitarians who had read the accounts of travelers on the evil trade put pressure on their governments for the abolition of the civil business. However, the European governments ignored the pressure of the abolitionists. As a matter of fact, it was only when they found that the abolition of the slave trade served their economic interest that the European governments began to take action against the slave trade. One of the leading European nations to champion the abolitionist movement was Great Britain. In 1807, Britain abolished the trade in slaves in her empire and put pressure on other European nations to follow suit. This change in the British policy was the result of industrialization. The profit of the slave trade had helped Britain to build modern industries. British economic interest shifted from slave trade to the search for cheap labour power, raw materials and markets, for industrial products.

Their economic interest could be served only with the abolition of the slave trade. African manpower had to remain in Africa to be used by Europeans to extract raw materials inside Africa for the European industries. Therefore, Britain organized a military campaign which was supported by the British navy. It was this concerted action that brought the Atlantic slave trade to an end in the middle of the 19th century.

Consequences of the Slave Trade

The slave trade had many consequences for Africa. In the whole course of the slave trade, more than 15 million young Africans were exported to the Americas. As a result, Africa lost its most valuable human resource. With the industrialization of Europe and America, the markets of Africa were flooded with cheap industrial products that ruined the traditional crafts of the continents. The livelihood of African craftsmen had also been ruined.

The political consequences of the slave trade were equally fatal for the continent. African chiefs and kings acquired a large amount of firearms. The possession of this large quantities of firearms intensified war and conflict in Africa. On the eve of European colonial expansion, there was severe divisions among peoples and states of

Africa. As a result, the Africans could not put up a united resistance against the European colonizers. In this way, the Atlantic slave trade helped to open the way for the colonization of Africa.

5.2 Scramble of Africa

Before 1870, the Europeans had trade relation with Africa. The trade items were gold, ivory, coffee, salve, and so on. But with the development of capitalism (1769-1870), the need for raw materials and market places for finished goods (surplus products) became very important. Meanwhile, the slave trade and un explored part of Africa became obstacle to fulfill their need in Africa. On top of this, the major European powers were preoccupied with domestic problems. For instance, Germany and Italy did not complete their unification until 1870, France had revolutionary out breaks in 1789, 1830, 1848, and in

1870-71. Among major powers Britain did not fall in the internal political disturbance. Thus, it was busy in colonizing and giving more attention to Far East and South East Asian region like India, New Zealand, and Australia. This region seemed to be more attractive, rich and had less resistance than Africa. Under these circumstances few coastal areas of Africa were occupied by France and Britain. In 1830 France occupied Algeria and later Senegal. On the other hand, Britain also occupied Cape colony and Gold Coast (Ghana). Portugal was deeply involved in Mozambique and in Angola. However, all colonial powers did not establish firm administration in the above areas except in Cape Colony and in part of Algeria. The coastal posts had been established primarily to serve the purpose of trade particularly, the Atlantic slave trade. The names given to these posts indicated that the Europeans were more involved in trade activities than colonization before Industrial Capitalism. Thus, some of these trading posts were named as Slave Coast, Gold Coast, Pepper Coast and the like.

What intensified the partition of Africa after 1882?

There were two main factors for the growth of the desire for the colonization of Africa in the middle of 1880s. The first was the British take over of Egypt in 1882. Since the opening of Suez Canal in 1869, Egypt had become the focus of British and French political and economic interest. The canal was built by the French engineer called Ferdinand de Lesseps. Thus, France owned a big share in the Canal Company. Britain

had also bought the Egyptian share of the company from Khedive Ishmael, the then ruler of Egypt, sold the share to overcome the bankruptcy he faced as the result of his venture of colonial expansion. Moreover, the opening of the Suez Canal increased the importance of Egypt especially to Britain. The Canal was a strategic link with British Indian Empire and the Far East.

To secure their loans, Egypt's two big creditors, Britain and France created Dual Control over Egypt since 1879. The Egyptian nationalists who opposed foreign influence rose up in armed rebellion. This revolt was led by a senior Egyptian officer, Colonel Ahmed Urabi (Arabi Pasha). In May 1882, Urabi and the Egyptian nationalists successfully gained control of certain part of the country. At this stage of time the British force intervened in the internal affairs of Egypt and crushed the force of Urabi. Due to change of government in France and the French could not participate in the intervention. Therefore, Britain alone intervened and occupied Egypt in June 1882. Then, France as European power moved to act quickly to make colonial conquests in other parts of Africa.

The Second factor was the involvement of two European powers, Germany and Belgium in the colonialization of Africa.

A) Germany involved in colonial rivalry, mainly to intensify the colonial competition between France and Britain. Thus, Bismarck hoped that the rivalry between the two powers would divert the French from a war of revenge for their humiliation in the defeat of 1870-71 by Germany. But after involvement national interest and prestige and hope of economic advantage forced Germany to continue with policy of colonial conquest.

B) The other power in the colonial rivalry was King Leopold II of Belgium, independently of the Belgian Government, King Leopold II employed H.M. Stanley, the famous explorer to explore the Congo basin since 1876.

The appearance of Germany and King Leopold of Belgium made other powers like Britain, France and Portugal-already engaged in African coastal areas to move quickly in to the interior before the whole continent was occupied by the new rivals. Meanwhile, there occurred clash of interests among these colonial powers in many parts of Africa. The first of such conflicts arose over the Congo basin, In order to solve the Congo issue and other crisis an international conference was held at Berlin in 1884-85.

What was the main outcome of the Berlin Conference?

In the conference held at Berlin the representatives of fourteen European powers as well as the USA were present. This conference remained in session for six months. At the end the conference two important resolutions were passed. The first and most important was the part that dealt with the colonial conquest of Africa. It was agreed that all powers had to notify others about their claim over a portion of territory and to establish "effective occupation" in these areas. Thus, the Berlin conference paved the way for African colonization or "legalized" the partition of Africa. This conference enabled European colonialists to partition Africa without going to an armed clash amongst each other.

The second resolution was about the right to trade on the Congo River. The partition of Africa had already been started before the Berlin Conference. Thus, Leopold II of Belgium was able to get international recognition over the Congo Free State in 1884. The Belgian king won recognition by promising an unrestricted freedom of trade in the Congo basin for all.

5.3 Colonial Rule

In 1883, France had controlled territories in the Upper Niger. But the same move of France in the lower Niger failed. In subsequent year, France and Britain partitioned West Africa between themselves.

Between 1883 and 1885 Germany occupied many territories in South West Africa, Togo land, the Cameroon and East Africa. Britain moved Northward from South Africa to central and East Africa. Britain also moved southward from Egypt and controlled Eastern Sudan. The rest of Africa was portioned among Europeans in the last years of the nineteenth century. By 1900, with exception of Ethiopia, Morocco (until 1912) and Liberia, the whole continent of Africa was virtually under European colonial rule.

The British Administration Policy

The British Administration policy came to be known as "indirect rule". The architect of this policy was Lord Frederick Lugard. He had practiced this policy on large scale for the first time in Nigeria as colonial governor there. Due to shortage of the administrative staff, he exercised this policy. He continued this system of indirect rule whenever it served the colonial interest in controlling Africans. Thus, behind the traditional rulers the British governors directed the system of administration. The British also practiced a

divide and rule policy, which was very important to weaken African resistance against the British colonialism.

The French Colonial Policy

The second form of colonial administration was the one followed by France. The French policy of colonial administration came to be known as “direct rule”. This policy was designed by the French colonial Minister, Albert Sarraut. According to this system, French officials filled administrative posts in the colonies.

The French also believed in the policy of assimilation or association. This was designed to make Africans copy French culture and French way of life so as get French citizenship. In short, this policy was designed for the elites to denounce their culture and identify themselves with France. Other European colonial powers like Portugal, Italy, Belgium and Spain followed largely preferred direct rule.

Review Questions

Choose the best answers from the following alternatives.

1. Which of the following factor **not** initiated Europeans Scramble of Africa?
 - A. Opening of Suez Canal
 - B. Direct involvement of Germany and Belgium in colonial process
 - C. The interest of raw material for their industries due to industrial capitalism
 - D. National emergence of France and Austria changed balance of power in Europe.
2. Before 1500 Europeans did regard Africa as “Dark continent” referred due to
 - A. Africa was home to black nations not known for Europeans
 - B. shores of Africa was not seen with naked eyes
 - C. Africa was not explored and well known.
 - D. Africa was not well known to use electric city
3. Early African resistance against colonial expansion was the period of
 - A. Europeans power were able to build large empire
 - B. African’s successfully crushed imperialist powers
 - C. Africans failed to crush Europeans colonizers

- D. had significant success in west Africa
4. Which of the following is **incorrect** about Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade
- A. It depopulated Africa and reason for backwardness
 - B. The second phase was called Triangular slave trade
 - C. It marked for industrialization of Europe
 - D. It has not effect on social life of Africans than Economic impact
5. All of the following except one is factor boomed slave and slave trade in 2nd half of 19th c in Ethiopia?
- A. Introduction of modern fire armies
 - B. Expansion of emperor Menilik II to South, South East and South West
 - C. Wider spread of industrial revolution in the country
 - D. Regionalism and frequent wars here and there
6. The sun never sets over our colony was scrambling slogan of
- A. Britain B. France C. Italy D. German
7. What did the theory of indirect rule refer to in colonial Africa?
- A. Rule through propaganda
 - B. Rule through traditional rulers
 - C. Rule through educated African bureaucrats
 - D. Rule through white appointee
8. The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 was important because
- A. It facilitated the entrance of king Leopold of Belgium in the scramble for colonies
 - B. It declared Europeans could acquire colonies by force only after peaceful means has failed.
 - C. It led to the scramble for Africa since it showed the economic importance for acquiring colonies
 - D. It established various rules for the peaceful resolution of conflicts over colonies.
9. The fashoda incident represented a conflict of interest between Britain and

France for colonial ambition at ____

- A. Somalia B. Morocco C. Sudan D. South Sudan

10. which of the following is true about Europeans colonial occupation of Africa

- A. Europeans were successful in the conquest of Africa because they were numerically superior
- B. Resistance to occupation limited to Ethiopia
- C. European used Fake treaties
- D. Missionaries opposed where as traders supported

11. Before 1500 Europeans dis regarded Africa as "Dark continent" referred due to

- A. Africa was home to black nations not known for Europeans
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12. What did the theory of indirect rule refer to in colonial Africa?

- A. Rule though propaganda
- B. Rule through traditional rulers
- C. Rule through educated African bureaucrats
- D. Rule through constitutionalism

13. Which of the following is true about Europeans colonial occupation of Africa

- A. Europeans were successful in the conquest of Africa because they were numerically superior
- B. Resistance to occupation limited to Ethiopia
- C. European used Fake treaties
- D. Missionaries opposed where as traders supported

14. The Sudanese merchants who dominated the North western trade in Ethiopia in the late 19thC were termed as ____

- A. Jaberit B. Afkala C. Jeleba D. Saffare

15. The fashoda incident represented a conflict of interest between Britain and France for colonial ambition at ____

- A. Somalia B. Morocco C. Sudan D. South sudan

16. In the last quarter of 19th C Menelik allowed for Italian Geographical society a camping site, Let Marefia in Shoa. An Italian society which was under leadership of
 B. Marquis Antoneri B. Antonelli C. Barateri D. Crispi
17. Which of the following is incorrect about the second phase of Atlantic slave trade?
- A. At this phase, the business was conducted by monopolistic slave trading organized companies, which were supported by the governments
 - B. At this stage, fire armies used to raid slaves, the volume increased and so too profit
 - C. This stage, was also known as triangular trade because it connected three continents namely, Africa, America and Europe
 - D. This phase, began after regulation of Britain in free slave trade and slaves exported from Americas to Atlantic
18. Which of the following factor not initiated Europeans Scramble of Africa?
- A. Opening of Suez Canal
 - B. Direct involvement of German and Belgium in colonial process
 - C. The interest of raw material for their industries due to industrial capitalism
 - D. National emergence of France and Austria changed balance of power in Europe.

CHAPTER SIX

6. Formation of the modern state of Ethiopia: 1855- 1941.

6.1. Attempt at Reunification Through the Use of Force, 1855-1868

Imperial power had an old history in Ethiopia, despite occasions of considerable resistance and challenge to central authority. A good example is the period known as the Zamana Masafent (1769-1855), which you have learned in Unit Nine of the Grade 11 history text book. During this period the kings of the Gondarine Kingdom virtually lost their supreme power and authority. Instead they fell at the mercy of powerful Masafents (lords). They were indeed puppet kings with very little or no political, economic and military power. Many regions became semi-autonomous while the region of Shewa became completely independent from the central government at Gonder. A parallel

development to this decline of imperial power was the simultaneous strength of regional powers. The shift in the balance of power in favour of regional lords created a fertile ground for political fragmentation, civil wars and subsequent social, economic and political disorder. This period of national crisis came to an end with the rise of Kasa Haylu who was crowned Tewodros II in 1855.

The early career of Kasa Haylu was full of ups and downs, some of which left remarkable influence on his future imperial policies and reforms. He was born to a family with no claim at all of descent from the royal house. As a child he grew up in the care of his half- brother Dejazmach Kinfu. Early in his life, he got church education and military training. As a young man he was denied governorship over his family fief the district of Quara. Following the death of Kinfu, Kasa became a bandit on two occasions in the same region where he later fought against Egyptian troops. In 1848, at the battle of Debarqi, Kasa Hailu suffered the only serious defeat in his early career. This defeat in the hands of Egyptians shaped the attitude of the future Tewodros with regard to foreign policy, discipline and modern firearms. His persistent challenges to the regime in Gondar resulted in a political marriage with Tewabech Ali, daughter of the guardian and the last of the Yeju Oromo Ras-Bitwodeds. He was also given the governorship of Quara intended to appease him.

The sense of mission Kasa Hailu later felt about himself as a man born and elevated for the revival of a strong Ethiopia might have started from these successive military victories. Probably, he took the throne name Tewodros considering a prophecy contained in the medieval book Fekare Iyasus. In this book, it was prophesised that a king by the name Tewodros would come to rule and bring peace to the people after a period of troubles. When he was crowned king of kings of Ethiopia in February 1855, Kasa used the throne name Tewodros to tell the message that he was the expected king who would relieve the people from the problems of the Zamana Masafent.

Building political reunification on the remains of the Zamana Masafent was however, a very difficult project for Tewodros. That was especially true when Tewodros who rushed into its realization with a rigid approach - the use of force to bring the regional lords under control. The first military expedition for political reunification was directed against the region of Wollo. But, Wollo did not easily submit to the imperial army. The first

campaign in Wollo, which was fought even during fasting and rainy seasons, lasted for six months. Even then this campaign failed to bring about the submission of Wollo. The continued local resistance drove the emperor to launch further expeditions accompanied by very harsh treatment of captives throughout his reign.

The campaign in Wollo was followed by another serious war with the autonomous Kingdom of Shoa, which lasted for five months. Here too, there was a bloody encounter with the imperial army of Tewodros. Shoa too, experienced harsh treatment in the hands of Tewodros. In November 1855, Tewodros returned to Maqdala with the belief that he had settled matters in Shoa. However, local rivals rebelled against a hand-picked appointee of Tewodros, Meridazmach Haile Michael, and from 1865 onwards Shoa regained its independence with King Menelik, who had escaped from Maqdala in that year.

The emperor went on subduing one region after another through protracted and punitive military expeditions. In all cases, he secured military victories. For some regions he recognized loyal members of regional dynasties to administer their respective regions. In other regions, such as Gojjam, he appointed his own men from high-ranking civil and military officials. Nevertheless, recognition of local dynasties does not mean continuity with the old practices in the old way. Unlike the practice during the Zamana Masafent (1769-1855), local hereditary chiefs during the time of Tewodros were only those who obtained his approval and thus they were subordinates to him. The initial military victories of Tewodros did not result in political stability and effective, central control. The legacies of the Zemene Mesafint did not die out soon and the attempt at centralization proved to be a difficult task to achieve. Local dynasties did not want to lose their traditional economic, military and political autonomy. Nor did the hand-picked royal appointees of Tewodros tolerate too much imperial control over them. As a result, the emperor's policy of reunification met stiff resistance throughout his empire. Even his former allies turned their backs against him and rebelled one after the other. This made the emperor and his army extremely busy traveling from one trouble spot to the other. He treated rebellious regions very harshly, punishing most commonly with the cutting off captives' limbs, burning houses and harvests to ashes and looting the local people. The more harsh Tewodros became, the more multiplied were the rebellions and

his unpopularity. This in turn provoked more tyrannical measures by the emperor. Thus, a vicious circle was created, the cumulative effect of which was a complete failure of his policy of unification.

The anti- Tewodros propaganda of the clergy, following their conflict over some issues, harmed the emperor considerably. Emperor Tewodros actually broke the tradition of exemption of church land from tax. He saw that his programs of modernization and reforms such as establishing a national and salaried army, arms manufacturing, defence of the country against Egyptian aggression, etc. could only be met by increasing the revenue of the state. To this end he reduced the number of priests and deacons in each church to a maximum of two and three, respectively. He also reduced the size of church land that used to be exempted from tax by taking away church land that he believed was in excess and giving it to tribute paying peasants. His policy on church land brought the emperor into direct conflict with one of the potential allies of the state in the work of empire building and political unification. Church-State conflict reached its peak in 1864. In that year the emperor imprisoned the bishop Abuna Salama who died in prison three years later.

6.2. Modernization

Tewodros was very eager to build a strong modern national army. Above all, he wanted to import the technical know-how for manufacturing firearms locally. When his tireless struggle to get skilled personnel from Europe turned fruitless, he gathered European missionaries living in his country and persuaded them to manufacture firearms at his gun foundry of Gafat, near Debre Tabor. Obeying the king's orders the missionaries repaired broken firearms and manufactured several cannons, including the mortar named Sebastopol. The captivity of Europeans however provoked anxiety, in Europe, mainly in Britain and France. Tewodros was advised to release the European captives and was "promised" to get the skilled personnel asked for. However, he refused to do as asked. The British sent their military expedition led by Sir Robert Napier to Maqdala in the fall of 1867.

The first and last major encounter between the two forces took place on the plains of Eroge in April 1868. The battle of Erogee was fought between un equals. About 2000 well-armed British troops and between 4000-7000 ill-armed Ethiopians-ended in the

shattering defeat of Ethiopians. The event hastened the downfall of Tewodros which had already been weakened by internal factors, mainly the opposition of the regional lords and the clergy. Refusing to accept a British demand for unconditional surrender, Tewodros committed suicide on 13 April 1868. The British were satisfied with the success of their mission, with all European captives of Tewodros released, began to withdraw the country without delay.

Far worse than the destruction and the bloodshed, the British expedition caused was the organized looting of the Maqdala treasury that forced the country to lose quantities of historical relics including the emperor's crown. Before leaving Ethiopia General Robert Napier, the commander of the British expedition, handed over a large quantity of firearms to Kasa Mercha (later Yohannes IV). He did that because Kasa Mercha had not opposed Napier's march against Tewodros. Moreover, Kasa gave guidance and material support to the British troops. This acquisition of firearms was a major factor in Kasa Mercha's later victory over Emperor Takla- Giyogis at the battle of Assam in 1871. Tewodros attempted lots of reforms, many of which did not last longer. He tried to stop divisions within the Church, the slave trade, banditry and looting of peasants by troops. He also tried to stop polygamy and other social evils. He wanted to see his countrymen learn from the technical advance made by west European countries, as could be evidenced by his small workshop at Gafat. Above all, he worked hard to build a united and very well administered nation capable of resisting foreign aggression.

Tewodros neither used flexible method nor tried alternative means. His promise to the peasants to put an end to their sufferings never realized as not only the rebels but also Tewodros's troops continued looting them. As the result, people gave up their support to him. Even the already controlled regions came out of his hand one after the other. Finally, Tewodros left Ethiopia as divided as he got it. However, the idea of unification survived him.

Despite the instability and struggle for power that followed his death, there was no return to the Zamana Masafent. The war was above all fought for emperorship. Three contenders for the throne, Wagshum Gobaze of Lasta, Ras Mekowanent Kasa Mercha of Tigray and Negus Menelik of Shoa, all aspired to become emperor after Tewodros. They reigned in that order with the throne names Takla- Giorgis (1868-71) Yohannes IV

(1872-89) and Menelik II (1889-1913). The legacy of Tewodros thus lies in the urgent drive of his successors for imperial leadership over a united Ethiopia.

New Approach to Building Imperial Power, 1872-1889

The first three years that followed the death of Tewodros were not eventful. Emperor Takla- Giorgis (1868-71) had control of the central Amhara regions, but he did not exercise power over the rival regions of Tigray and Shoa. His attempt to extend his control over Tigray ended in his own defeat at the battle of Assam in July 1871. He was defeated and captured by Kasa Mercha. In consequence, the latter also took over the throne with all the challenges of regional forces and the threat from outside. Like Tewodros, Yohannes IV began the process of reunification by directing military expeditions against the regions of Gondar, Gojjam, Yeju, and Hamasen so as to get their submission. However, the submission of some regions was only temporary, and they rebelled against the emperor. In Gojjam, for instance, the local power contender, Adal Tasamma, assumed power by killing his rival Dasta Tadla who had already obtained royal recognition. Unlike Tewodros, however, Yohannes was flexible and did not often fight repeated wars with the same regions. For instance, he made peace with Adal and recognized his authority over Gojjam. By so doing, the emperor turned an enemy into a friend. Adal was rewarded by being crowned as King of Gojjam and Kefa, with the name Takla Haymanot in January 1881.

What Yohannes did in Gojjam was exemplary of his tolerance for regional dynasties, so long as he ensured their tributary status. He was ready to share power with regional lords, in as far as they recognized his over lordship. This was the same even in his relations with the strongest regional power, Menelik of Shoa. From the time Yohannes was crowned, Menelik was calling himself king of kings, expanding his territories towards Wollo and contacting foreign countries independently. He also did not pay tribute to the emperor. Yohannes was preoccupied with the threat from Egyptian aggressors which forced him to postpone a showdown with Menelik. However, the difference between Yohannes and Menelik was resolved by the Leche Agreement of 20 March 1878. The peace initiative came from Menelik because of the probable military superiority of Yohannes. The emperor, too, did not want to see bloodshed from an internal challenge at a time, as we shall see below, when his country was invaded by an

Egyptian army.

According to the Leche Agreement, Menelik agreed to pay tribute to Yohannes, drop the title king of kings and to use only the title king of Shoa, and to stop his independent dealings with foreigners. As a reward, he got recognition for his authority over Wollo and hereditary kingship over Shoa. In addition, both Yohannes and Menelik agreed to help each other against common enemies. By this peaceful arrangement, Yohannes ended the independence of the Kingdom of Shoa which had lasted for many decades in the past.

However, Yohannes was not able to win the absolute loyalty of Menelik. As later events were to show, Menelik continued to prepare himself to take the imperial throne for himself. Even Takla- Haymanot did not remain loyal to Yohannes throughout his reign. For instance, in 1888 there was a wide-spread rumour about a plot against the emperor which involved Menelik and Takla-Haymanot. That was at a time when the emperor was troubled by the double threat of Italian aggression and Mahdist hostility in the north and north west respectively. Compared to Tewodros who had had established only a temporary control over Shoa in the south, Yohannes got permanent control over Shoa through his proxy, Menelik. He was able to get control, of territories as far as the southwestern provinces of present- day Ethiopia, in addition to the old central and northern provinces Yohannes never applied the flexibility and liberalism he showed in the field of politics over religious issues. In religion he sought complete unity as the guiding principle. He thus ended the century-old religious divisions within the Orthodox Church at the Council of Borumeda in May 1878. Yohannes gave state support to the upholders of the Karrra Haymanot (Two Births) camp. While the unity of Church was maintained through “open discussion”, the Emperor was very harsh towards Islam. Following the Borumeda Council, all Muslims were ordered to embrace Christianity under the threat of persecution and confiscation of property. The Muslims of Wollo were the main victims of compulsory conversion. This severity towards Ethiopian Muslims in Wollo worked against the emperor’s policy of political and national unity.

Modernization attempt from the Post-Adwa Period, up to 1935

The period that followed the victory of Adwa to the Fascist Italian invasion in 1935 witnessed several important developments in Ethiopia. Although peasant socio-

economic conditions showed practically no improvement from the past, modern trends started to be introduced gradually in certain socio-economic sectors. Indeed, elements of modernization were introduced in transport, trade, education and urbanization. This is not to mention the still insignificant advance made in such non-socio-economic sectors like government and the army.

Socio-Economic Conditions

The first three decades of the twentieth century saw relatively better socio-economic developments. Those were in one way or another related to the legacy of the major events of the 19th century Empire formation and struggle against foreign aggression. In this section, a brief discussion of these developments will be given with particular emphasis on socio-economic aspects, which had undergone some changes. The first is the *gebbar* system which was the basic means of surplus appropriation of the feudal class. In its pre-twentieth century usage, a *gebbar* was a land holding peasant who had to pay *gibir* or tribute to the state. The type of tribute varied from one region to another. But, in most cases, it was paid in kind and in the form of unpaid labour service. Tribute in kind had different titles based on the purpose for which it was paid: like for land use, for the church, payments to the recipients such as when they received promotions, to congratulate local chiefs on important occasions, in the fasting seasons and at other times. Free labour service was given by the peasant and his family in times of grain production, construction, transportation, guarding prisoners and domestic services like grinding grain and fetching water and firewood for local chiefs. All these were exacted with little fairness and sense of humanity.

To make matters worse, the formation of the empire state and the administrative system established in the newly incorporated regions made the life of peasants very miserable. In the southern regions-peasants were gradually alienated from their land. This began with the introduction of land measurement known as *qalad*. That action resulted not only in the appropriation of much land by the state, but also facilitated privatization of land. It also increased state revenue, since it classified land tax based on fertility rates. But it pushed poor peasants down to the status of insecure tenants. Poor peasants who could not afford to buy land or those driven away from their land were forced to become landless or migrate to cities to become beggars. However, it

does not mean the peasants remained passive. In some cases there were open rebellions. In others, there were protests to the local officials or to the Emperor in the capital though they got no fair justice. The cumulative effect of the exploitative nature of the modes of surplus appropriation was negative on the economic development of the country. It, seriously affected agricultural productivity.

Even worse than the gebbar system, for the peoples of Ethiopia, was the continuation of the slave trade and slavery. There had been a centuries-old history of slavery and the slave trade in Ethiopia. Besides the economic rewards of the slave trade to both the merchants and rulers, slavery had also a social aspect. The possession of many slaves signified the high status of the owners. Slaves were also used for different kinds of domestic services. Although the practice was old, it was the frequent wars of conquest in the process of empire formation that gave additional encouragement to the practice of the slave trade and slavery. Thus, in the first two decades of the 20th century, members of the royal family and the nobility were reported to have had “thousands” of slaves at their disposal, though, this may seem a little exaggerated.

The overall effect of the slave trade had been disastrous. To start with, it depopulated the most productive elements of the defeated, as it was the youth who were sought more than the old ones. It also killed the morale for production as there was no security of life and property in the regions, which were targets of slave hunting expeditions. The prevalence of the slave trade also brought foreign interference over the country. The European colonial powers, which had colonies adjacent to Ethiopia, imposed an arms embargo, accusing Ethiopia of using modern firearms for slave hunting expeditions. Of course, their major concern was that slavery was an obstacle for their capitalist investments and the markets they foresaw in Ethiopia. That is why they tried their best to make the abolition of slavery a precondition for Ethiopia’s admission into the League of Nations.

As with slavery, the gebbar system met both internal and external opposition. Internally, it was criticized by the early Ethiopian educated elite as one of the major factors responsible for Ethiopia’s backwardness. Thus, a combination of internal and external challenges brought some changes to the two institutions (slavery and the gebbar

system). A year after Ethiopia's admission into the League of Nations, on 31 March 1924 a decree which freed slaves and prohibited the purchase and sale of slaves was enacted. Forced labour service was abolished in 1935. The same is true of the payment of honey as tribute. Moreover payment of tribute in cash was introduced at the rate of 30 birr per gasha.

The consequences of slavery and the gebbar system on the network of trade was, however, relatively less negative than their direct effect on productivity and social security. Indeed, from the turn of the twentieth century, a variety of factors seems to have contributed to the revival of internal and external trade. Trade revived mainly because of the general peace and political stability that followed the completion of the process of empire formation and the Adwa victory. Moreover, the colonial powers surrounding Ethiopia, also encouraged external trade as part of their capitalist interest in the region. The extensive diplomatic relations established between Ethiopia and different countries also created fertile ground for more trade links than before the Adwa victory.

In fact, the direction of trade changed gradually to the east and west, owing first to contemporary military and political factors. The Shoan victory at the battle of Embabo in 1882 was followed by the political centrality of Shoa during the reign of Menelik. As a result, the northern trade was pulled to the south, so that the main trade routes tended to pass through the Shoan region. Furthermore, the Mahdist invasions, for a time discouraged the trade through the old northern outlets. All these factors combined with the opening of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa Railway, made the port of Djibouti the major outlet for Ethiopia's external trade throughout the first half of the 20th century. Besides Djibouti, there were other outlets through the British colonies of Sudan, Kenya and Somalia. The British trading station, established at Gambella in 1902, was a major outlet of Ethiopia's external trade only next to Djibouti. Around 1920, the Gambella trade constituted a large part of Ethiopia's external trade, due mainly to the export of coffee, produced in western Ethiopia. Unlike the port of Djibouti, the major entry for imported goods, Gambella was mainly an export outlet. The items of trade also saw some changes. The old major exports like ivory and civet began to be dominated by coffee, while on the import side textiles and beverages began to dominate.

The merchants that had dominated the import-export trade were mainly foreigners from different countries, who flocked into Ethiopia after the Adwa victory. They consisted of French, Indians, Greeks, Americans and Jews. On the Ethiopian side local traders were mainly engaged in domestic trade. Although they represented only an insignificant number, some members of the ruling classes were attracted to business, mainly in the first quarter of the 20th century. Menelik and Taytu are known to have been money-lenders. The Empress also opened the first hotel in Addis Ababa, which bore her own name (Itege Hotel) in 1907. Moreover, Taytu is known to have established a local bank for the development of trade and agriculture in cooperation with the bigger nobility. The governor of Gojjam, Ras Hailu, is known for beginning a cinema and a taxi business in the capital. The son-in-law of Emperor Haile Selassie Ras Desta Damtew, was involved in selling water. Ras Teferi himself is said to have been business-minded, and was a shareholder in some companies.

As a simultaneous process to the revival of trade and empire formation, urbanization also saw a relatively fast development. Some garrison centers, established during the expansion of Menelik, grew to become important towns such as Gore and Goba. Moreover, the construction of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway, which reached Addis Ababa in 1917, also resulted in the emergence of railway towns such as Dire Dawa, Nazareth and Modjo. Of course, the railway did more than encourage trade and urbanization. It became a means of modern transportation for people and a channel for the import of modern ideas, luxury goods and fashions.

On the whole the first three decades of the twentieth century are known to have been years during which the foundation for modern Ethiopia was laid. Modern novelties introduced in the early 20th century included the motor car (1904), printing machinery (1912) and the aeroplane (1929). Telegraph and postal services were introduced before the close of the 19th century. A hospital was founded in 1910. Besides the above, some factories like those for timber, ammunition, and food processing were opened during the same decades.

One means of combating backward traditional outlooks and to spread modernization is the introduction of modern education. It was during the post-Adwa period that modern education was introduced, and groups of modern intellectuals started to appear in

Ethiopia. At first, modern schools were established by European missionaries in the country, at the end of the 19th century. And the foundation of such schools continued in the period after. European missionaries in Ethiopia sent to Europe some Ethiopian students for further education.

The Ethiopian state, too, was interested in establishing modern schools in the country. That was because the expanding bureaucracy needed not only educated officials for service in the diplomatic field but also various types of clerks, accountants, etc. Therefore, schools were established by the state, which were to serve as means to produce educated civil servants.

In 1908, the first modern school, Menelik II School, was opened in Addis Ababa. It was staffed by Egyptian Coptic Orthodox Christian teachers. In Dire Dawa and Addis Ababa the Alliance Francaise schools were established in 1912. In 1925, the Tafari Mekonnen school was founded by Ras Tafari Mekonnen (later Emperor Haile Selassie I). The school had French directors. In the curriculum of the time, there was greater emphasis in languages than in other subjects. Unlike the period after 1941, during the pre-1935 period, French was the medium of instruction in the schools. By 1930, a Ministry of Education had been created. And in the 1930's, it opened a number of schools, both in Addis Ababa and the provinces. It must also be remembered that a few Ethiopian students were sent abroad for education, and about 200 students finished their studies in Europe, between 1920 and 1935.

During the period, the spread of modern education, however modest, trained some skilled manpower for the state bureaucracy. It also contributed to the spread of modern ideas in the country. The early modern educated intellectuals called for changes. Among them were Hakim Workineh (Dr. Charles Martin), Professor Tamrat Amanuel, Afework Gebre Iyesus (the author of the first Amharic novel, *Tobia*), Takala-Hawaryat Tekle Maryam (the man who drafted the 1931 Constitution of the Imperial Ethiopian Government), Heruy Wolde Selassie, Deressa Amante, and Gabre Hiywot Baykedagn (the author of the two Amharic books *Atse Menelik ena Ethiopia* and *Mengist ena Ye-hizb Astedader*, written in 1912 and 1919, respectively). They asked for changes and modernization in the socio- economic order. They called for improvement in peasant conditions, using the *Berhanena Selam* newspaper (founded in 1925) and other means.

Political Conditions

Between the years 1896 and 1953, major political developments took place in the Ethiopian Empire. Initially, between 1896 and 1930, consolidation of power by the state and the ruling class were the major political pre-occupations. With that settled, between 1930 and 1935, the autocracy of Emperor Haile Selassie I was in full force leading to the emergence of a absolutist state in Ethiopia. Another aspect of political developments concerning Ethiopia was the revival of Italian colonial designs that led to the Fascist Italian aggression of 1935. You will examine all of those developments on the pages below.

Consolidation of Political Power

During the immediate post-Adwa years, between 1896 and 1909, the ruling class of Imperial Ethiopia, headed by Menelik II, enjoyed the triumphant mood the Adwa victory created. It was secure in its position. The sovereign independence of the country was recognized by states near and afar, including Italy. Following the Adwa victory, European nations opened legations in Addis Ababa and were interested, above all, in peaceful trade. The United States and Germany sent diplomatic missions, in the first decade of the 20th century.

During this same decade, Ethiopia's boundaries with neighbourly countries were delimited by boundary agreements with the European colonial powers that were in control of those colonies. The boundary with the Italian colony of Eritrea was delimited by a series of agreements concluded with Italy in 1900, 1902 and 1908. Similarly, by the agreement with France in March 1907 the boundary with French Somaliland (Djibouti) was delimited. The boundaries with Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and British East Africa (Kenya) were delimited by a series of agreements with Britain in 1902 and 1907, respectively. In 1908 the boundary with Italian Somaliland was delimited by an agreement with Italy. Therefore, Ethiopia had secured her borders and gained international recognition for them.

The ruling class centered itself at Addis Ababa. It collected tributes in various forms from the newly incorporated areas of the south, south-east and south-west. Prominent members of the ruling class, resided in Addis Ababa and began to enjoy the comforts of

urban life.

Addis Ababa, which had been founded as capital in 1886, as indicated above, got permanence due to the following factors:

- * Issue of land charters, to land owners in Addis Ababa by the state starting from 1970 guaranteed security of tenure. And that led owners of land in the city to invest in the construction of buildings as well as other desirables.

- * The introduction of the eucalyptus tree from Australia helped to solve the problem of the shortage of fire wood in Addis Ababa. Had that not happened, it would have been difficult for Addis Ababa to remain as capital city for long.
- * The railway connection between Addis Ababa and the outside world since 1917 gave Addis Ababa great importance as a centre of commerce, new ideas, etc.

- * The residence of foreign merchants in Addis Ababa also helped in the increased importance of the city.

- * The opening of foreign legations in Addis Ababa increased Addis Ababa's importance as a diplomatic centre for the country.

Inception of Political Rivalry and Foreign Threat

By 1906, though the monarchy was strong a power struggle among the members of the ruling class, was started beginning from 1906. One major factor that led to a power struggle in the palace was the issue of succession. The problem of succession began to disturb the political stability of Ethiopia following the illness of Menelik in 1906. From then on, Menelik no longer exercised his usual political authority until his final death in 1913. Even worse, the expected heir of Menelik, Ras Mekonnen, died in 1906. This crisis of leadership paved the way for a serious power struggle. Equally worried about the problem of succession were the European powers having colonies adjacent to Ethiopia: Britain, France and Italy. Germany their strong rival of Britain and France in Europe had come to Ethiopia and opened her legation in 1905. This had already upset these powers. They were concerned with the smooth running of their economic interests in Ethiopia. They did not like the challenge Germany might pose and anticipated a political crisis upon the death of Menelik.

As a result, the Tripartite Treaty was signed by Britain, France and Italy in December 1906. The main objective of this treaty was to avoid possible conflict of interest among

the signatory powers in case a crisis situation set in, and shut off other rivals such as Germany from economic activities in Ethiopia. But, for Ethiopia it was the first serious challenge to her independent status after the victory of Adwa. The treaty contained mutual recognition of the signatory powers for each other's zone of economic influence in Ethiopia. The area through which the railway line passes was given for France. The Nile basin and its source came under the influence of Britain. Italy was allowed to construct a railway connecting her two colonies - Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.

Though sick, Emperor Menelik was not passive when confronted by threats, both internal and external, to his empire. He did two things, in order to ensure the efficient running of government and the political stability of his state in the event of his death. Firstly, in October 1907, he established the first Council of Ministers consisting of nine ministries for War, Commerce and Foreign Affairs, Public Works, Agriculture, Finance, Justice, the Pen, the Palace, and the Interior. Ministers were recruited from high-ranking civil and military officials. There was no new group of educated personnel for this modern bureaucratic arrangement. The newly appointed ministers were largely the same old palace officials assuming European style titles. Thus, there were confusions of duties and responsibilities among the different ministries. Yet, the establishment of the cabinet not only ensured continuity of government but also laid the ground for the birth of modern bureaucracy in Ethiopia.

Secondly, in May 1909 Menelik designated heir to his throne and a regent aiming at a smooth power transition upon his death. However, he did not find it easy to make his decision public due to the clash of interests between his wife, Empress Taytu, and the Shoan nobility.

The Challenge of Taytu

Empress Taytu had no offspring and thus saw future political power for herself and her relatives in the candidate for the throne. That was why she had already married her niece, Mentwab Wolle, to Ras Mekonnen. But Mekonnen's death upset her long term plan. Similarly, she married her nephew, Gugsu Wolle, to the daughter of Menelik, Zewditu, considering her candidature for the throne in the event of Menelik's death. She hoped to secure political power for her family through this marriage tie. Menelik seems to have understood that the political ambitions of Empress Taytu would bring a challenge to the

political supremacy of the Shoan dynasty. Therefore, in 1909 Menelik designated his grandson, Lij Iyasu Michael, as heir. Iyasu was the son of Shewareged, (Menelik's daughter) by her husband Ras Michael, the ex- Muslim chief of Wollo. As Iyasu was only 12- years old, Menelik also appointed Ras Bitwaded Tessema Nadew as regent. The different legations in Addis Ababa were formally told to acknowledge Menelik's chosen heir and the regent. The decree was announced in 1909, years before the death of Menelik in 1913.

Both choices of Menelik were based on his genuine attempt at satisfying different interest groups in general, and Taytu and the Shoan nobility in particular. The Shoan nobility were not happy with Iyasu, as he was the son of the strong regional lord of Wollo. They feared that Ras Michael might use the position of his son, who was still a minor, for his own political ascendancy. Yet, the fact that it was the order of Menelik, and the choice of a Shoan noble as regent minimized their fear. For Taytu, however, the choice of Iyasu was a source of great anxiety. His father Ras Michael had hostile relations with her brother and ruler of Yeju, Ras Wolle. Menelik tried to appease the empress by a marriage arrangement of her grand niece, Romanworq Mengesha Yohannes, with Lij Iyasu. However, this effort bore no fruit. Taytu worked hard to build up a power bloc centred around her family through arranging webs of political marriages, and after 1909 through making shum shirs (promotions and demotions). Indeed, against the interest of the Council of Ministers, Taytu behaved as an actual head of state making decisions on behalf of her sick husband. Her shum-shirs included the old nobility like Fitawrari Habte Giorgis and Negadras Haile Giorgis, Ministers of War and Commerce respectively. On the other hand, her relatives and those related to her by marital ties were promoted to key positions.

The Shoan nobility, therefore, saw Taytu as a threat to their political power in the central government. Ras Michael of Wollo was also worried about the future of his son and thus joined the Shoan nobility, in a secret plan to remove the Empress from power. The nobility disappointed by Taytu's shum-shir formed the nucleus and stood at the forefront in the opposition against Taytu. Moreover, in an attempt to give the opposition the character of a public movement, the Mehal Sefari were agitated to lead a demonstration. The latter consisted of different military units attached to the palace.

The opponents of Taytu obtained the blessing of the then bishop, Abuna Mathewos, to remove Taytu. In March 1910 Empress Taytu was removed from government affairs, she was restricted to taking care of her dying husband.

The first response of Taytu was bitter. She expressed her resentment to the bishop, the regent and some of the spokesmen of the mass protest. Then, she requested the permission of her opponents to retire back to her northern kinsmen. The Shoan nobility refused to allow her to go to the north. The Empress then appealed to the major churches of Addis Ababa and the different legations to help her convince her opponents. Both responded to Taytu that they had no intention to intervene in government affairs. Thus disgracefully removed from politics, Taytu stayed in the palace with her sick husband, for sometime. And since 1910 she was exiled to the Church of St. Mary at Entoto, where she stayed until her death in 1918.

The coup against Taytu was followed by reshuffling of political power on behalf of the Shoan nobility. The powers of the regency and the cabinet were reinstated. However, the regent, Ras Tesema Nadew died in April 1911. Unexpectedly Lij Iyasu refused to accept another regent. This situation marked the beginning of a second phase of power struggle and political instability in the leadership.

Lij Iyasu 1913-1916: Reforms and the Coup D'Etat against Him

The death of Ras Tessema gave Iyasu the opportunity to exercise political authority on his own. But, he was not crowned even after the death of Menelik. Despite this, however, he exercised full political power from 1911 to 1916. The only serious challenge to his power came from Ras Abate Buayalew, a Shoa noble man.

Abate attempted to break into the palace forcefully, but failed because of the strong defence put by the imperial guard. A possible bloodshed was avoided by the intervention of the bishop. Abate was imprisoned at Mekdala, where he stayed until the fall of Michael (1916), who from the desire to support his son, strongly stood against Abate.

The reign of Lij Iyasu lacks fair and objective documentation in the existing literature, written mainly during the reign of his successor Emperor Haile Sellassie. Indeed, there was emphasis on his weaknesses, such as lack of responsibility, play-boy character and polygamous marriages. In reality, however, though too young to rule an empire, Iyasu

introduced significant social and economic reforms. To his credit, Lij Iyasu, tried to give Ethiopian Muslims equal status through integrating them into his administrative hierarchy. He gave financial support for establishing mosques, and later on, established marriage alliances with local Muslim dynasties. These polygamous marriages of Iyasu, however seem to have had some elements of political motive.

Moreover, Lij Iyasu established a system of auditing government property, and formed a municipal police nicknamed Terunbule. He established a separate Department of Education. Before that arrangement had been made by Menelik in which the affairs of education were placed under the control of the archbishop. Iyasu's measure was the first attempt at the secularization of modern education in Ethiopia.

Other reforms of Lij Iyasu included those related to the improvement of traditional practices of Leba Shay (method of thief detection) in which a young boy took a drug and was let loose in the neighborhood of the house from where things had been stolen. The owner of the house before which the drug-intoxicated boy might fall was then accused of the theft. This unreliable method was slightly improved by searching for reliable evidence in the house indicated by the boy. Iyasu also ended the practice of Quragna in which both the accuser and the accused were chained together until justice was delivered. The ruler also stopped the abuses of Asrat Safari, by which government tax known as Asrat (tithe) was collected based on the estimation of a government official who used to do it before harvest. Obviously, the practice aimed at controlling possible cheating by some taxpayers, who used to report a yield reducing the total amount of their harvest. Under Iyasu, however, the peasants were allowed to harvest before their fields were visited by government officials. Unlike before, the tax would be collected based only on the amount reported by the taxpayers who, of course, swore to the reliability of their report.

The above progressive measures of Lij Iyasu were, however, overshadowed, partly by some of his weaknesses and partly by the opposition coming from victims of his reforms. For instance, his friendly gesture towards Ethiopian Muslims was a radical departure from the past tradition of very close church- state relations. It was later interpreted as a challenge to the predominant position the Orthodox Church enjoyed. The auditing of government property exposed the embezzlement carried on by old

officials, who became enemies of Iyasu when they were ordered to pay back what they had misappropriated. Iyasu's choice of the company of younger officials in his frequent tours of provinces, in place of members of the old nobility, created among the latter a feeling being unwanted whose total elimination was fast approaching. These victims of Iyasu thus worked hard to accuse him, using his weak points. To the advantage of his opponents, Iyasu did not bother at all to improve his weaknesses. Nor did he appease his potential rivals through some reconciliations.

Indeed, Lij Iyasu continued to build a polygamous family, continued his adultery, and showed disrespect and contempt for the old nobility. He was absent from the capital so often owing to his frequent wandering in the provinces. All these were issues taken up by his enemies to charge him with immorality and irresponsible leadership. However, his personal weaknesses were not the real causes for his conflict with the Shoan nobility. Rather, the latter saw Iyasu as a serious challenge to their political power. This challenge seemed more threatening, when he gave high position to his father Mikael. In 1914 Lij Iyasu crowned his father as Negus over the northern provinces of Tigray, and Wollo. In 1915 Gojjam and Begemdir were added to them.

Lij Iyasu did more than this to threaten the political future of the Shoan Mekwanints (nobility). His relatives, friends and those with whom he had marital ties were promoted at the expense of the old nobility. He took Sidamo from Dejach Balcha Safo, and gave it to a new ally and brother-in-law, Negadras Haile Giorgis. The latter was also given the top rank of Chairman of the Council of Ministers which had been held by Fitawrari Habte Giorgis Dinagde. The son of Ras Mekonnen, Dejach Teferi, was removed from his family fief, Harar, and transferred to Kaffa. The combination of these actions dissatisfied the nobility in general, and the Shoans in particular to unite in the common cause of removing Lij Iyasu. The plot that ultimately removed Iyasu was not the work of local opponents of the young ruler alone. It also came from the Tripartite powers who rallied behind the Shoan nobility in the struggle against Iyasu. These colonial powers had good reason to seek the removal of Iyasu from power. Firstly, Iyasu appeared to become a close friend of Ottoman Turkey and Germany, who were mortal enemies of the Tripartite powers in the First World War (1914-18).

Iyasu's friendship to the Central Powers might seem insignificant, but it was considered by the Tripartite Powers as a dangerous move in the region where they had colonies. Even more offensive to the Allied powers was Lij Iyasu's moral and material support to the leader of a Somali nationalist movement, Sayyid Mohammed Abdullah Hassan. As the Somali leader was operating in the colonial possessions of Britain, France and Italy in the Horn of Africa, the three powers allied with Ethiopian internal forces against Lij Iyasu. Their help ranged from forging pictures as evidence against Iyasu to giving some munitions to his opponents in support of the coup d'état against him. As in the anti-Taytu move, the Mahal Sefari acted against Iyasu, and the Abun and the Echege, too, blessed the coup. With all these support, Iyasu was deposed on 27 September 1916.

Lij Iyasu was not ready to defend his power. He was in Jijiga, when the coup was being carried out in the capital. He made an attempt to reverse the coup but he was defeated at the battle of Mieso, located on the way to Harar. The Shoan army defeated his troops heading to the capital. His father, Negus Michael, also made a more determined attempt to reinstate his son to power. In command of about 80,000 troops from Northern Ethiopia, Michael scored a minor victory in the initial encounter at the battle of Tora Mesk on 17 October 1916. But he was completely defeated and made captive at the decisive and bloody battle of Segele near Sheno, town on 27 October 1916. Negus Michael died after two years of captivity and imprisonment. Iyasu remained a fugitive, until he was finally captured in Tigray in 1921 and imprisoned first at Fitcha. In 1932 he attempted at escape but failed. Therefore, he was transferred to Garamulata, in the province of Hararge, where he died in prison in 1936.

The Diarchy 1917 – 30

The battle of Segele, which claimed the life of more than 12,000 troops from both sides marked the bloody completion of the struggle against the challenge of Lij Iyasu. The fall of Negus Michael brought an end to the administrative autonomy of the province of Wollo. The fall of Iyasu also marked the restoration of Shewan political supremacy. The coup makers crowned the daughter of Menelik, Zewditu, as Empress on 1 February 1917. Ras Teferi Mekonnen was made heir to the throne.

For the Shoan nobility Zewditu was an ideal choice, because she was the daughter of Menelik and was politically conservative. She had no son, and to avoid succession

disputes, an heir was chosen. Teferi was the best choice as heir. He was himself a member of the great Shoan nobility and of the Shoan royal family. He had administrative ability, shown particularly in his governorship of Harar. He was young and active. His modern education and interest in modernization were regarded as valuable assets in dealing with foreigners and their legations.

For some years, Zewditu and Teferi worked well together. Zewditu presided over all deliberations in which important decisions were taken. And Teferi referred all major issues to her for decision. Therefore, at first at least, the diarchy or dual rule marked the unity of Shoan forces in the central government. The Council of Minsters was reorganized under the chairmanship of the Minister of War, Fitawrari Habte Giorgis.

However, problems came as the power of Ras Teferi started to grow up progressively at the expense of the Empress and the Council of Ministers. Though only an heir, Ras Teferi began to exercise the role of a 'regent'. His influence in administration and military affairs and external relations exceeded that of the Empress. Indeed, more and more power began to concentrate in the hands of Ras Teferi. In the long run, the political ascendancy of Ras Teferi not only worried the Empress, but also was a threat to the old nobility in general and members of the Council in particular.

The traditionalists nobility represented by the Emperess turned to be conservative. The disliked Teferi's modernizing activities. Teferri represented the interests of a progressive group of the young educated Ethiopians and the more "enlightened" feudalists.

While the traditionalists had the spiritual support of the bishop, Teferi and his supporters had the appreciation and support, of the European legations. The latter saw in the rise of Teferi a bright prospect for capitalist investment in Ethiopia. Thus, the struggle between the conservative and the progressive groups came to be a dominate feature of the diarchy for several years, until the balance of power gradually shifted in favour of Teferi as time went on.

Ras Teferi's natural gifts of patience, capacity to hide his motives and plans, determination and cunning, added to his rich political experience, made significant contributions to his rise to power. His successful use of diplomacy and the group of the young educated elite around himself explain his constant successes against people

who stood in his way. The chief events in his rise to power were the following, in chronological order.

- * In 1918, though the role Teferi played behind the scene is not clear, the most formidable opponents of his growing power, consisting of twelve members of the Council of Ministers, were removed from power by order of the Empress in response to a public demonstration represented by the Mehal Sefari. The ministers were accused of corruption and embezzlement. Only the Minister of War, Fitawrari Habte Giorgis, remained in power.

- * The capture of Lij Iyasu in 1921 eliminated one rival for the throne.

- * In 1923 Ethiopia became a member of the League of Nations under the precondition of abolition of the slave trade and slavery. To this end, two decrees were issued in 1923 and 1924, respectively. Other than the advantage of collective security, Ethiopia's admission into the League was a step forward in facilitating Teferi's extensive diplomatic relations. In 1924 Ras Teferi and some of his nobility made a grand tour to Europe, seeking first hand exposure to western civilization as well as trying to get access to the sea for Ethiopia. The latter objective did not materialize. But the visits made to Britain, Greece, Jerusalem, France, Italy, Belgium, Luxemburg, Switzerland, Sweden and Egypt, mainly focused on schools, factories, hospitals and churches, and were sources of great inspiration to the Ethiopian visitors. Ras Teferi's interest in modern technology, administration, military training and other institutions, though strong before his overseas visits, became even stronger after the tour of Europe.

- * The natural deaths of Fitawrari Habte Giorgis and Abune Metewos in 1926 were also a golden opportunity for Ras Teferi, as the two very strong military and religious challengers to his political ambitions were removed in succession. He took over the army of Fitawrari Habte Giorgis and distributed his large tract of land to allies.

- * In 1927 Ras Teferi succeeded in getting the unconditional surrender of another strong opponent to his growing power, Dejach Balcha Safo, the governor of Sidamo. That prosperous province was given first to an ally and then to the son-in-law of Ras Teferi, Ras Desta Damtew.

- * In 1928 Dejach Aba Wuqaw, commander of the Imperial Bodyguard, revolted against Ras Teferi in defence of the decreasing power of Empress Zewditu. But, he was soon

forced to surrender and he was at first sentenced to death, though later this was changed to life imprisonment. This was skillfully done by Teferi, who persuaded the Empress to intervene, accusing Aba Wuqaw of disturbing the palace and provoking bloodshed while encamped at the mausoleum of Menelik.

Meanwhile, the Mahal Sefari pressed Zewditu to crown Teferi as Negus. In October 1928 Zewditu formally crowned Tefer Negus. He was made "king of Ethiopia, Heir to the Throne" The last serious opponent to Ras Teferi from the traditional group was the ex-husband of Empress Zewditu, Ras Gugsa Wolle. The divorce of Zewditu and Gugsa in 1917 is said to have been effected by the Shoan Mekwanints at the time of her coronation. Though Zewditu made Gugsa the governor of Begemdir, in 1918, he remained hostile to Teferi whom he suspected of having been responsible for the divorce. There was also a conflict over the tax from Metemma that was under the jurisdiction of Gugsa, which Teferi wanted to centralize. The rise of Teferi to the top of the political hierarchy was thus a threat to Gugsa. On his part, Teferi was waiting for a pretext to eliminate Gugsa, and this came when Gugsa refused to carry out the order of Ras Teferi to assist the suppression of the 1929 rebellion of the Raya and Azebo Oromo. The Raya and Azebo in southern Tigray and northern Wollo were used to have a measure of local autonomy in administration. Whenever, they felt that was threatened, they often became rebellions. The 1929 rebellion was one such occasion. Zewditu intervened to try to avoid bloodshed between Teferi and Gugsa but she failed, as Gugsa refused to surrender. On 31 March 1930 the imperial army under the command of the new Minister of War, Ras Mulugeta Yigezu, fought the army of Gugsa at the battle of Anchem, near the Lasta- Begemdir border. The first two air crafts of Ethiopia were engaged in dropping bombs and leaflets. Gugsa died in action. Two days later Zewditu died, reportedly of diabetes. Teferi was crowned Emperor Haile Sellassie I of Ethiopia on 2 November, 1930 by an impressive coronation ceremony. 3.4.3. The Emergence of the Absolutist State, 1930-35

Right after his coronation, Haile Sellassie embarked upon laying the ground for an absolutist state in Ethiopia. The essence of his absolutism was the formation of a highly centralized unitary state. In this state, the regional dynasties (Mesafints) had to submit to the supreme authority of the Emperor in exchange for royal recognition of

their economic privileges, i.e, hereditary right over tributary lands known as riste gult. By so doing, Haile Sellassie was trying to do away with the forces of regionalism and build his own autocratic power on a firm economic basis.

To this end, the Emperor took very significant measures. First, in 1931 he laid a legal basis for the absolutist state by issuing the first written Constitution for Ethiopia. The Constitution was claimed to have the objective of bringing political modernity, stopping the traditional problem of succession and building national integration. It was also claimed to have aimed at providing "fair justice" for the Ethiopian peoples. The content of the Constitution, however, shows major emphasis on building the absolute power of the Emperor and guaranteeing the right to succession to his descendants. Other provisions included, such as a parliamentary system and civil rights, were not put into practice and were included in the document only to impress Europeans by showing signs of modern political transformation.

Therefore, the Constitution confirmed the Emperor's divine right to rule as well as the right to issue laws for his people by his own will. It established a bicameral Parliament having a Senate, which was an upper chamber of nobles, appointed by the Emperor, and the Chamber of Deputies elected by local notables from among the local feudal lords. The Emperor's absolute power also included the right to appoint and dismiss members of Parliament and other civil and military officials, to declare or end wars, and to grant land and honours.

Secondly, based on his absolute constitutional right, Haile Sellassie completed the process of building centralized administration. Most of the southern regions, it is to be recalled, had already fallen into the hands of royal appointees during the reign of Menelik. A similar process of centralization was also pursued by Haile Sellassie. As a result, the autonomous province of Wollo was given to his eldest son, Asfa Wossen, after the battle of Segele. Following the battle of Anchem, Begemdir came under the appointee of Haile Sellassie, Ras Kasa. Similarly, the local autonomy of Gojjam and Jimma came to an end in 1932 and 1933 respectively. The hereditary rulers of these regions, Ras Hailu Tekle Haymanot of Gojjam and Abba Jobir Abba Jiffar of Jimma were removed and the regions came under direct control of the central. The region whose autonomy remained intact was Tigray, which continued to be ruled by two

grandsons of Emperor Yohannes IV: Ras Seyoum Mengesha and Ras Gugsa Araya. Though he did not succeed in winning their absolute loyalty, Haile Sellassie tried to tie the Tigrean princes with the Shoan dynasty, through arranging political marriages with the Shoan royal family. Thirdly, the absolutist state worked hard at fiscal centralization, mainly in customs administration. The government thus eliminated the old provincial kellas (customs posts), and replaced them by a few recognized and centrally controlled customs posts. The government also controlled the customs from external trade.

Finally, the emerging absolutist state gave due attention to the modernization of its army. The process of administrative and political centralization laid the basis for establishment of a modern national army. But its effective transformation called for modern training. The process of modern military training had already begun in 1920, by sending young educated Ethiopians abroad. In 1930

Belgian officers were put in charge of training the Imperial Bodyguard consisting of three battalions of infantry. Moreover, in 1934 the Ethiopian government opened the first officer training school at Holeta Gannat by recruiting its teaching staff from Swedish officers. This cadet school had a programme of three years training which was, however, interrupted by the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935.

6.3. Defending sovereignty and territorial integrity

Resistance to Egyptian and Mahdist Aggressions

Foreign threat against Ethiopian independence, though manifested even earlier, reached a peak in the second half of the nineteenth century. It came from several directions; Egypt, Mahdist Sudan and Italy. The causes, course and consequences of the first two aggressions will be discussed here in this section, and the latter in another section, farther below.

Ethiopia and Egypt had a long history of relationships which involved cultural, commercial and religion. This relationship was affected since the turn of the 19th century as Egypt embarked on a vigorous expansion into the Horn of Africa, which included Ethiopia as the source of the Blue Nile.

The age-old ambition to control the Nile drainage system was the main interest of Egyptian rulers. Thus in 1821 Egypt occupied Sudan. Despite fierce resistance, the

military superiority of the Egyptian army and internal conflicts among local people left Sudan an easy prey to the Egyptian conquerors. As the source of the Blue Nile, Ethiopia was also victim of Egyptian expansion. Indeed, Sudan served as a base for Egyptian encroachment into the north-western Ethiopian regions like Semen, Dambya, and the Sheikdoms of Assosa and Beni –Shangul. Early Egyptian threats coincided with the period of the Zamana Masafent. The internal crisis of the period provided an opportunity for Egyptian periodic attacks and penetrations into the Ethiopian border regions. In the absence of a well organized national defence, the individual attempt of local chiefs to check the advance of Egyptian troops in their respective regions could not bring a lasting solution. Consequently, for over half a century Egypt posed a serious problem on the social, economic and religious life of the peoples along the Ethio-Sudanese border. Egyptians imposed heavy taxes on regions they occupied. They looted and enslaved the local people, and burnt fields and homes to ashes, when they faced resistance to their expansion.

Ethio-Egyptian conflicts were intensified during the reign of Emperor Tewodros. In 1865 the Egyptians took over the possession of the port of Massawa from the Ottoman Turks on the basis of a lease contract. The Egyptians then began to collect heavy taxes from Ethiopian merchants and blocked the import of firearms. Even worse, from 1872 onwards Egyptian troops began to advance into and control other Red Sea ports and coastal regions, as well as the border provinces of Matamma and Bogos.

The then ruler of Egypt, Khedive Ismail (1863-79), intensified the traditional Egyptian expansion to a more aggressive attempt at occupation of all Ethiopia. The grand ambition of Egyptian rulers was to build a Greater Egypt in North-East Africa. They aimed at becoming masters of the Nile basin and the Nile sources. The pretext of eradication of the slave trade and “extension of western civilization” into Africa were used by the rulers of Egypt to justify expansionist ambitions. Khedive Ismail was able to get support from European powers using these arguments. Indeed, the strategic significance of Egypt, due to the newly opened Suez Canal in 1869, was more attractive to Europeans than Christian Ethiopia.

However, Egyptian rulers seem to have underestimated the military strength of Ethiopia. Egyptians were misled into believing that Ethiopia was weak. Their calculations were

based on the observation of the ease with which the 1868 British military expedition to Maqdala had been completed and the subsequent internal political conflicts, following the death of Tewodros. But by the middle of the 1870s, Ethiopia was not anymore politically divided and weak as before. The Egyptian image of a weak and disunited Ethiopia, and the absence of European opposition towards Egyptian expansion in the Horn of Africa encouraged a large scale invasion of Ethiopia in 1875. The ports of the Gulf of Aden and Massawa served as launching pads for the three-front invasion of Ethiopia by Egyptian troops in 1875. An Egyptian army commanded by Mohammed Rauf Pasha occupied the Muslim City State of Harar in October 1875 with very little difficulty. A Swiss- German named Werner Munzinger, often referred to as the architect of Egyptian aggression in Ethiopia, advanced to the center from the direction of Tdjura. However, Munzinger and his army of about 500 men, were ambushed and destroyed by the Afar people on their way to Shoa. Another very well armed Egyptian contingent led by a Danish colonel, Arendrup, moved into the interior Mereb Melash region from the port of Massawa. By late October 1875 his army had reached the banks of river Mereb.

In July 1872, Yohannes had written to Khedive Ismail a letter in which he defined his boundaries in the north and coastal regions. He also demanded the withdrawal of the Egyptian troops from his country. In the absence of a positive response, on the part of Egypt, Yohannes turned to seeking European diplomatic intervention. He sent letters to the rulers of France, Germany, Russia, Austria and Britain. He let them know the unlawful invasion of his country by Egypt and the intention of the Egyptian ruler, as he claimed, to Islamize and enslave his people. With full confidence, he expressed his hope that Christian European nations would not tolerate the 'Muslim unjust attack' on a Christian nation and requested fair justice for his people.

Nonetheless, the emperor's expectation of Christian solidarity was no more than wishful thinking. Europeans gave deaf ear to his protest. Consequently, Yohannes resorted to a defensive war against Egypt. On 23 October 1875, he issued a mobilization order. In command of 20,000 troops, Emperor Yohannes crossed the River Mereb. On 16 November he fought with the Egyptian army at the battle of Gundet. About two hours of effective attack on the encircled Egyptian troops resulted in an instant victory for

Ethiopians. Colonel Arendrup and about 1320 Egyptian troops were killed in the battle. A large number of Egyptian troops and firearms fell into the hands of Ethiopians. Although Egyptians suffered a humiliating defeat, Ethiopian victory at Gundet did not result in the restoration of the Ethiopian regions occupied by Egyptian forces. Instead, Khedive Ismail began preparations for another attack on Ethiopia to avenge his earlier setback. The following year, about 15,000 well-armed Egyptian troops under the command of Mohammed Ratib and the American General Loring invaded Ethiopian territories in the north. Thus the second Ethio-Egyptian battle was fought on 7-9 March 1876 at a place known as Gura, not far from Gundet.

The battle of Gura resulted in heavy losses on both sides, but once again victory went to Ethiopians. With the loss of about 3500 dead and 2500 taken as prisoners, the surviving Egyptian troops retreated. Ethiopians, too, lost about 4000 dead but with no prisoners of war lost to the enemy. Ethiopians collected a significant booty of arms. Egypt's military defeat in Ethiopia had resulted in a grave political consequence for the country. The fall of Khedive Ismail in 1879 and the British occupation Egypt in 1882 were partly the results of the Ethio-Egyptian war.

The military victories of Gundet and Gura, however, failed to bring about significant gains to Ethiopia considering the reasons for which they were fought. The Egyptians remained in control of occupied regions and ports. Yohannes did not want to risk his victory by continuing his attack on Egyptian troops with an exhausted army. He also wanted to know the reaction of the European powers to the crisis. Thus, he preferred postponing further war and pushing his victory to its logical conclusion. Instead, he once again chose to try a peaceful solution.

The strange thing, in the immediate post-war year, was that Egypt behaved like a victor. Although Ethiopia showed an unreserved interest for a peaceful solution, Egypt proposed terms unacceptable for a sovereign country like Ethiopia. Egypt demanded reparation payment, release of prisoners of war and cession of occupied Ethiopian regions. These terms made the conclusion of the conflict by a formal peace treaty far from being achievable. Eventually, a period of no peace and no war continued for the next eight years.

From the early 1880s, however, Egypt sought a diplomatic alliance with Ethiopia. Two events accounted for this change of stand. Firstly, Egypt fell to British occupation in 1882. Secondly, the rise of a religious revivalist and nationalist movement in the Sudan by the Mahadists, began to dismantle Egyptian control of that country. Starting from the western Sudan, the Mahdist attack defeated Egyptian troops in the Sudan. In the process, some of the Egyptians could not make it out of the Sudan, rather they were encircled along the Ethio-Sudanese border. Both Egypt and its protector, Britain, were not able to stop the energetic Mahdist attack. Instead they sought another means to relieve the trapped Egyptian troops. Hence, they wanted to sign a peace treaty that would end the Ethio- Egyptian conflict, and make use of Ethiopian assistance in this endeavor. To this end a British envoy. Rear – Admiral Sir William Hewett signed a treaty, later called the Hewett Treaty, with Yohannes on 3 June 1884. The Hewett Treaty is also known, from the name of the place where it was signed, as the Adwa Treaty. It ended the Ethio-Egyptian conflict through British diplomatic intervention. The first two major articles of this treaty promised to Ethiopia free-transit via the port of Massawa and restoration of occupied regions to Ethiopia following the withdrawal of Egyptian troops. By the third article, Ethiopia promised to facilitate the evacuation of the Egyptian troops from their encircled position in eastern Sudan, through Ethiopian territory to Massawa, and then to Egypt.

On the surface, the Hewett Treaty seemed to be more rewarding for Ethiopia than the military victories of Gundet and Gura. It promised restoration of occupied regions and opening a sea outlet. Yohannes thus chose to become an ally of Egypt. But this earned Ethiopia a serious enemy, Mahdists of the Sudan. For Yohannes, what he needed further was British diplomatic support to restore the port of Massawa to Ethiopia. Yohannes wrote to Queen Victoria of England to help him get back Massawa.

On his part, in fulfillment of the terms of the Hewett Treaty, Yohannes ordered Ras Alula to rescue the Egyptian army trapped in the Sudan. Ras Alula accomplished his mission fighting with Mahdist troops at the battle of Kufit in January 1885. However, this Ethio-Egyptian alliance provoked a number of Mahdist attacks on north-western Ethiopian territories. The Mahdists launched a series of attacks characterized by looting, material

destruction and enslavement of people. Egypt only partly fulfilled her promise. Bogos was returned to Ethiopia, but Massawa was handed to Italy. Egyptian troops also withdrew from Tajura, Zeila and Berbera. But, shortly after the withdrawal of the Egyptians these coastal regions fall easy prey to colonial European powers competing in the region. The British, who had already been in control of Aden since 1839, occupied the ports of Zeila and Berbera. They expanded into the interior and created their colony of British Somaliland. The French did the same and formed their colony of French Somaliland by expanding from their 1862 possession of Obock. The port of Assab which was purchased by a private Italian Shipping Company (the Rubbatino Company) in 1869 had already been taken by the government of Italy in 1882. Against the claim of Yohannes and in violation of the Hewett Treaty, the British government secretly invited Italy to occupy Massawa. Italy took control of Massawa when the Egyptians left it on 5 February 1885. Even worse, it blocked import of arms to Ethiopia, collected heavy customs duties and began to expand into the highland region of Mareb, Melash of present day Eritrea. The British who wanted to check the French expansion in the Red Sea region wanted to strengthen Italy and favoured her expansion in the region, which was contrary to the terms of the Hewot Treaty. However Yohannes did not give up hope of a diplomatic solution. He once again wrote to Queen Victoria protesting the violation of the treaty and the unlawful Italian advance into his territory. He sought explanation on whether or not the British were backing this Italian adventure. The response of Britain was negative. Yohannes was advised to live in love and peace with the powerful Italians.

But, in 1888 the Mahdists, again, started attacks through the western borders. The danger intensified in 1889. And Yohannes turned towards the Mahdist threat and marched to Matamma. On his way, he tried a peace initiative but there was no positive response on the part of the Mahdists. War became inevitable, and on 9 March 1889 the Ethiopian army and the Mahdist troops or Ansars fought at the battle of Matamma. Despite initial success the Ethiopians lost the battle, because Yohannes was fatally wounded and his army retreated. Yohannes died the next day. His corpse was beheaded by the Ansars as a sign of Mahdist revenge and they seemed to be content. In any case, they, too, had suffered heavy losses.

Imperial Expansion to the South, South-West and South-East

As you have studied in your previous lessons, the process of empire building was an agenda of priority for both Tewodros II and Yohannes IV. Both used different approaches to achieve their goals of national reunification. While Tewodros failed, Yohannes was relatively successful in building an empire with regional dynasties enjoying internal autonomy.

The process of Ethiopian empire formation was however, completed under Emperor Menelik II. Menelik had learned a lot from the experiences of his predecessors. At the root of his expansion lay the traditional interest in land, tribute and control of trade routes.

Menelik's expansion was directed against independent peoples and states in the area of present southwestern, southern and southeastern Ethiopia. His expansion was different from that of his predecessors in its intensity and unprecedented degree of success. Moreover, his territorial expansion coincided with the colonial expansion of European powers in the Horn of Africa. His conquests of border regions of present-day Ethiopia were marked by fierce competition with European colonial powers. Finally, as a contender for the throne for two decades, Menelik needed to build up his military muscle through conquest of the prosperous regions of southern Ethiopia, which possessed valuable items of trade. The process of Menelik's expansion began when he was King of Shoa. First, he subdued the Oromo of Shoa in the early 1870s. Then, his army got the peaceful submission of the northern Gurage people known as the Kistane. This peaceful submission was a result not only to their being co-religionists (Christians) and their geographical proximity Northern Shoa, but also owing to their traditional protracted wars with the neighboring Oromos. The situation in southern Gurage, more properly the Silti, was, however, different from that of the north. Here, Menelik's army faced fierce resistance from the Muslim Gurage organized under a local leader known as Hassan Enjamo. A religious revivalist movement influenced by the Mahdists and by the Muslim exiles of Wollo, who had faced the forced conversion edict of 1878 by Emperor Yohannes IV, strengthened local resistance among the Muslim Gurage. Thus,

this region was subdued by the army of Ras Gobena only in 1888 after years of unsuccessful resistance.

The regions beyond the Gibe basin were a bone of contention between the rival troops of the two kings, Menelik of Shoa and Takla-Haymanot of Gojjam. Actually, the latter was authorized by Yohannes IV to conquer the region with the intention of stopping the expansion of Menelik to the region. As a result the southwestern regions became a battle ground for the two rival kings. After a minor clash between their troops in Limu, a decisive battle was fought at Embabo (in Wallaga) on 6 June 1882 in the presence of the two kings. The bloody battle was concluded by the victory of Menelik and the captivity of Takla-Haymanot. Thus, the battle of Embabo allowed Meneilik to establish a firm control over the southwestern region which subsequently was given recognition by Emperor Yohannes. Menelik faced no strong local resistance here. Local rulers were persuaded to accept peaceful incorporation and were rewarded by internal administrative autonomy. Aba Jiffar II of Jimma, Jote Tulu of Leqa Qellam and Kumsa Moroda of Leqa Naqamte belong to the list of local rulers who submitted peacefully with their local autonomy respected, in the years 1882-84.

On the contrary, the campaigns of Menelik's army in the south and southeastern regions were very costly and bloody. The region of Arsi was subdued in 1886 after four years of struggle, during which six unsuccessful military expeditions were sent against that region. The final battle of Azule was won by the army of Ras Darge, the cousin of Menelik, due mainly to its superiority in the possession of modern firearms. The fate of the Emirate of Harar was no exception. It was subdued after the bloody battle fought between the army of Menelik and Emir Abdullahi at Chalanqo, early in January 1887. After Harar, the conquest of new regions was temporarily halted until 1894. Menelik gave priority first to his ambition for the throne, and after his coronation, to do something about Italian colonial expansion in northern Ethiopia. Thus, his conquests after he became emperor were motivated by the urgent need for preparation against Italian colonialism. Moreover, expansion to the south was also sought as a solution to the devastating Great Famine (1889-92) also known by the name Kefu Qan, which had seriously afflicted the northern and central regions of Ethiopia.

The immediate cause of the famine is attributed to a cattle disease, called rinderpest, imported with infected cattle from India. The cattle epidemic spread from north to south and killed hundreds of thousands of cattle and made farming very difficult. This caused famine that in turn led to epidemic disease claiming the life of large numbers of Ethiopians. The famine caused a great damage disrupting production and trade. It also caused a great population movement from north to south. Menelik not only recruited soldiers from survivors of the famine-hit northern region, but also settled northerners in the relatively little affected region of southern Ethiopia.

One of the areas in the south, whose rich resources attracted the army of Menelik, was Wolayta. The conquest of Wolayta in 1894 was one of the bloodiest of the campaigns of Menelik. Local people under their king Kawo Tona, defended Wolayta from the combined army of notable war leaders of Menelik such as Ras Michael, Fitawrari Gebayehu, Liqa Makwas Abate, Dejach Balcha, Ras Wolda- Giorgis and Aba Jifar II. It was, therefore, a battle between unequals, which resulted in immense loss in human life and material wealth, and the looting of tens of thousands of heads of cattle by the invaders. Kawo Tona was wounded and captured to become a prisoner for the rest of his life. Similarly, in 1897 the old Kingdom of Kaffa was incorporated after great bloodshed in the war between the local people, under their ruler Tato Geki Serecho, and the army of Menelik under Ras Wolde Giorgis. For the campaign, Wolde Giorgis had enlisted the support of the armies of Ras Damese of Wallaga, Aba Jifar II of Jimma, Ras Tasamma of Illubabor and the rulers of Kullo and Konta. Geki Serecho was defeated and captured after nine months of fugitive life and ended up in prison.

The support of local rulers of newly incorporated regions in the following conquests of Menelik was also evident in the conquest of Assosa, Beni Shangul and Komosha areas along the Ethio-Sudanese border. Here, Dejach Jote of Qelem and Dejach Gebre Egziabher (baptismal name of Kumsa) of Naqamte gave military support to the army of Ras Mekonnen. The defection of Sheik Abdurahman Hojale to the side of Ras Mekonnen aborted the united resistance of the local people against the army of Menelik. Following the conquest, Menelik reinstated loyal rulers to power as vassals. Expansion into the

border regions of Borana and Ogaden, likewise along the western borders, seems to have been in competition with the neighboring colonial powers which had adjacent colonies with Ethiopia.

Menelik wanted to create a buffer zone between the fertile interior and neighboring European colonies by conquering border lowlands. His famous military victory at the Battle of Adwa intensified his competition with the colonial powers, and by the turn of the 20th century he had completed the process of empire formation. The incorporation of the southern, southwestern and southeastern regions involved both peaceful submission through persuasion and devastating wars of conquest. The nature of their administration was related to the way they were incorporated. Regions that resisted the army of Menelik were treated harshly. Local dynasties were uprooted and replaced by appointees of the central government. Local people were mostly alienated from their land. The conquered people were subjected to severe economic exploitation and brutal treatment by the settlers from the north protected by an armed men known as the Neftegnas. Regions that offered no resistance, however, faced little difficulty. Here, local rulers retained their traditional power and continued as vassals of the emperor. However, national oppression was common to all conquered people.

The political stability that followed the establishment of an expanded empire facilitated the revival of local and foreign trade. Addis Ababa was founded by Empress Taytu in November 1886, and became the centre of government and economic activities. Elsewhere in the south, south-west and south-east, a significant number of garrison centers of the expanding army of Menelik evolved into administrative and commercial centers.

6.3.2 Italian Aggression against Ethiopia and the Battle of Adwa

During the second –half of the 19th century, a third and major source of aggression against Ethiopia was Italy. Italy had colonial designs over Ethiopia. Therefore, her colonial ambitions led her to occupy territories in the north, establish the colony of Eritrea and fight the Battle of Adwa against Ethiopia in 1896.

First Strongholds of Italy in Ethiopia

As indicated in pages above, the Italian Government took control of Assab from the

Rusbatino Shipping Company in 1882. Then, in 1885 Italy occupied Massawa, and began attempts to penetrate into the interior from the coast. The Italian attempts to encroach into the highlands of the Mereb Mellash (Eritrea) region was unacceptable both to Emperor Yohannes IV and his commander, Ras Alula Engida. Alula was also Governor of the province of Mereb Mellash. Therefore, the Italians came into direct conflict with Yohannes and Alula. On 26 January 1887 Alula, at a place called Dogali, crushed an Italian contingent consisting of about 500 Italian soldiers, which were going as reinforcements to the Saati fortress that he had attempted to attack. This was actually the first serious blow to Italian colonial advance in Ethiopia. Thus, it created great anxiety and provoked Italian desire for revenge. It equally offended the British government.

However, while Italy wanted military revenge, Britain intervened as a peace broker, of course, on behalf of the aggressor. A British envoy, Gerald Portal, met Yohannes in November 1887 and proposed a war indemnity for Italy, official Ethiopian apology for Alula's attack, and cession of occupied coastal regions to Italy. Portal's mission failed. Yohannes declared his choice of war rather than accept these proposed terms of peace. He also wrote to Queen Victoria condemning British diplomatic dishonesty and unfairness. Ras Alula's rejection of conceding Ethiopian territory to Italy was also firm and made war inevitable. Shortly afterwards Emperor Yohannes called his people to arms.

Within a few weeks, about 80,000 men followed Yohannes on his march across the Mereb river to fight the Italians at their fortress of Saati in March 1888. The Saati confrontation did not turn to actual fighting, however, because the Italians refused to come out of their fortified position and meet the Ethiopian army in the open field. A deadlock was created that lasted for a month. The Ethiopian army, consisting largely of peasants short of supplies, could not stay long at Saati. They had to return home to their farms. Nor was the supply of provisions enough to keep up the confrontation for long. Yohannes had to choose between retreat or strike on the Italians in their fortress. The arrival of news from the other direction reduced the options to one. Yohannes was informed of the destructive invasion of Mahdist troops as far as Gondar, as well as the rebellion of Negus Menelik and Negus Takla-Haymanot against him. He also heard

about the friendly relations Menelik of Shoa and the Italians , which was established on the basis of the Convention of Neutrality they signed in October 1887. All these things, combined with the un-willingness of Italians to come out for an open battle, made Yohannes decide to postpone the war with Italy. He chose first to punish the internal plotters and then fight the Mahdists.

Yohannes attacked Gojjam first and after a bloody destruction got the submission of its king. The plan to fight Menelik was dropped, however. Instead, the emperor and Menelik made an agreement to help each other against their common enemies. Both had mutual interest in peace, because Yohannes did not want a bloody civil war at a time when his country was invaded by two foreign enemies- the Mahdists and Italy. Menelik, too, realized the military superiority of Yohannes. The Italians, who aimed at subverting Menelik against Yohannes, had already won his neutrality in the event of war between them and the emperor. This was agreed in the Convention of Neutrality signed in October 1887, in which they promised to give Menelik 5000 rifles. Nevertheless these rifles had not reached Menelik. Therefore, Menelik had good reason not to fight with Yohannes.

6.3.2. The Birth of the Italian Colony of Eritrea

It is often claimed that the Treaty of Wuchale, signed between Emperor Menelik and the Italian envoy Count Pietro Antonelli on 2 May 1889, directly led to the creation of the Italian colony of Eritria. But that was preceded by long years of Italo-Shoan friendship. The official contacts between Menelik and the Italians go as far back as 1876, with the coming to Shoa of an Italian Geographical Society led by Marquis O. Antinori. Antinori's mission had the objective of investigating the chances for colonial expansion under the cover of scientific study. As a region close to the Italian base at Assab, and since the Shoan king was a rival of Emperor Yohannes, Shoa was considered as another appropriate base or ally for Italian colonial ambitions. On his part, Menelik needed the friendship of Italy as a means of acquisition of firearms from abroad with which he could fight his way to the throne.

Thus, while Menelik gave a resting place near Ankober called Let Marafya to the Italians, the latter agreed to post an agent at Assab who would buy firearms for Menelik. This initial alliance was further cemented by the Treaty of Commerce and Friendship. This

treaty was signed between King Menelik and Antonelli of Italy in October 1883. The treaty included provisions about consular exchange and an agreement on free trade, free movement of their nationals and freedom of religious propagation. The third Italo-Shoan treaty came in 1887, following the Dogali Incident when Italians needed the help of Menelik more than he needed theirs. It appears that the Italians tried to win the consent of Menelik to help them in future unavoidable war against Yohannes. Due to his unwillingness to fight Yohannes, however, the Italians persuaded him at least to remain neutral, in the event of war between Italy and Yohannes. As indicated above, he agreed to this through a treaty later called the Convention of Neutrality, which was signed in October that year, 1887.

The above friendly relations between Menelik and the Italians seem to have been based on their interest in securing each other's support for the Ethiopian crown and colonial expansion, respectively. Though Menelik did not support Italian colonial expansion in principle, the presence of Yohannes as an obstacle on his way to the imperial throne gave Menelik the drive to seek the friendship of Italy. The Treaty of Wuchale, although signed after Menelik declared himself emperor, was an extension of their old mutual interest and friendship. The Wuchale Treaty was drafted by Antonelli and signed by Menelik and Antonelli in May 1889, in Menelik's current camp, in Wollo.

The Treaty of Wuchale had twenty articles, but the two very significant ones in terms of their contribution to the subsequent Italo-Ethiopian conflicts were articles III and XVII. Article III, delimited the boundary between Italian-occupied regions of Mereb Melash and the rest of Ethiopia. The villages of Arafaili, Segeneiti, Asmara, Adi Yohanis-from east to west-served as a boundary line for the Italian possessions. Thus, the Italians got legal recognition over much of the lowland and some of the highland regions beyond the river Mereb.

The territorial cessions of Menelik to the Italians were far from satisfactory to the Italian colonial dream. They began, to push beyond the borders defined in Article III of the Wachale Treaty. Even more they cheated Ras Mekonnen, the cousin of Menelik, who went to Italy to get the ratification of the whole treaty. They persuaded him to sign an additional Convention on 1 October 1889. This was aimed at advancing further towards the River Mereb under the cover of delimiting the boundary, on the basis of effective

occupation. Indeed, against the protest of Menelik, the Italians occupied the whole region as far as the Mereb river, which they declared as their colony of Eritrea on 1 January 1890.

Italian Ambition over the Rest of Ethiopia

To make matters even worse, the Italians pursued a diplomatic campaign to make the whole of Ethiopia their protectorate. To this end, they used a calculated contradiction in the Amharic and Italian version of Article XVII of the Wuchale Treaty. The Amharic version of this article reads that Ethiopia can use the help of Italy in her diplomatic relations with other European powers. However, the Italian text contained an obligatory commitment of Ethiopia to use the good offices of Italy for her relations with Europe; and thereby it denied Ethiopia her sovereignty. Further more, Italy notified the great powers of Europe that, by Article XVII of the Wuchale Treaty, Ethiopia had become an Italian protectorate.

Menelik learned of the Italian tricks when response to his letters, written directly without the knowledge of Italy, came from Britain and Germany. In these letters from Europe he was advised to contact them only through his “protector”. This led to a major friction between Italy and Ethiopia. Menelik wrote to King Umberto of Italy protesting against the Italian claim. He asked the Italian government to correct Article XVII. Italy was not willing to correct it. Menelik, however, turned to a wider diplomatic campaign, and in April 1891 he dispatched a circular letter to all European powers. He informed them about Italian diplomatic dishonesty and that he had no obligation to respect Italian protectorate rights. That was because Ethiopia was independent and not a protectorate of Italy. Even more, he defined the Ethiopian boundary as extending as far as the sea. And Menelik requested the help of Christian powers to get at least an outlet to the sea. But there was no help from Christian Europe. On its part, the Italian government followed the twin policies of persuasion and subversion in Ethiopia. The first refers to the Italian unsuccessful effort to induce Menelik to agree to the Italian version of Article XVII. This effort was completely aborted when, in February 1893, Menelik abrogated (cancelled) the Treaty of Wuchale. Italian subversive activities among dissatisfied nobles did, however, have initial success mainly in northern Ethiopia. For instance, by the Mereb Convention of December 1891, the Italians achieved the temporary defection

of the Tigrean chiefs under the leadership of Ras Mengesha Yohannes, the person chosen by Emperor Yohannes as his successor.

Nonetheless, the subversive activities of the Italians proved a complete failure. Ethiopian collaborators of the Italians soon understood the hidden colonial motive of the Italians. This became even more clear, with Italian racist attitudes in the settlement pattern of their citizens in Eritrea. The first significant blow to the subversive plan of Italy came in June 1894, when Ras Mengesha and Ras Alula renewed their loyalty to Menelik. Even worse for the Italians, in December 1894, Dejazmach Bahta Hagos, their former collaborator and governor of Akale Guzay in Eritrea, started a peasant rebellion against the Italians. This rebellion was suppressed, but it gave the spark to an armed resistance that followed against Italian colonialism. Ras Mengesha and Ras Alula crossed the river Mereb and fought the Italians at Qoatit and Senafe early in 1895. As a revenge, the Italian army invaded the whole of Tigray, in September 1895. Italy openly began to use military means to realize the dream of becoming a colonial master over Ethiopia.

On the Ethiopian side, the inevitability of war had already become obvious. Apart from the Emperor, his wife Empress Taytu herself was an advocate of an armed solution to the Italian diplomatic dishonesty. Thus, Menelik began preparing for the final showdown with Italy. Internally, he continued his expansion into the prosperous regions of present day southern Ethiopia, mainly to build up his human and material resources, as you have seen in the preceding pages. Internationally, Menelik did his best to win allies mainly for the import of firearms, particularly from France and Russia. On 17 September 1895, Menelik issued a mobilization order in which he stated the Italian unlawful invasion of his country. He got a positive response from his people which enabled him to lead an army of about 100,000 recruited from all classes, ethnic groups and regions including the newly conquered areas of south, southwest and southeast.

Indeed, Menelik led a united Ethiopia against Italy. An Italian writer who saw the positive response of soldiers, peasants, young and old, men and women, for Menelik's mobilization order wrote, It looks as if the whole population was moving for war. The then bishop and the clergy themselves accompanied the army to the battlefield.

Empress Taytu had started preparation for war since long ago. She had gathered women in the palace to prepare food, drink, utensils, traditional medicines, bandages, etc. She had already sent messages to her vassals of northern Ethiopia to supply food to the army while passing through their respective regions. She also mobilized an army of 5000 troops under her command, and followed her husband to the campaign. The total number of Ethiopian women who went to Adwa is not exactly known. But one French writer reported that there were about 1200 women. These women not only gave moral support to the combatants, but also gave service as fighters, nursing the wounded, supplying food and drinks to fighters, clearing roads, guarding camps, etc.

The Battle of Adwa

Before the final decisive encounter at Adwa, the Italian and the Ethiopian troops fought at two places. The first battle was fought on 7 December 1895 at Amba Alage, in southern Tigray, between a contingent of the Ethiopian vanguard force led by Fitawrari Gebeyehu and an Italian force under the command of Major Toselli. The Italians were completely defeated and lost about 2000 troops, including Major Toselli himself, from the total of 2350 Italian troops. Local sources suggest 286 dead and about 300 wounded on the Ethiopian side. Thus, the Italians were forced to retreat northwards to their strong fortification at Maqale which was defended by 4 cannons.

Under the command of Ras Makonnen, the Ethiopian army, which consisted of the combined troops of different regional lords, encircled the Italian fortress of Maqale. Attacks on the enemy began later when Menelik reached the fortress, but this brought no immediate success since the Italians had built a strong fortress difficult to break into. Meanwhile, the Ethiopian army was advised to control a small stream near the fortress, which was a source of water for the Italian troops. The author of this tactic is said to have been Empress Taytu; and indeed the stream was then controlled by 900 soldiers from her own contingent. Between 7-21 January 1896, Maqale was under siege. The Italian army stationed there suffered a great deal from shortage of water. The Italians were forced to surrender the fortress. Menelik allowed the Italians a safe evacuation. That was done not only hoping for a peaceful solution for the conflict, but also as a plan to advance further within Tigray under the cover of a peace gesture, if the war was to continue.

The Italians did not, however, agree to any peace. About 20,000 troops formed into four brigades, under the supreme command of General Oreste Baratieri, were ready for war. Half of the Italian troops consisted of askaris from Eritrea. Numerically, the Italian army was only one fifth of the Ethiopians. But the Italians had the advantage of better firearms than Ethiopians. They had also modern training and professional military leadership. Three Italian brigades were led by Generals Albertone, Arimondi and Dabormida respectively. General Albertone was in charge of the rearguard. Despite good preparations, however, the Italian military leadership had no exact knowledge about the number and the tactics of the Ethiopian army. The role of the local people as double agents to both the Italians and the Ethiopian side was very helpful to the Ethiopian army. They helped by providing faulty information to the enemy. For instance, Sunday March 1, 1896, the day of commemoration of St. George, was selected as the date of the major battle, after two weeks of tension and confrontation between the Ethiopian and the Italian troops. This decision was made by General Baratieri misled by a wrong advice by the double agents. A delusive advice that Ethiopian armies never fight on holidays was given to him by Basha Awalom, (a double agent). The general was also told of internal conflicts among the generals of Menelik and shortage of food among his troops.

At Adwa, the battle began at day break on 1 March 1896 with the Italian strike on the Ethiopian camp. An extremely bloody battle was fought until mid-afternoon. The Ethiopian army fought bravely and scored a smashing victory. The Italians lost about 7000 of their men dead, 2500 badly wounded and 3500 made prisoners of war. The Ethiopian army also suffered heavy casualties but with no prisoners of war. Losing the battle, Baratieri ordered a general retreat and his surviving troops cleared out of the whole province of Tigray. The Italian dream of reducing Ethiopia to a colony ended in failure. Therefore, Italy was left only with her control over Eritrea.

Factors for the Ethiopian victory at Adwa were Italian faulty reading of maps, false information from local "spies", underestimation of Ethiopian unity, wrong military strategy and poor leadership. Much of Menelik's army was also well equipped with good imported firearms. There was serious lack of coordination among the different Italian brigades. On the contrary, the Ethiopians had the advantage of strong unity, strong

morale and commitment to the cause of Ethiopia's sovereignty. There was efficient coordination among the different troops of regional lords. The moral support rendered by the clergy, women, minstrels (traditional singers), etc, and the proper knowledge of topography also contributed a great deal to the victory of Ethiopian troops.

The Consequences and Historical Significance of the Adwa Victory

- Explain the national significance of the Adwa victory.

Ethiopia entered the twentieth century as one of the very few independent nations in Africa. Liberia, and until 1911-12 Morocco, were the other independent states; though Liberia did not fight any war of independence as Ethiopia did. However, it must be remembered, that a part of Ethiopian territory (Mereb Mellash Eritrea) remained in Italian hands, when Ethiopia entered the twentieth century. The sovereign status of Ethiopia got international recognition. This recognition was expressed in two ways. Firstly, different powers opened their legations in Addis Ababa: Italy (1896), Britain and France (1897), the USA (1903), Germany (1905), etc. Secondly, European powers possessing colonies adjacent to Ethiopia delimited their respective common boundaries between Ethiopia and their colonies, in the years between 1897-1908. This gave birth to the present shape of Ethiopia.

Adwa seems to have drawn the attention of the international community to Ethiopia, the country that had scored the first major black victory over the whites. It is true that in southern Africa the Zulus had also scored a victory in a battle against whites in that century. But although the Zulus had defeated and destroyed a British force in 1879 at Isandhlwana, Britain succeeded in winning the overall Zulu War. On the one hand; journals and newspapers published in Europe for some weeks after Adwa produced the pictures of Menelik and Taytu on their front pages. They criticized, from many angles, the "tragedy" (for Italy) of the loss of the colonial battle. On the other hand, after Adwa, foreign travelers, merchants and other Europeans from different nations came to Ethiopia. Therefore, the Adwa victory has been a symbol of national pride. Indeed, it has made succeeding generations of Ethiopians more determined to guard the independence of the country at all costs. The effect of military defeat for Italy on the other hand, was disastrous. It created a profound shock, and anxiety in Italy and there were widespread disturbances. In major cities of Italy, there were demonstrations, some

of them bearing slogans like, Viva Menelik! Viva Taytu!. The demonstrators demanded the court-martial of General Baratieri, the release of Italian prisoners of war and the withdrawal of Italy from Africa. The government of Crispi, the Italian Premier, fell amid abuse and serious criticism. In consequence, Crispi resigned immediately. Baratieri had to leave the army and ended up in prison.

An Italian diplomatic mission came to Ethiopia and signed the Treaty of Addis Ababa with Emperor Menelik on 26 October 1896. The treaty concluded the Italo-Ethiopian dispute. Italy agreed to the cancellation of the Wuchale Treaty and recognized the complete independence of Ethiopia. Ethiopia, too, agreed to the continuation of Italian colonial control over Eritrea and the release of Italian prisoners of war. Of course, the government of Italy did not withdraw from Africa, despite the anti-colonialist protest at home. But it was forced to reduce the colonial budget for some years and postponed its colonial ambitions in Ethiopia.

The echo of Adwa was very well heard in Britain as well. The concern Britain showed to this black victory against a white colonial power was understandable. Britain had many colonies in Africa in general, and was a colonial neighbor of Ethiopia, in particular. Moreover, the success of the British plan of blocking possible expansion of France towards the White Nile became questionable with the defeat Italy suffered. Therefore, Britain was forced to revise her former policy of wait and see with regard to Mahdist Sudan (1885-96). As a result the British government hastened to conquer Sudan in the name of Egypt, and a joint army of Britain and Egypt invaded the Sudan in 1896. The Battle of Omdurman (1898) marked the fall of the Mahdist state and the establishment of the so-called Anglo-Egyptian Condominium rule over the Sudan.

Nonetheless, this British success did not stop the French from moving to the White Nile, simultaneously from west and east Africa. Menelik wanted to exploit the Anglo-French rivalry over the White Nile for his own plan of expanding his empire. From west Africa, a French Captain named Marchand led an expedition to the upper Nile. A small French force under Marchand and a large British force faced each other at a place called Fashoda in the Sudan in 1898. Bloodshed at Fashoda and war between Britain and France were avoided by the withdrawal of the French. This left Sudan to the colonial rule

of Britain, though it was called Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Thus, it could safely be said that the fear and anxiety the Adwa victory created among European colonialists precipitated the colonization of Sudan, an African neighbor of Ethiopia. Another expression of the value given to Adwa victory as a torch-bearer of black nationalist struggle was the emergence of religious separatist movements collectively known as Ethiopianism. At face value, the movement seemed religious, using such names like Coptic, Abyssinian and Ethiopian. The essence of the movement was, however, firm resistance against white domination.

Review Questions

Choose the best answers from the following alternatives.

1. In the struggle for power between Empress Zewditu and Ras Tafari, who supported the empress?
 - A. The Shoan nobility
 - B. Commercial class
 - C. The young
 - D. Peasant
2. The period between 1916 and 1930 _____.
 - A. saw the rise of absolutism
 - B. dual rule between Empress Zewditu and Ras Tafari
 - C. an increasing of decentralization
 - D. was marked by continuous civil wars
3. Which of the following region welcomed Menelik peacefully
 - A. Wolaita and kawoTona
 - B. Keffaand GakiSerecho
 - C. Harar and Abdulhai
 - D. Jimma and Abba Jifar
4. Ethio-Italian relation reached its climax during
 - A. Convention of Neutrality in 1887
 - B. Ethio-Menelik friendship in 1876/83
 - C. Wuchale treaty of 1889
 - D. After battle of Adowa and Addis Ababa treaty
5. _____ was an American war general fought against Yohannis IV being staff of Egyptian at the battle of Gura
 - A. General Kitchener
 - B. Genneral Winner Muzniger
 - C. GenealKilntonArrendrup
 - D. General Loring

6. Which of the following battle affected the foreign policy of Tewodros II?
A. Maqdala B. Deressge C. Ayshal D. Debarqi
7. The main issue discussed in the article XVII of Wuchale treaty of May 1889 was
A. The right and duties of Italian residents in Ethiopia
B. How to facilitate trade between the two countries
C. Ethiopia's relation with neighboring countries
D. The role of Italy in Ethiopia's foreign relation
8. The main objective of Menelik's territorial expansion in the post Adwa period (1896-1906) was to
A. Create buffer between Ethiopia and Ethiopian
B. Control areas that are rich in natural resources.
C. Strengthen his military power in relation to Europeans
D. Reincorporate the medieval Ethiopian territories
9. Ethiopia agreement of help in the safe evacuation of trapped Egyptian army via Massawa to Egypt was stipulated in articles of
A. Wuchale treaty of 1889
B. Burumed conference of 1878
C. Addis Ababa treaty of 1896
D. Adwa treaty of 1884
10. What led to the overthrow of Iyasu from his political power in 1916?
A. Desire to undermine the Ethiopia orthodox religion
B. Conversion to Islam
C. Conflict with the Turks and the Germans
D. Conflict with the Shewan nobility
11. The constitution of 1931 was designed to
A. grant political Rights to the people
B. restrict the influence of the church
C. increased the power of the nobility
D. grant legal ground for the power to the monarchy

12. Which statement best describes the problem of succession in early 20th century Ethiopia?
- A. The country was disturbed by internal power struggle
 - B. Ethiopia had peaceful relation with foreign powers
 - C. Internal peace had lasted longer
 - D. Ethiopia was politically disintegrated
13. What was the reaction of Emperor Menelik to problems that arose during his illness?
- A. His establishment of a council of Ministers
 - B. He officially announced Ras Tafari as regent
 - C. He appointed Habte Giorgis Governor of Sidama
 - D. He opened embassies in Europe.
14. What was the main cause for outbreak of Kifuyu (1888-92)?
- A. Famine
 - B. Drought
 - C. Cattle epidemics
 - D. Italians invasion
15. Why did Tewodros II fail in his realization of attempted reforms, Because
- A. The reforms were too radical
 - B. The Europeans did not support him
 - C. He considered to be an illegitimate ruler
 - D. He faced stiff resistance from the church and regional lords
16. Which of the following measures of Emperor Yohannis IV brought total opposition against him?
- A. Administrative decentralization and religious centralism
 - B. Religious decentralization and political centralization
 - C. Absence of religious toleration and insecularism
 - D. His favor for British diplomacy and safe evacuation of trapped Egyptians.
17. The enmity between the Mahadists and emperor Yohannis IV began after
- A. Ethiopia took away Gallabat in the Sudan from them.
 - B. Ethiopia defeated their invading army near Gondar
 - C. Ethiopia allied with France and Italy against them.
 - D. Ethiopia helped Egyptians surrounded by them to escape

18. Why did Emperor Yohannes IV not take any action against the challenge of Menelik immediately after his coronation in 1872?
- A. To solve his conflict with Menelik peacefully.
 - B. To meet first external threat from Egypt
 - C. To strengthen his power before facing Menelik
 - D. To isolate Menelik from his northern supporters
19. What was **not** factor for the defeat of Ethiopian troops by Fascist forces in 1935-36?
- A. Italians air superiority and use of mustard gas(yiprirght)
 - B. Ethiopians poor military logistic and lack of Coordination's
 - C. Competition existed among Patriots in order to held throne of the emperor who exiled
 - D. Lack of enough geographical knowledge and updated information about Italians
19. Which one did Tewodros II achieved in early times of his reign
- A. Abolishment of slavery and slave trade
 - B. Completion of forming modern empire
 - C. Establishment National armies and introduced salary and title
 - D. Repeated victory over regional Lords
20. All of the following are issues passed by the treaty of lich agreement **except**.
- A. Yohannis recognized king Menelik as ruler of Shoa
 - B. Menlik agreed to pay annual tribute to Yohannis
 - C. Yohannis agreed to stop title king of king
 - D. Menelik agreed to stop independent contact with foreigners
21. Ethiopia agreement of help in the safe evacuation of trapped Egyptian army via Massawa to Egypt was stipulated in articles of
- A. Wuchale treaty of 1889
 - B. Burumeda conference of 1878
 - C. Addis Ababa treaty of 1896
 - D. Adowa treaty of 1884
22. Which one of the following is correct about the council of Borumeda?
- A. It facilitated the outbreak of Muslim resistance led by Shaykh Tolha
 - B. Ethiopian Muslims were allowed to practice their faith fairly.
 - C. Amede Liban and Mohammed Ali rejected conversion to Christianity.
 - D. Sostelidet and Tewahdo were declared as official doctrines

23. One of the following had no relevance to the long-distance trade of Ethiopia in the 19th century.

- A. The wide use of paper money
- B. Exchange of ideas and beliefs among people trade relations
- C. Connecting the inland trade with sea out lets
- D. Generating armed conflicts for monopoly of trade routes

24. 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

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

- A. Gordon's mission B. Napier's expedition C. Hewett treaty D. Portal's mission

26. Wrong link

- A. Mohammed Rauf pasha → Zeila to Harar
- B. Munzinger → Tajura to Afar
- C. Arrendrup → Adulis to Axum
- D. Mohammed Rattip Pasha and General Loring → To Gura

27. Which of the following battles of the 19th c Ethiopia was between two regional lords

- A. The battle of Deberqi
- B. The battle of Embabo
- C. The battle of Dogale
- D. The battle of Kufit

29. The main objective of Menelik's territorial expansion in the post Adwa period (1896-1906) was

- A. To Create buffer between Ethiopia and Ethiopian
- B. To Control areas that are rich in natural resources.
- C. To Strengthen his military power in relation to Europeans
- D. To Reincorporate the medieval Ethiopian territories

30. Egyptian aggression over Ethiopia was encouraged by all of the following developments **except**
- A. Success of British at Euroghe in 1868 Considered Ethiopia as weak.
 - B. They believed that internal political turmoil and regional rivalries followed death of Tewodros weakened Ethiopia.
 - C. The Opening of Suez canal as strategic and economic advantage
 - D. Realized that Europeans might not assisted Ethiopia
31. A period of no war, no peace ended when
- A. Hewett treaty signed
 - C. Battle of Gura
 - B. Massawa restored to Ethiopia
 - D. Mahadistdefeated at Kufit
32. Which of the following was an immediate result of Ethiopians victory at the battle of Adwa?
- A. Popular call in Italy for revenge against Ethiopia Via demonstration
 - B. The recognition of Ethiopian independence by Italians.
 - C. Official declaration by Italy that it would end its colonial adventures in Africa
 - D. The signing of an agreement to fix the boundary between Ethiopia and Eritrea

CHAPTER SEVEN

Major Global Developments

7.1 The Two World Wars

I. The basic causes of the First World War were:

- A. Imperialist rivalries
- B. Colonialism
- C. Militarism
- D. Creation of military alliances (bolcs)
- E. Nationalism

A. Imperialism and rivalry for colonies

One of the basic causes of the First World War was the economic and political rivalries among industrialized nations of Europe. The economic and political rivalries were the result of the development of capitalism. The development of capitalism gave rise to an intense economic competition among the major powers of Europe to establish and

expand empires. In Europe countries like Germany, France, Britain, Austria- Hungary, Russia and Italy competed one another over economic interests, territory, recognition, great power status and prestige. All except Austria- Hungary and Russia also competed outside Europe for the control of overseas colonial possessions. These developed countries also competed for raw materials, new opportunities of investment and profitable market for their finished goods.

This conflicting interests and over lapping ambitions inevitably led them to clashes. On several occasions before 1914 conflicting interests drew several European countries to the brink of a large-scale war. For instance, France and Britain were in bad terms when Britain established a unilateral control over Egypt in 1882. The relation between these two countries went from bad to worse which culminated into the Fashoda crisis of 1898, in the Sudan where these armies of the two countries were about to fight. In 1911 and 1912, Italy and Turkey fought for the control of Libya. Germany and France were on the verge of fighting for the control of Morocco. Britain later intervened on the side of France in 1911. This incident came to be known as the Agadir Crisis. These and other similar incidents further strained the existing tension.

B. Militarism and the arms race

The growing contradictions and strained relations created a sense of insecurity among European powers. At the turn of the century, the leading European powers were in a state of fierce competition to get themselves ahead of their rivals in terms of armaments and military power. The main subject of discussion in many parliaments of Europe was the issue of military budget.

France, after her defeat in the Franco-Prussian war (1870 - 1871) was busily engaged in building her military power. The French nationalists criticized the government for the defeat France suffered. Moreover, they demanded the government regain the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine which they lost to Germany in 1871. Following its unification Germany became one of the most powerful country in Europe. In order to maintain its position, Germany increased its military budget more than ever before.

Early in the 19th century Germany expanded her navy, much to the delight and pride of German nationalists and to the alarm of the British. Britain's economy depended on her trade routes. The safety of these routes depended on the strength of the Royal Navy, the

British Naval force. A remarkable achievement along this line was the fact that Britain built the most powerful battleship in 1906. On the other hand, after three years, in 1909, Germany also built a similar battleship.

The European powers carefully assessed each other's strength in terms of armed forces. They increased the size of their respective armies and improved their war materials. In almost all countries of Europe, national military services had been made a standing obligation for citizens. In addition to these there was propaganda, which stirred up the national feelings of each citizen.

C. Creation of military alliance

After the Franco-Prussian war, Bismarck followed a policy of isolating France. He put this policy into effect by approaching his former enemy, Austria-Hungary, in 1879. Austria-Hungary and Germany concluded a treaty of friendship that came to be known as the "Dual Alliance". Three years later Italy joined hands with members of the Dual Alliance to form a stronger military bloc called "Triple Alliance".

The formation of the Triple Alliance created fear on the part of other European powers. In 1907

Britain, France and Russia signed a friendly understanding in what was later called the "Triple Entente". Thus Europe was divided into two hostile military camps. In both blocs the members pledged themselves to give military aid in case of aggression against one of the members. However, Britain's commitment was not clear and formal to its partners. Italy was also an unreliable member of the Triple Alliance. Of course Italy stayed as member of the Triple Alliance only until 1915. She joined the Triple Entente in that year. D. Nationalism

In nineteenth century Europe, nationalism proved to be the main source of armed conflicts. In Italy and Germany nationalism had achieved national unity. But it had affected other European countries in some ways. For instance, the German unification had humiliated the French people. After this victory over France in the Franco-Prussian war (1870 - 1871) Germany forcefully took the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. Moreover, the coronation of Wilhelm (Willhelm) I as the Emperor of United Germany was conducted in the French palace of Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. This created a desire for revenge among the French and wait for an opportune time to regain their lost provinces.

More than any part of Europe, nationalism and national discontent was very high in the Balkan region. This made the region a storm center at the eve of WWI. Beginning from the 1820s, the people of the Balkans had fought wars of liberation against their oppressor, Ottoman Turkey. As a result, five Balkan states namely; Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro appeared on the map of Europe as independent states. However, many of these states felt that their independence was incomplete. This was because a large number of their fellow nationals in provinces such as Bosnia, Herzegovina and Macedonia. The first two provinces were under Austria-Hungary's control since 1878. The other, Macedonia was still part of the Ottoman Empire.

Russia supported Serbian nationalism and with Russian approval the Balkan states Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Greece formed a League what was known as the Balkan League. In the First Balkan War of 1912 the Balkan League defeated Ottoman Turkey and took Macedonia. Shortly after, members of the League quarreled among themselves over the division of the territory which they acquired from Ottoman Turkey. This quarrel led to the Second Balkan War of 1913. As a result of this war, Bulgaria lost almost all her gains from the first Balkan War. Serbia became bigger and stronger and now wanted Bosnia, which was still part of Austria-Hungary. This became the main cause for the quarrel between Austria-Hungary and Serbia that finally led to the outbreak of the First World War (W.W.I).

The Balkan crises of 1912 - 1913 brought Russia and Serbia closer together, and intensified the hatred of Russia and Serbia for Austria.

II. The immediate cause of the war

The immediate cause for the outbreak of the First World War was the assassination of the Austrian crown prince, **Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie on June 28, 1914, at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia**. The assassin was Gavrilo Princip, a 19-years-old Serb nationalist. Although the assassination did not take place in Serbia, Austria-Hungary held the Serbian government responsible. This was because of the existing tension between the two that resulted from the continuous Serbian nationalist agitation against Austria. Before taking any action against Serbia, Austria-Hungary sent her envoy to Germany to know the attitude of Germany regarding the situation. Emperor Wilhelm I of Germany assured the envoy that Germany would support any action Austria

-Hungary might take against Serbia. This statement of assurance Germany gave to Austria-Hungary came to be known as a diplomatic "Blank Cheque". Thus, Austria-Hungary sent an ultimatum to Serbia. Serbia refused to accept a demand which appeared to violate its Sovereignty. This was the demand for the involvement of Austria-Hungary's officials in the investigation of the assassination and trial of the assassin. Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914. Following the declaration of war on Serbia, the European powers in hostile military blocs joined the war one after another. Russia, which considered herself to be the protector of the Slavs and Orthodox states of the Balkan, came on the side of Serbia. Russia also wanted to uphold her great power interests and prestige in the Balkan region and started war mobilization order. In response to Russia's war mobilization, Germany sent an ultimatum to Russia and then to France. Russia refused to halt its mobilization and France refused to promise the neutrality required from her.

Following these developments, Germany declared war first on Russia and then on France, on 1 August 1914 and 3 August 1914 respectively. Britain had not decided whether to stay neutral or join in the war on the side of Russia and France. However, Germany invaded Belgium on August 3, 1914, an action which threatened Britain's own security. Britain declared war on Germany and her allies on August 4, 1914. Britain's declaration of war, marked the official beginnings of the First World War.

The Course of the War

The war was fought between two major military blocs- the Allied powers and the central powers by the end of 1914 the warring nations had lined up as follows

Allied powers

Britain, bloc leader

France

Russia, until 1917

Belgium

Serbia

Central powers

Germany, bloc leader

Austria-Hungary

Bulgaria

Turkey

Italy (joined in 1915)

USA (joined in 1917)

Japan

The First World War was fought in different parts of the world. However, the main theatre of the war was Europe. In Europe the war was fought on two fronts: western and Eastern. The central Powers, situated in between the British and French forces in the West and Russia in the East, were compelled to fight on two fronts. This was the situation which Germany had planned to avoid in its war strategy that was drawn sometime before 1905. This war strategy was known as the Schlieffen plan, named after its author Alfred von Schlieffen, Chief of Staff of the Germany army. The plan assumed that Russia would mobilize slowly and the Belgians would give little or no resistance. Therefore, the Germans would inflict a sudden and crushing defeat on France, forcing her to make peace, and then would turn to the Eastern Front against Russia.

On the basis of the Schlieffen Plan, Germany started the First World War on the Western Front with a massive attack on France by going through Belgium and Luxemburg. Contrary to the assumptions of the Schlieffen Plan, the Belgians put up a heroic resistance and delayed the Germans for a little time. However, the Germans managed to push back the British and French forces that had been sent into Belgium and defeated French attacks along the Franco-German frontier. By September, a month after the beginning of the war, the Germans were close to Paris. The French government evacuated Paris and moved to Bordeaux. At this critical moment, the French commander, General Joffre, gave battle to the advancing Germans on the Marne River. The battle of the Marne lasted for nearly a week (September 6 -12, 1914) and finally the Germans were driven back, though not very far.

Despite their success at Marne, the French generals were unable to follow and expel the

Germans from the area. This was the second mistake of the war in the very first week. The French believed that attacking was best than defence, thus had thrown their best troops against advancing Germans in the center and south. For this reason, they were beaten and pushed back.

Mean while, on the Eastern Front, Russia moved faster than the Germans had expected. The Russians invaded East Prussia from the south and east. They also invaded the province of Galicia in Austria-Hungary. This victory did not last long and the Russians made the third mistake. In August, the Russians and the Germans fronted one another at Tanenberg, north- eastern part of present Poland. The outcome of the battle was heavy loss and defeat for the Russians.

Why did Italy join the war?

On Western Front, the two sides searched for each others weak points to break through. They found none. They built a long trench which ran from Belgian coast across northern France to the Swiss border. This long trench covered nearly 600 miles. By 1915 the war had reached a deadlock. It became clear that neither side could defeat the other quickly. During this time many battles were fought, but no side could claim a conclusive victory. The only significant event of 1915 was that Italy joined the war on the Allies side. The Allies won Italy by promising, that if they achieved victory, Italy would get her lost territories from Austria (her claims from Austria). They had also promised to give certain parts from Turkish Empire. Then, Italy declared war on Austria-Hungary in May 1915.

In the east, the Germans advanced into Russia and the Russians advanced into Austria. In 1916 the deadlock continued. With the entry of Italy, the Allies got little advantage. In four battles with Austria, the Italians gained little ground. The Russians also faced heavy losses in battles they fought with Austria- Hungarian and German armies in 1915-1916. The only success so far by the Allied forces was the conquest of Germany's overseas colonies. Soon Britain decided to open the offensive to the Dardanelles by taking the peninsula of Gallipoli (Turkey). The offensive was aimed at taking Constantinople. This was to put out the Ottoman Turkey from the war and it was decided that offensive would make it easier to supply Russia and strengthen Serbia and possibly leading to the collapse of Austria-Hungary. However, the Gallipoli campaign failed due to strong

resistance of the Turkish army. This Turkish force was led by General Mustapha Kemal .The Allies had to give up their offensive war in 1916.

Besides this, the great fleets of Germany and Britain clashed once at the Battle of Jutland in the North Sea in 1916. Defeat for one side would have meant much more than the loss of a fleet. This would have given to the other side complete control of the trade routes to and from Europe. So they developed a war of blockade. Both sides tried to disrupt each others trade routes and prevent vital foods and raw materials reaching the enemy. This was by laying minefields at sea and by using a new kind of warship, the Submarine. The German submarines had caused huge damages on the British ships until mid-1917. The British defended its merchant ships by escorting safely across the seas by war ships. While the German navy forced the British government to ration their people's food, the British navy ensured that Germany's people suffered even worse shortages.

The year 1917 was crucial in the course of the war. In this year two significant events took place. One of these events was the outbreak of a popular revolution in Russia, in March 1917. The main factors for the out break of this revolution were economic hardships, and disastrous defeats the Russian army suffered on the war fronts. This brought about the down fall of the Tsarist regime and the establishment of a Provisional Government. This Provisional government was a bourgeois government. It had seized power in March 1917. This government continued the war against the will of the Russian people who were already exhausted of the war.

The Bolsheviks, who won the support of the masses, staged the second revolution on November 7,1917 and overthrew the provisional government. Immediately, they signed an armistice (cease-fire) with the Central Powers. This armistice was signed on March 3,1918 at the town of Brest-Litovsk. (hence the Brest-Litovsk Treaty) resulted in Russia withdrawal from the First World War.

Another event of great importance was the entrance of the USA into the war on the side of the Allies. Up to then, the USA had remained neutral in what was considered a European war. The policy of the USA which stuck to American neutrality was changed as a result of the war at sea. In the war, as mentioned above, the Allied powers aimed at blockading the Central Powers so as to force them to surrender from lack of food and

supplies. But Germany responded by sinking, both war ships and merchant ships by its submarines. The German U-boats (submarines) sank many passengers and freight vessels which had many Americans on board. This inflamed American public opinion against Germany and led the USA to declare war on Germany on April 6, 1917.

America's entry into the war dramatically changed the balance of power in favour of the Allies. It boosted the morale of the Allied forces. America's fresh resources, both human and material, arrived in Europe and devastated the war efforts of the Central Powers.

In the spring of 1918 the first Unified Allied command was created in the west under Marshal Foch. The Allied forces crushed the last desperate offensive of the Germans and pushed them back. Hence, the Central Powers began to crumble one after the other. Bulgaria was the first to surrender on September 30, 1918. In October some of the subject peoples of Austria-Hungary broke away, and Emperor Charles fled the country. The same month the Ottoman Empire surrendered. In Germany on November a revolution forced, Emperor, William II (Wilhelm II) to abdicate. The next day, he fled to Holland. Finally, on 11 November 1918 at 11.00 A.M on the 11th day of the 11 month, (11,11,11,1918) the Germans signed an armistice (cease -fire).

End of the War and its Consequences

Peace Treaties

The purpose of the cease-fire agreement (Nov. 11,1918) was to stop the fighting as it did. It had been followed by a peace treaty/treaties signed by the warring nations through which they would settle their disputes and establish an enduring peace.

To this effect, a series of treaties were signed. The peace talks started with the Paris conference held in 1919. The dominant figures in the peace conference were the so called "Big Four" namely; Prime Minister Lloyd George of Britain, Prime Minister. V. Orlando of Italy, Premier Clemenceau of France, and President Woodrow Wilson of the USA.

Allies held the view that the central powers were responsible for the destruction of the war caused and they have to be punished for it. With this in mind, the Big four came up with their own proposals. Clemenceau insisted on imposing harsh terms on Germany so as to prevent it from becoming a strong military power again. Orlando of Italy demanded the rest of the Allied powers to fulfill what they had promised to Italy

when she joined the war in 1915. Lloyd George hoped to maintain a balance of power in Europe without weakening Germany too much. President Wilson stood for an enduring world peace that would be realized by applying his Fourteen Points. On the whole; the final settlement seem to have more or less satisfied British and French interests, though France was bitterly disappointed at not being allowed to annex German territory up to the River Rhine.

It was against this background the Allies signed the Treaty of Versailles, in June 1919, with the leading member of the central powers, Germany. The treaty turned out to be harsh and dictating as the victors liked it to be. According to this treaty, Germany lost all her colonies in Africa. These colonies were given to Britain, France, Belgium and South Africa as trust territories (Mandatory rule) to be administered under the supervision of the League of Nations Germany also lost her colonies in the Pacific Ocean, which were divided among Japan, Australia and New Zealand. Alsace and Lorriane were given back to France.

In the East, Germany surrendered almost all lands of Poland which she had gained during the partition of Poland in the 18th century. Danzing with a predominantly German population was incorporated in the Polish tariff system (nominally) as free city. Germany also lost upper Silcsia to Poland although a plebiscite (1921) indicated a German majority throughout the grater part of the disputed territory. Some small districts like Eupen, Morcsnet, and Malmedy were transferred to Belgium and a plebiscite in the province of Schleswig gave part of Schleswing back to Denmark.

The German army was reduced to 100,000 men and the army would not possess heavy artillery, tanks and aircraft. The German navy was limited in size and number of ships and could have no submarines. Germany was also forced to pay a financial compensation called reparations that amounted to \$ 6,600,000,000. Infact, it did not pay even half of this amount. The Rhineland was made a demilitarized zone. This treaty had imposed harsh terms on Germany.

Subsequently, the Allies signed similar treaties with other central power partners. On September 10, 1919 the Treaty of Saint German was signed between the Allies and Austria which had already become a state on its own.. This treaty limited the Austrian Republic to an area one tenth the size of the former Habsburg Empire. Some of Austria

Hungary's former territories went to the new republics of Poland and Yugoslavia, and to the kingdom of Italy. On June 4, 1920 a separate settlement called the Treaty of Trianon was signed between the Allied powers and Hungary which was formed as a separate from the dismembered of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The treaty of Sevres was signed between the Allies and Ottoman-Turke on August 10, 1920. According to this treaty, the former Ottoman territories in the Middle East were given to Britain and France as trust territories. Syria and Lebanon went to France, while Iraq, Palestine and Trans-Jordan were given to Britain. The Allies even tried to partition Asia Minor, the heart land of Turkey. However, a successful movement of Turkish nationalists, led by Musapha Kemal (Kemal Ataturk, as he was known since then) aborted this plan and established an independent Turkish Republic in 1923. The Allies signed the treaty of Lausanne in 1923 with the new republic.

In general, the terms of most of these treaties were harsh and unjust which caused strong reaction and resentment in the defeated nations. Specially the Versailles treaty was extremely harsh which was denounced by the Germans as the 'diktat' i.e, a dictated peace forced on Germany. Indeed, as it is pointed out by many scholars, the Treaty of Versailles sowed seeds of future war rather than establishing peace in Europe.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

After the end of World War I, there was a general belief that it was the end all future wars. Many of the Allied statesmen also thought that the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations would ensure a lasting peace. Contrary to these expectations, however, the two decades which followed the end of World War I witnessed widespread conflicts. The post - war governments in almost all European countries had to face political, economic and social problems. Particularly Italy was hard hit by these crises.

In the years immediately after the war there was widespread popular unrest in Italy. The unrest was the result of popular uprisings. Workers in leading industries went on strike. In others, they shut down production and took over factories after the example of the Russian Bolsheviks. Peasants also revolted against wealthy land owners. Meanwhile, the wealthy landowners and the town middle class feared a communist revolution. Italian nationalists and soldiers who served in the Italian army were also dissatisfied with the terms of the peace settlement.

Although Italy was one of the Allied powers and a victor nation, it faced various problems after the war. Among the problems were the accumulated war debts, economic depression and unemployment. These problems caused widespread political and social unrest. The post-war government of Italy was unable to control the situation. The prevailing dissatisfaction and chaos created a favourable condition for the rise of Fascists to power in Italy in 1922.

What do you understand by "fascism"?

The leader of Italian Fascists was Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) who had fought in the First World War as a corporal. Before the war Mussolini was a socialist. But, during the war, he abandoned socialism and became an ardent nationalist. In the war years, Mussolini developed new ideas about government which he called "fascism". The word "fascism" originates from the Latin term "fasces", which was a bundle of sticks bound together with an axe, that served as a symbol of power and unity in ancient Rome. Fascism was a political movement that propagated "the unity of all social groups under the control of a nation state". According to Mussolini, fascism was the dictatorship of the state over many cooperating classes. Fascism was extremely nationalistic. Fascists maintained that whatever the cost, the cause of the nation had to be promoted. According to fascists, national goals could be advanced by means of war and conquest. Mussolini used all the discontents and fears of the people for his own political end. He promised to establish strong law and order, to end social unrest and protect private property. To nationalists, Mussolini promised to restore Italy's greatness. To capitalists and landlords, Mussolini's movement was a defence against communism. In addition, Mussolini won the support of some of the workers by promising job security and other benefits such as old age pensions and insurance. By doing so, Mussolini and his Fascist Party won popular support which encouraged him to take state power. Accordingly, in October 1922, the Fascists organized a big march to Rome. The government was divided on the action to be taken. Some urged King Victor Emmanuel III, the then King of Italy, to declare martial law. But the king rather appointed Mussolini as Prime Minister. At this time, the Fascists did not have a majority in the parliament. Therefore, Mussolini made arrangements for an election to be held in 1924. In this election Fascists won majority seats in the Italian parliament. Using this situation to his advantage Mussolini

then swept into power. He called himself "Il Duce" or "The Leader" and took into his hands the destinies of Italy, as dictator, in the following years.

Germany was another country where the consequences of the war gave rise to Fascism. Nazism was the German version of Fascism. When Germany lost WWI her Emperor, Wilhelm II, fled to Holland. The government which took power after Wilhelm's departure was weak. The weakness of the government was further worsened when groups of Communists known as the Spartacist League staged an armed rising in January 1919. The rising was crushed, but there remained the fear of another communist revolution in Germany which lasted to 1923.

What did the situation look like in Germany of the immediate post-war years?

The suppression of the communist insurrection was followed in 1919 by elections to a Constituent Assembly. The Assembly held its meetings in the town of Weimar and carried out the task of writing a new constitution for Germany. After six months in session, the work on the constitution was completed and a republican regime was set up. The republic was called the Weimar Republic, after the town where the Constituent Assembly held its meeting.

The Weimar Republic had to deal with a range of problems. One of the problems was related to severe economic set backs. According to the Versailles Treaty, Germany had to pay a huge sum of reparations to the Allied powers. The reparations were fixed at £6,600,000,000. In 1922 the German government announced that it was not able to pay the reparations. To enforce payment, France sent troops to occupy Germany's industrial Ruhr area, to collect reparations in the form coal and steel. Opposing French occupation, German workers went on strike. The German government tried to cover the expense by printing more and more paper money. The consequence was a serious inflation, a situation where the amount of money in circulation is very high with a very weak buying power. Although inflation was finally stopped and the economy recovered, it ruined German economy and weakened the Weimar Republic politically. There was a wide spread blamed the Republic for resentment to, the Treaty of Versailles and the inflation which followed the war.

During these troubled years several parties emerged in Germany. One of those parties was the Nazi Party. The full name of the party was the National Socialist German

Workers' Party. The party grew in power especially after Adolf Hitler (1889 - 1945), a veteran of World War I, became its leader. He joined the party in Munich, a city in southern Germany where Hitler settled after serving in the German army during the First World War.

As soon as Hitler became the leader of the Nazis, he organized a private army known as the Stormtroopers (SA) or "Brown Shirts", named after the colour of their uniform. The members of the Brown Shirts were recruited mainly from young German war veterans and street hooligans. In November 1923 Hitler and his Brown Shirts staged a coup d'etat (German: putsch) to take power in Munich. But the German police suppressed the coup. Upon the failure of the coup, Hitler was brought to trial and sentenced to serve a five years prison term.

Is it possible to argue that Mein Kampf was a blue print to Hitler's future actions? Why? The time in prison was important in the political career of Hitler. This was because, during his time in prison, Hitler wrote an autobiography entitled Mein Kampf (My Struggle). The book described the ideology of Nazism and Hitler's future plan to make the Germans dominant in Europe. According to Hitler, the Germans were a "master race" who deserved to rule. He blamed the Jews and the Communists for Germany's defeat in the First World War. On the whole, all policies and practices the Nazis carried out after taking power in Germany were already stated in the Mein Kampf.

The years that followed Hitler's release from prison in December 1924 marked the period of economic recovery and political stability in Germany. Under such conditions, Hitler and the Nazis could not get the support of the general public. However, the period of economic recovery and political stability was short lived. In 1929 German economy collapsed because of the economic crisis that hit the whole world. The economic crisis was the result of the Great Depression which lasted from 1929 to 1933. The immediate cause of the depression was the Wall Street stock market crash in America in October 1929. The fundamental causes of the depression are still controversial. Periodic economic crisis had been common in the capitalist economy. But the economic crisis caused by the Great Depression of 1929 – 1933 was exceptionally severe. All industrialized and other nations of the world were hard hit by the Great Depression. It was very severe in the United States. In many countries workers lost their jobs. In the

USA alone around 16 million Americans were unemployed in the early 1930s.

How did Hitler get the chance to become German Chancellor in 1933?

The Weimar Republic was one of the European states which were bitterly affected by the Great Depression and the economic crisis it resulted. The Great Depression stopped foreign loans, especially US loans. Workers lost their jobs. Many enterprises went bankrupt. The desperate situation brought Hitler and the Nazis once again to the political scene. Many Germans began to listen to and appreciate Nazi propaganda, and became Nazi supporters. But until 1932 the Nazis were a minority in the Reichstag, the German parliament. In the election of 1928, for instance, they won only 12 seats in the Reichstag. But in the election of 1932, they won 230 seats. Although the Nazis became the largest party in the Reichstag, they were still short of a majority. In 1933 there was political deadlock among the political parties in Germany. This was because none of the parties obtained a sufficient majority to form government. To solve the crisis, Paul Von Hindenburg, the President of the Weimar Republic, offered Hitler the office of Chancellor, that is, head of the government (Prime Minister).

After taking the office of Chancellor, Hitler arranged for a new election to be held in 1933. The aim of the election was to win a sweeping majority for the Nazis in the Reichstag. To achieve this aim, communist influence among the workers had to be reduced. A week before the election, the Reichstag building caught fire and burned. Without any evidence, Hitler accused communists as being responsible for this criminal act. It is important to note that on one occasion Hitler wrote: "The great masses of people . . . will more easily fall victims to a big lie than to a small one." (Mein Kampf). Whoever was really responsible for the Reichstag fire, Hitler intended to reduce the support communists had among the workers. In this he was successful. Civil rights were suspended, and many communists were arrested. As a result, in the election the Nazis obtained sufficient seats in the Reichstag that gave Hitler, full powers to rule, in effect, as a dictator. Hitler took the title "Leader", Führer in German. Soon afterwards, Hitler started to take aggressive measures which ultimately led to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939.

How did the peace settlements made at the end of WWI originate another world war?

The fundamental cause of the Second World War was deeply rooted in the peace

settlements made at the end of World War I. As has been argued by many writers, the peace settlement sowed the seeds of a future war. Public opinion in Italy and Germany was strongly opposed to the peace treaties. The fascist regimes which came to power in both countries were determined to reverse the peace settlement and restore their lost glory through war and conquest. In Japan also militarist groups who took power in the early 1930s followed a similar policy of achieving greatness through territorial expansion, which targeted East and South East Asia and the Pacific. Thus, the aggressive policies of Italian fascists, German Nazis and Japanese militarists finally forced the world to face another destructive war in the twentieth century.

Japan took the lead in waging aggressive war on its neighbors. In September 1931, the Japanese army conquered Manchuria, the northern province of China, and set up a puppet government named Manchukuo for Manchuria. China appealed to the League of Nations. When the League condemned Japan as an aggressor and told it to withdraw from the Chinese territory. The Japanese announced their withdrawal from the League of Nations on 27 May, 1933. Further aggressive expansion of Japan against China finally led to the outbreak of open War between Japan and China in July 1937.

The Japanese boldness in 1931 encouraged Italy to make a similar move against Ethiopia. In December 1934 the Fascists unleashed the Walwal Incident which was followed by a full scale invasion of Ethiopia in October 1935. Emperor Haile Sellassie appealed to the League of Nations, upon which the League condemned Italy as an aggressor and imposed certain sanctions on it. But the League's action did not stop Mussolini from his military conquest in Ethiopia. He achieved a quick victory over Ethiopia by using poison gas which was against international law. An international agreement of 1925 had forbidden the use of poison gas. Italy had signed this agreement but Mussolini had no intention of keeping it. In fact large stocks of mustard gas had been sent to Eritrea prior to 1935 ready for use in the war against Ethiopia. In May 1936 the Italian army led by Marshal Badoglio occupied Addis Ababa. On the whole, the Failure of the League of Nations and the western powers to take effective action against militarist Japan and Fascist Italy for their criminal act in Manchuria and Ethiopia meant the end of collective security, and a return of the old principle of "might is right."

Then came the turn of Hitler, whose aggressive actions were responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War in Europe. Hitler took the following aggressive actions against the Treaty of Versailles as well as against international law.

i) The introduction of national military service in 1935 violating the Treaty of Versailles which limited the German ground force to only 100,000 men and prohibited conscription.

ii) The German armies occupied the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland in March 1936. It is to be recalled that the German army had been forbidden entry into this part of Germany by the Treaty of Versailles. Germany continued to rearm at a rapid pace.

iii) In March 1938 German armies annexed Austria. For a long time Hitler had dreamed of an "Anschluss" that is, the annexation of Austria. As early as 1924, Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf* that "German – Austria must return to the Great German mother country . . . one blood demands one Reich. [state]" This dream was realized when Austria was annexed by the German army in March 1938.

iv) In 1938 and 1939 Czechoslovakia became a target for Hitler's policy of German expansion. The crisis over Czechoslovakia marked the last phase in the move towards the war, and therefore, it is important to treat this subject at length.

Czechoslovakia held a strategic position in Eastern Europe. In particular, the Sudetenland, an economically important and heavily fortified region in north western Czechoslovakia along the German border, was the target of Hitler's aggression. There were about 3 million Germans who lived in the Sudetenland. At the time, these Germans were on bad terms with the Czechoslovak government which provided Hitler a pretext to move against Czechoslovakia. Hitler in fact encouraged Sudeten German leaders to complain of Czech "oppression" and make demands. On 12, September 1938 Hitler demanded that the Czechoslovak government give the right of self – determination to the Germans of the Sudetenland. The Czechoslovak government not only refused to accept Hitler's demand but also declared martial law in the territory. In an effort to avert war, the British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, agreed to meet Hitler to discuss the problem. The French government also gave support to Chamberlain's effort. The issue was discussed at the Munich Conference in September 1938.

How was appeasement put into action at the Munich conference?

In what came to be known as the Munich Agreement, Germany was allowed to annex

the Sudetenland. In return, Hitler promised to respect the sovereignty of the rest of Czechoslovakia. He also promised to settle future disputes by peaceful means. Britain and France should in part be blamed for Hitler's bold moves that finally ended with the outbreak of the Second World War. In dealing with Hitler, they followed the policy of "appeasement" or satisfying Hitler's demands. Above all, Chamberlain was the leading proponent of the policy of appeasement. He hoped to maintain peace and stabilize Europe by making concessions to Hitler. However, it did not take much time to prove that appeasement was ineffective in dealing with Hitler and Mussolini. It rather encouraged Hitler to continue with his plans of aggressive expansion. Moreover, the attitude of the western power at Munich confirmed his opinion that the west would not go to war with Germany in defence of an East European power.

Why did Britain and France refrain to react to Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia?

When Hitler violated the Treaty of Versailles by introducing national military service and occupying the demilitarized Rhineland, Britain and France did nothing. After the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, Britain and France refrained from taking effective action. They feared to antagonize Mussolini and push him into alliance with Hitler. Despite their caution, however, the Fascist military bloc was formed. In 1936 Mussolini announced the formation of a Rome – Berlin Axis, which was the alignment of Italy and Germany. In the same year the two powers as well as Japan signed the Anti – Comintern Pact (an anti – communist alliance). Soviet Russia was willing to join the western powers against Germany and its allies. Britain and France refused to accept this policy because they feared that the formation of such a front would provoke war. In addition, the British and French governments and their bourgeoisie elite disliked the USSR as much as Nazi Germany. When Hitler invaded Austria, Britain and France refused to be involved in the crisis. Finally, in the Munich Agreement they attempted to satisfy Hitler at the expense of Czechoslovakia. On his way home after the Munich Agreement, Chamberlain was confident that there would be no more trouble from the Nazis. He trusted that Hitler would keep his promises. However, far from keeping his promises, Hitler was encouraged to make further moves. On 15 March, 1939, only six months after the Munich Agreement, Hitler sent his armies into Czechoslovakia and occupied the western part of the country. In eastern Czechoslovakia a German puppet state called

Slovakia was set up. In the same month, Hitler turned toward Eastern Europe where he annexed Memel from Lithuania. It was clear that Poland would be the next victim.

What were the major terms of agreement included in the Soviet- German Non-Aggression Pact of 1939?

Now it became clear to the British and French governments that the policy of appeasement had utterly failed, though Chamberlain himself still hoped he could get a firm agreement with Hitler. Therefore, they decided to increase their armaments and also pledged themselves to give military assistance to Poland, Greece, Rumania and Turkey, if these countries were invaded by Nazi Germany. Moreover, despite mutual distrust between the Soviets and the Western powers, the latter wanted to consolidate the anti-German alliance by including Soviet Russia. When they requested the Soviet Union to join them against the Nazis, the Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin, asked in effect a free hand for the USSR in Eastern Europe, especially in the Baltic republics and Poland. Chamberlain refused to accept Stalin's terms. This pushed Stalin to turn to Hitler. The consequence was the agreement known as the Nazi – Soviet Non – Aggression Pact which was signed on 23, August 1939. In the agreement the two sides pledged to remain neutral if one of them was at war with a third power. They also agreed to divide eastern Europe into their spheres of influence. In this respect, Poland was to be partitioned into west and east to be occupied by Germany and Soviet Russia respectively. In addition, Finland and the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and (later) Lithuania were recognized as part of the Soviet sphere of influence.

Except its diplomatic value both Stalin and Hitler from the very beginning knew that the pact would have no lasting effect. Stalin calculated that the agreement would give him time to strengthen Soviet military power. Hitler also wanted the agreement because it would relieve him of the need to fight the Soviets while Germany fought a war elsewhere, without having to worry about an eastern front against the USSR. The British and French leaders realized that the Nazi – Soviet Pact destroyed the last opportunity of stopping Hitler without war. But Hitler still hoped that the west would not act against him.

Military Aspects of the War

i. The "Blitzkrieg", the "Sitzkrieg" and German Success on the Western Front.

Did the "blitzkrieg" result in the desired effect in Poland? How?

September 1, 1939 was a historic date as regards to the Second World War. On this day Hitler's army crossed the Polish-German frontier from different directions and invaded Poland. This event marked the beginning of the Second World War. Two days later Britain and France declared war on Germany. Whether this declaration of war rescued Poland is a matter to be seen in the subsequent paragraphs. In spite of its numerical superiority the Polish army could not stand the well armed German attackers. In their invasion of Poland the Germans employed a war strategy known as "blitzkrieg", which means a lightning-war. The key principle in this strategy was to win a quick and decisive victory through the coordinated attacks of the German air force and fast moving ground forces. The Germans made effective use of this strategy in their invasion of Poland where a massive aerial strike was followed by a swift advance of the German infantry and armoured divisions.

The "blitzkrieg" shattered whatever Polish resistance, and in less than a month time much of Poland was overrun by the German army. On the 30th of September German troops entered into the Polish capital. Warsaw. Thus, the Poles, with no direct assistance from their western allies which nominally declared war on Germany were defeated. Germany annexed Danzig and over 30,000 square miles of Polish territory.

In the mean time the Soviets advanced quickly into eastern Poland to get its share of the spoils. Russia took over 77,000 square miles of Eastern Poland. At about the same time Soviets also forced the Baltic states to accept the establishment of Soviet military bases inside their territory and later incorporated the Baltic states into the USSR (1939-40). Moreover, the Soviets fought a difficult but finally victorious war with Finland and annexed some Finnish territory. These moves gave the Soviets some measure of security against the Nazi invasion. But the USSR did not use the time gained by the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact as well as it should have done, for which Stalin is now blamed.

For about seven months after the Polish surrender, there was no real fighting on the Western Front. This period has been termed the "Phony" war. It was also called the "Sitzkrieg" or Sitting War. The Phony war period came to an end on 29 April, 1940 when the German army invaded Denmark and Norway. Denmark surrendered after only a few hours but the Norwegian resistance took the Germans longer to overcome. They

overcame the resistance only after the strength of the German navy was considerably reduced. The next victims of German invasion on the Western Front were the Netherlands, Belgium and France. On 10 May 1940, the Netherlands was attacked. At the same time, the Germans attacked Belgium and France along the Meuse river and through the Ardennes hills, which Britain and France believed, wrongly, to be impossible terrain for tanks.

The French and British High Commands did not anticipate German war strategy. They expected the Germans to attack through the plains of Belgium as they had done in 1914, in World War I. Because of this, British and French forces moved into Belgium to defend what they thought to be the main German line of attack. But the Germans broke into France through the Ardennes. In only a few weeks the Germans, having broken through the French line and trapped the Allied army in Belgium, compelled this Allied force to retreat to Dunkirk, a port in northern France. This army, numbering more than 300,000 troops, was saved from falling into German hands by evacuating across the English Channel, but all the equipment was left behind.

Why did Mussolini declare war on Britain and France at the time he did?

The rapid success of the Germans on the Western Front prompted Mussolini to declare war on Britain and France on 10 June, 1940. Mussolini mistakenly calculated that the war was closer to its end, while it was just beginning, and wanted to be on the winning side. Four days later, on June 14, Paris surrendered to the Germans. Then the French signed an armistice with Germany, which came to effect on 22 June, 1940. According to the terms of the armistice, Germany occupied northern France, including the territory along the Atlantic coast to the Spanish border. In southern France a puppet government was set up under Marshal Henri Petain in the town of Vichy, hence the "Vichy government".

ii. The Battle of Britain

After the fall of France, Hitler gave orders to open attack on Britain. The offensive was to be launched from the air. What forced Hitler's decision in favour of an aerial strike was the fact that Germany had to win air supremacy before a full scale invasion of Britain. Therefore, Hitler aimed at weakening Britain's defence capacity by destroying the British Royal Air Force (RAF) and its airfields. The British government was now led

by Winston Churchill who had replaced Neville Chamberlain as Prime Minister of Britain in May 1940. In his first speech to the House of Commons, Churchill clearly stated his government's policy in favour of war against Nazi Germany as follows:

#You ask, what is our policy? I will say: It is to wage war, by sea, land, and air, with all our might and with all the strength that God can give us: to wage war against a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crime. That is our policy. You ask, What is our aim? I can answer in one word: Victory – victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terrors; victory, however hard and long the road may be; for without victory, there is no survival.\$

This certainly was a clear message about the firm stand the British government had already adopted by the time Germany's air attack inaugurated the Battle of Britain.

The Battle of Britain had two phases. It started in early August when the "Luftwaffe" (the German Air Force) began bombing southern Britain. During the first phase, i.e., in August and September, the Luftwaffe launched its attack in daylight. The aim of this attack was to wipe out British airfields and fighter planes. But the British RAF used the new detection instrument, "Radar" (then called RDF – Radio Direction Finding) to locate the attackers beforehand. Consequently, by counter-attacking, the RAF considerably reduced the German bomber and fighter planes in air battles. The decisive air actions of the first phase took place between 15 and 21 September, during which the Germans lost some 120 planes.

What was the tactical change the Germans introduced in the second phase of the Battle of Britain?

The second phase of the Battle of Britain started in early October, 1940. At this stage the Germans changed their tactic from attacking in daylight to night bombing. Through night bombing of London and British industrial centres, Hitler wanted to destroy British industrial production and to terrify the population which might induce the British government to ask for peace. Despite large scale destruction, however, the "Luftwaffe" was unable to paralyse production or break the morale of the British people. By the end of November, it became clear that Germany had lost the Battle of Britain. This was Hitler's first major defeat since the outbreak of World War II. Although Britain could defend itself from German invasion, it was not strong enough to send an army back into

Europe. Hitler could therefore turn against the USSR in the east.

iii. German Invasion of the Soviet Union

After his army's failure in the Battle of Britain, Hitler decided on the invasion of the Soviet Union whose defeat he thought would be accomplished before winter. Of all things he did not want to share his hegemony over Europe with a communist dictator, Stalin. From his invasion Hitler hoped to get what he called the "Lebensraum" or living space which the vast Soviet territory could provide for German settlers. He also planned to take the wheat of the Ukraine and the oil fields of the Caucasus. With these aims, the Germans started their attack on 22 June, 1941. The Soviets responded with a so-called scorched earth policy, which called for destruction of everything that could be of use to the invaders, while fighting hard as they were pushed back to the interior of the country. The Germans advanced very fast and in November 1941 they had already penetrated about 960 kms deep into the Soviet Union. By then Kiev, the capital city of the Ukraine, had fallen.

Leningrad, one of the major cities, was cut off from any land connection with the rest of the Soviet Union and put under siege. The Germans were at the outskirts of Moscow. Although the Soviets were hard pressed by the enemy, they fought with the utmost patriotism. They rallied to the cry "Behind us is Moscow – there is no room left for retreat!" Consequently, in December 1941 when the Russian winter set in, the Germans were prevented from taking Moscow and Leningrad. Hitler's "blitzkrieg" failed to bring the desired results in Russia.

Why was the "blitzkrieg" ineffective in the Russian campaign?

The Attack on Pearl Harbour

Since the conquest of Manchuria in 1931, the Japanese had been engaged in the task of achieving their ultimate goal of expansion in Asia and the Pacific. In 1937 they launched a full scale invasion over China which resulted in the establishment of a Japanese-dominated government in part of China in March, 1940. In the months that followed the Japanese government made it official that its plan was to establish a "New Order in Greater East Asia". To this end, the Japanese adopted the slogan "Asia for the Asians". They declared that the goal of the Japanese government was to establish a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere". In fact, the Japanese aim was to replace Western

imperialism by Japanese imperialism and "Co-prosperity" for other Asian peoples was only a cover. As a step in fulfilling this goal, Japan invaded the Tonkin province in Indochina. In response, the United States extended a loan to China and stopped the export of scrap iron to Japan. This prompted Japan to sign a Tripartite Treaty with Germany and Italy widely known as the "Berlin - Rome-Tokyo Triangle". In the treaty the three powers pledged to assist one another in the event of attack on any one of them.

When and how did relations between Japan and the USA start to get sour?

In July 1941 Japan extended its control over the southern part of Indochina. This measure strained relations between Japan and the United States, and soon trade relations between the two countries was seriously affected. The USA put increasing economic pressure on Japan so as to force its withdrawal from Indochina and China. Imports of oil and other essential raw materials were denied to Japan by the USA, and later by Britain. Japan had only two choices: to abandon her conquests or seize oilfields and areas with raw materials in South East Asia. Japan obviously chose the latter. But to seize and hold the oil and raw materials which Japan needed in South East Asia, Japan would need to destroy US power in the region. Therefore, Japan decided to smash US naval and air power in the Pacific and East Asia, if negotiations could not change US policy in favour of Japan.

When the negotiations failed to bring about the expected changes on 7 December 1941, Japanese bombers launched a surprise attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbour, in Hawaii. In the attack of December, 1941, the Japanese sank 19 American ships and destroyed 188 planes. However, the US aircraft carriers, not present in Pearl Harbour at the time, were saved. The attack also killed more than 2,400 people and wounded another 1100 or more. On the following day the United States declared war on Japan. On 11 December, 1941 Germany and Italy, in keeping with their agreement in the Tripartite Treaty, declared war on the United States. Japan for a time made rapid advances in the Pacific and South East Asia. Hong Kong, the Philippines, Burma, Malaya were occupied.

iv. The World at War

The Pearl Harbour incident made the war fully a world war. The Japanese raid on Pearl Harbour and the consequent entry of the USA into the war upset the balance of power in the ongoing war. Until then, Japan's expansion had gone virtually unopposed. This attack had the immediate effect of solidifying the alliances on both sides. On 8 December America's declaration of war on Japan was accompanied by a British declaration of war. On 11 December Germany and Italy declared war on the USA. In August, 1942 the war was being fought in several theatres situated in eastern Europe, North Africa and the Mediterranean, Burma and China, and the Atlantic and the Pacific. In the meantime, Italian troops had already invaded Egypt and Greece. the region. Therefore, Japan decided to smash US naval and air power in the Pacific and East Asia, if negotiations could not change US policy in favour of Japan.

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In the winter of 1941-42 Soviet forces opened a counter-offensive and pushed the Germans back some distance from Moscow. But in the summer of 1942 the Germans opened a new offensive against the Soviet Union in the south. German troops mounted a major attack against Stalingrad, a major industrial centre on the Volga river. The city also served as one of the Soviets' lines of communication. This city was named after the Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin. The fall of the city to the Germans would have a severe psychological impact on the Soviets' national pride. Given this, Stalin and the Soviets were determined to hold the city. Hitler, on his part, was equally determined to take the city and kept on ordering German forces to continue with their assault. For weeks, fierce battles were fought for each building, or street. In November 1942, the Soviets launched

a major counter-attack against the Germans fighting in and near the city. In the counter-attack the Soviets encircled the Germans fighting in Stalingrad. At the time, the Germans were already suffering from the Russian winter. On 1 February, 1943 the Germans were forced to surrender. This brought an end to the battle of Stalingrad in which a large part of the German army was destroyed. The Stalingrad battle was a decisive turning point in the course of World War II. In Europe on theatre of war the heaviest fighting was done by the Soviet armies, and the Soviet armies had the heaviest losses.

How did the Allies won the war in Africa?

Elsewhere, fierce battles were still raging. In North Africa, the German forces commanded by General Erwin Rommel had dominated the desert war since 1941. In 1942 they had nearly taken Egypt. In late October, 1942 the British and Commonwealth troops under General Bernard Montgomery launched a major attack against Rommel's troops. Allied forces landed in Algeria and Morocco in November 1942. Fierce battles continued in the desert and in Tunisia which came to an end with the victory of Allied troops. In May, 1943, the Axis forces in North Africa surrendered to the Allies. Then followed, in July 1943, the invasion of Italy. Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy, deposed Mussolini and appointed Marshal Pietro Badoglio as Prime Minister of Italy. Although Marshal Badoglio promised Hitler that Italy would continue in the war on the Axis side, he signed a secret act of surrender to the Allies. Suspecting this, Hitler sent German forces into Italy which occupied Rome and rescued Mussolini who was put in control of northern Italy. Heavy fighting went on in Italy until the end of the war but on 4 June, 1944, Allied troops occupied Rome. Near the end of the war, Mussolini was captured by Italian communists and shot by them.

v. End of the War

The landing of US, British and Canadian forces at Normandy (North France) or, the invasion of Normandy, on 6 June, 1944 was a major break through in the Allied reconquest of Europe; This invasion was named Operation Overlord. The commander of the Allied troops, the American General Dwight Eisenhower, organized around 150,000 troops, 5,300 ships and 12,000 planes for the invasion. In preparation for the attack, Allied forces and its war machines and supplies had assembled in southern England.

The Germans knew that there would be an invasion. Nevertheless, they did not know when and where the invasion would take place. Because of this, they spread their armies all along the French coast facing the English Channel. The Allied troops launched the attack along a 96 kms stretch of the Normandy coast. Within a month and a half, they had liberated almost all of France. In the meantime, General Charles de Gaulle, the leader of Free France, triumphantly entered Paris on 25 August 1944.

When did the Japanese suffered a major setback in the Pacific war?

Meanwhile, on the Eastern Front, the Soviets made rapid advances. They liberated the Soviet cities and territories one after the other. In July 1944, they crossed into Polish territory. Between August and October 1944, the major part of Eastern and Central Europe was under Soviet control.

In the Pacific, US forces were in a life and death struggle against the Japanese. The battle of Midway Island in 1942, fought entirely by carrier borne aircraft, was a decisive defeat of the Japanese navy suffered. From then on the US forces were pushing the Japanese back in the Pacific and by 1944 were getting ready to invade mainland Japan. At the end of 1944, the Allied troops, advancing from the west, invaded Western Germany. Hitler decided to mount a counter - attack against the Allies through the Ardennes in order to halt their advance. Accordingly, the Germans launched the counter-attack in mid-December 1944, but failed to check the Allies' advance. Indeed, this was the last desperate offensive the Germans made before they surrendered to the Allies. In the east the Soviet Red Army had already reached to the German frontier liberating east European countries on their way. On 16 April, Marshal Zhukov, commander of the Russian forces, launched what proved to be the final attack on Berlin. Adolf Hitler did not live to see Germany's surrender to the Allies. He committed suicide a week before the capitulation of Berlin on May 2, 1945, to the Soviet troops. One of Hitler's last measures was to make Admiral Karl Doenitz his successor. On May 7, 1945, Karl Doenitz authorized Germany's surrender to the Allies. On that same day, General Alfred Jodl surrendered the German forces in the west to General Eisenhower. The next day, the German forces in the east surrendered to Marshal Georgi Zhukov. Thus 8 May, 1945 became VE (Victory in Europe) which marked the end of the war in Europe.

Despite Germany's surrender, the Second World War was not yet over. The Allies had to

fight the Japanese in Asia and the Pacific who continued fighting after VE day. The Japanese surrender was forced by the use of the newly invented atomic bomb. On 6 August, 1945, the first of the atomic bombs, was dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. On August 9, the second bomb was dropped on another Japanese city, Nagasaki. The bombs caused immense human and material destruction.

On the days of the bombing, 80,000 people in Hiroshima and 40,000 people in Nagasaki lost their lives. Long after the bombing, victims continued to suffer and die from radiation sickness. As a result, the death toll rose to about 200,000

According to the US President, Harry S. Truman (Roosevelt had died in April 1945), the atomic bombs were used to hasten Japanese surrender. However, Soviet historians argue that in terms of military strategy the use of the bombs was not required. Since Japan was the only Axis power still in the war, its surrender could have been forced without those bombs. Therefore, they concluded in using the bombs the US intended to demonstrate its power to the Soviets which would have an impact on post-war international relation. Soviet and some non-Soviet historians have also argued that the USSR's declaration of war on Japan in August 1945 did more to make Japan surrender than the use of the atomic bombs. Apart from this, the US might have used the atomic bombs against Japan to take revenge for, the Pearl Harbour catastrophe. In any case, on 15 August 1945 the Japanese Emperor, Hirohito, signed the unconditional surrender of Japan that put an official end to the Second World War.

Consequences of the War

Compared to World War I, the Second World War caused far more damage to material property, and even greater loss of human life. Several factors accounted for this. First of all, the Second World War was fought in several theatres (areas). Secondly, in addition to the deaths in the fighting, there were mass killings in concentration camps. Thirdly, air raids, starvation and disease made civilian casualties very high. Finally, the air raids caused serious destruction on material property.

It has been estimated that more than 70 million people fought in the war. It is impossible to give a conclusive figure about war deaths, but probably about 50 million might have died in action. The USSR lost over 20 million of its population and China probably several millions but the figure for China is uncertain.

Material destruction caused by the Second World War was far greater than in the First World War. Almost all ports in Germany, France and other countries were destroyed. Roads and railways were damaged by repeated bombings. Many bridges were destroyed together with a large number of locomotives and railway waggons. Many cities and towns and industrial centres such as the Ruhr were ruined. Warsaw had to be totally built anew. In general, material damages to property have been estimated at more than two thousand billion dollars (\$ 2,000,000,000,000).

What do we mean by the "Holocaust"?

Perhaps the most painful memory of the war was the "Holocaust". Literally, holocaust meant wholesale, complete destruction. But in World War II, it meant the mass murder of European Jews by the orders of Hitler and Nazi officials. As a result of Hitler's plan of eliminating Jews and other minorities, 12 million people were slaughtered. Of these, about 6 million were European Jews, while the rest were minorities like Gypsies, and Slavs. The mass killing was carried out in concentration camps, among which the most infamous were Auschwitz, Dachau, Buchenwald, Belsen and Nordhausen. In these camps the Jews and others worked and lived under horrible conditions. Many died of starvation and disease.

Others were made victims of cruel experiments conducted by Nazi doctors. Jews, however, were usually marched into gas chambers where they were killed with poison gas. Such Nazi atrocities had been generally unknown at least in their full extent, until they were revealed towards the end of the war. The European communist states had also built, earlier in 1949, their own economic organization called the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. It was also referred to as the Comecon. The Comecon was intended to strengthen economic ties among socialist states.

The growing fear caused by nuclear weapons brought statesmen in both camps to their senses to seek solutions for the relaxation of Cold War tensions. This resulted in the beginning of new policies such as peaceful co-existence and détente. Under Premier Nikita Khrushchev, before he was removed from power in 1966, the Soviets adopted a new policy toward the West. This policy was known as "peaceful co-existence". To Nikita Khrushchev, peaceful co-existence meant that the Soviets would compete with the West, but would avoid war. Détente was the West's equivalent for the Soviet term,

peaceful co-existence. Clearly, there was a desire in both camps to relax the Cold War tensions. In spite of this, until the 1970s there was little progress in arms limitation talks. The first positive move towards détente was the conclusion of the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1968. The treaty aimed at preventing the expansion of nuclear weapons beyond the countries that already possessed them. By the end of 1971, all permanent members in the UN Security Council were nuclear powers. Although the treaty did not prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons, it promoted renewed efforts to limit the armaments of the super powers. In November, 1969 a disarmament negotiation, known as Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) was opened.

With the beginning of SALT, there arose a growing hope that the further build-up of nuclear weapons, with their enormous cost, might be minimized. After a long delay, SALT was concluded in 1972. The move toward détente reached its peak in 1975, when negotiation on SALT was opened. But before the negotiation could get any further, new East-West Cold War tensions began. The tensions continued until the Cold War itself finally came to an end, as a result of the two successful summit meetings (1986- 1987) between President Ronald Reagan of the USA and President Mikhail Gorbachev of the USSR.

There soon followed, at the beginning of the 1990s, the fall of communism in the USSR as well as in East and Central Europe, and the break up of the Soviet Union into independent republics.

Birth of the League of Nations

More than once, in earlier centuries, proposals aimed at the establishment of a permanent group or an international organization had been drawn up. Such an organization was expected to promote world peace. Many European states men had drafted plans to achieve this goal. Their dream came true when the League of Nations was established at the end of the First World War. The League of Nations emerged as the first international organization meant to keep world peace. In fact, the covenant of the League, that is its constitution, had already been incorporated into the Treaty of Versailles. The underlined objective of the League is stated to be settling disputes through peaceful means such as conciliation, arbitration and judicial procedures.

The formation of the League of Nations was the result of the tireless efforts of

President Wilson of the USA and his famous 14 points. The last of his Fourteen Points states that: The Second World War had also far-reaching political consequences. It helped to accelerate the struggle for national liberation from colonialism in Asia and Africa, hence, the emergence of many new independent states in Asia and Africa after World War II. The war also led to the development of new international alignments. The USA and the USSR became the super powers of the post-1945 period. Since 1945 there has been a series of crises in almost all parts of the world. In such crises, the super powers always took opposite sides. On the whole, the great problems created by the Second World War took many years to solve and in fact, some of the problems have not yet been solved.

7.2 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 they 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.

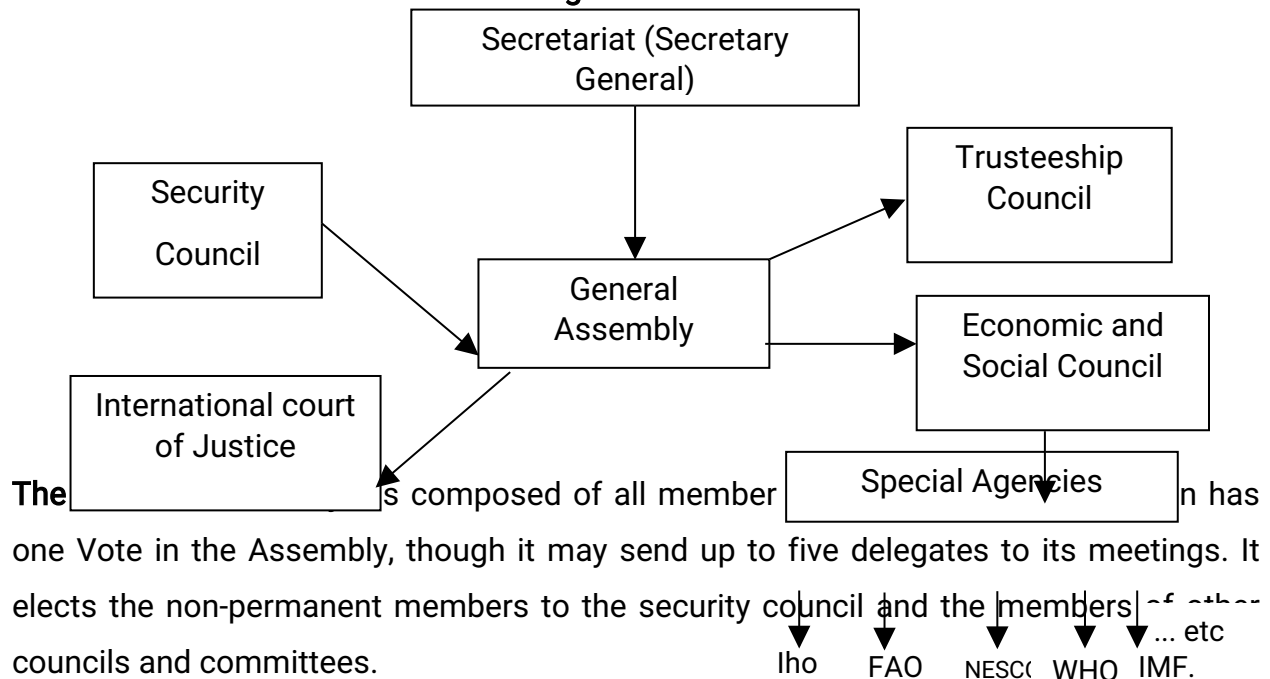
Between August- November 1944, a conference of delegates from allied countries met at Dumbarton Oaks, (near Washington D.C) to implement the Moscow declaration of 1943. In June 1945, at San-Francisco, representatives of 50 nations approved the charter of the future United Nations Organization UNO. Then 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. Promote respect for human rights without distinction as to race, sex language, or religion.

The Structure of the United Nations Organization



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 the 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 General is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council for a period of five years. The first UN. Secretary General was Trygve Lie of Norway. In 1952 he was followed by Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden who died in 1961 in a plane crash, in Congo. U-Thant of Burma, who succeeded Hammarskjold served the office for two terms until 1966. Kurt Waldheim of Austria succeeded U-Thant in 1971 and was succeeded by Perez de Cuellar of Peru. Then came Butros, Butros Gali of Egypt Kofi Anan of Ghana held the secretary Genership since 1977.

The Economic and Social Council

It is assigned by the General Assembly for three-year term. Its responsibility is to handle matters related to economic and social affairs. It discusses, study and make recommendations on social, economic, humanitarian and environmental issues. Through its specialized agencies it accomplished remarkable works. These specialized agencies are the International Labour Organization (ILO), the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and others.

UN-Successes and Limitations: Since 1945, the UN has achieved impressive successes. 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.

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.

7.3. The Emergence of the Antagonistic Super-Powers: the U.S.A. Versus the U.S.S.R

World War II was mainly fought in Europe. It resulted in greater destruction in the continent. The economies of the leading European powers, i.e France, Britain, Germany, were seriously affected by this war. Thus, their attempts at economic recovery turned out to be a challenging task. Politically and militarily, they were exhausted and weakened, as a result of the war.

Unlike the above group of states, however, the U.S.A and the U.S.S.R came out of the Second World War much stronger than they had been before. As a result, they styled themselves as the super- powers of the post-World War II era.

Before the Second World War, the U.S.A had been following the policy of isolationism. That policy was based on the assumption that the U.S.A could live in peace, if it avoided involvement in the affairs of Europe and the world. But the two World Wars proved that this policy was wrong, as you have learned in Units Four and Six of this textbook. Therefore, after 1945, the U.S.A adopted a policy of active engagement in Europe as well as in other parts of the world.

Except for the island of Hawaii, the territories of the U.S.A had not been battle - grounds for World War II. Indeed, the U.S.A had served as supplier of war materials, food and manufactured goods for the Allied forces and states, during World War II. As a result, its agriculture and industry had expanded during the war. Consequently, it came out of the Second World War richer and more powerful than it had been in the pre-war period.

Between 1928 and 1945, the Gross National Product (G.N.P) of the U.S.A had grown from 91 billion dollars to 213 billion dollars. After the Second World War, the average income of an American citizen was two times than that of a Briton (British citizen) and seven times than that of a Russian. In 1950, more than a half of the world's total motor vehicles were found in the U.S.A. But this is not to deny the existence of poor quarters (slums) and very poor Americans in the U.S.A, owing to the uneven distribution of wealth. Nonetheless, the U.S.A was by far the richest country in the world, during the immediate post-war period.

In 1945, the U.S.A. had developed the atom bomb, the most destructive weapon that human kind had ever made. It was atom bombs that were dropped at the two Japanese

cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, at the end of World War II. No other state had this weapon until the U.S.S.R built its own in 1949. Consequently, the USA became a super-power in every sense of the word.

The U.S.S.R had suffered greatly from World War II. It lost twenty million of its citizens, and many more millions were wounded. Its economy was also in ruins. Russia's war economy had to be changed into peace-time economy. Its industries, about 100,000 collective farms, 5 million homes and some 65 thousand kilometers of rail roads had to be restored and built. Reconstruction and re-settlement were a policy priority in the immediate post-war period. In 1945, the Gross National Product of the Soviet Union (Russia) amounted to a third of that of the U.S.A. But by 1953 the gap was considerably narrowed. Since 1949, the U.S.S.R became the second country competing for the great power status the USA had already enjoyed. By 1949, two super-powers could be said to have existed in the world. Those were the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. No nation, other than the two, possessed the atomic bomb at the time, though later more states developed it. Moreover, the U.S.A and the U.S.S.R. followed two different ideologies (political philosophies) that were opposed to one another. The U.S.A followed the road of capitalism and the U.S.S.R. that of communism. Each was the leader of a group of nations that followed a similar ideology. Each one tried to strengthen itself, and spread its ideology at the expense of the other.

7.3. Division of the World into East and West and the Cold War

At the end of the Second World War, nearly all the countries liberated from Nazi German and Fascist Italian rule in Eastern and Central Europe became socialist (communist) states. Those countries were Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Albania and Eastern Germany. Each of them took the official label of "People's Democratic" state. Later, nations like China (Beijing), Cuba, North Korea, North Vietnam, etc. joined the socialist group of states. The socialist states of the world made up the Eastern bloc. They were led by the U.S.S.R upon which most of these states relied for support and protection.

However, later Yugoslavia, and China shook off dependence on the U.S.S.R. But, the rest of the socialist states remained under the guidance of the U.S.S.R.

The West was made up of the capitalist nations of the world. The major states in this

camp were the U.S.A., the United Kingdom (Britain), France, the Federal Republic of Germany, (West Germany), Canada, Italy, etc. The champion of the capitalist world was the U.S.A. Thus, the world was divided into two camps (blocs), known as the East and the West, since the end of the Second World War. The East (the socialist camp) and the West (the capitalist camp) were rivals. There was a persistent struggle between the two to expand their ideology and sphere of influence in the immediate postwar period. It was this struggle, between the East and the West and the state of tension that came to be referred to as the Cold War.

As leader of the socialist bloc, the U.S.S.R had all the Central and Eastern European states behind it in the Cold War. The socialist states of Europe were all under the rule of communist dictators. European communist governments shut off their peoples from the rest of the world. That was why Winston Churchill of Britain commented in 1946 saying that an "iron curtain" was drawn between the European East and West.

In 1945, the U.S.S.R. announced to the world that it was prepared to face the West. Malenkov, a notable diplomat and a future Prime Minister of the U.S.S.R. speaking on Soviet foreign policy said: There (are) cases in history when the fruits of victory slipped out of the victor's hands. This must not happen to us . . . We must, in the first place, consolidate (build) and strengthen further (our) Soviet Socialist state . . . And we must remember that our friends will respect us only so long as we are strong .

. . There is no respect for the weak ones, and the weak ones get beaten.

In the same manner, in what came to be known as the Truman Doctrine, the American President, Harry Truman, made it clear to the world that his country's relations with the U.S.S.R. would be carried on the understanding that: Unless Russia is faced with an iron fist and strong language, war is in the making. Only one language do they understand --- "How many divisions have you?" --- I'm tired of babying the Soviets.

In 1947 elaborating on the above U.S. policy of containment, Truman further added: It would be the policy of the United States to support free peoples, who are resisting attempted subjugation (dictatorial rule) by armed minorities or by outside pressure.

The main features of the Cold War were the following.

- * A war of words (strong propaganda war).

- * Ideological struggle.

- * Weapons race (competition to build more and more destructive weapons).
- * Competition in espionage (spying).
- * Economic conflicts (rivalries).
- * Expansion in Europe and elsewhere by all means, short of armed fighting.
- * Building military alliances.
- * Building military bases in different parts of the world.

In 1947 President Truman announced his determination to “contain” or stop the spread of Soviet power. Thus began the policy of containment which explains the whole essence of US policy as regards to the Soviet Union. The Truman Doctrine was one among the series of plans and programmes through which the policy of containment had been put into action. The name Truman Doctrine was derived from the famous speech of the president in front of the American congress in 1947. Through the Truman Doctrine, the U.S. gave financial aid to Greece and Turkey. As a result of this aid, the two governments successfully overcame communist attempts in their countries to take power. That was the U.S. policy of containment, which was extended to other parts of the world, too.

Another plan which was part of containment was known as the Marshall Plan. The Marshall Plan – so named after the US Secretary of State George C. Marshall – was the US program to rebuild Europe after the Second World War. In June 1947, George C. Marshall announced the U.S plan to re-build Europe. The plan called upon the European nations to cooperate in drawing up a plan for economic recovery. According to the Marshall Plan, the USA would provide money and equipment required for implementation of the plan. On the basis of this aid, George C. Marshall invited all countries of Europe to take part in the program. Apparently, the invitation included the Soviet Union as well. But the Soviets not only refused to take part in the program, but also prevented the East, communist governments of Central and Eastern Europe from taking part in the program. Those countries which participated benefited a lot from the program. This was because, under the terms of the Marshall Plan, the USA supplied 9 billion dollars in four years between 1948 and 1952, to re-build Europe. The plan enabled Western Europe to regain and even to surpass pre-war production rates in a few years. The Soviets took the plan as a US measure to strengthen non-communist countries in

Europe against the Soviet Union in particular and the communist camp in general. Consequently, the Cold War tensions were heightened.

As was stated above, the Cold War between the super powers manifested itself in various ways. One of its manifestations was the formation of hostile (opposing) military alliances. In forming a military alliance, it was the US-led West which took the lead. The formation of a military alliance among the countries of the West was precipitated by two crises. The crises occurred in Czechoslovakia and in the city of Berlin one after the other. In February 1948, Czechoslovakia was taken over by its communists and became a Soviet satellite. The Czechoslovak crisis was followed by another crisis known as the Berlin blockade (1948-49). This was Stalin's measure to force the western powers out of their occupied zones of Berlin. Just as Germany was divided into four zones of occupation, the city of Berlin was also divided into four sectors (the US, British, French and Russian). But the city was situated deep inside the Soviet Zone of Germany. When Cold War tensions heightened, Stalin cut off all land and water routes leading to the sectors of Berlin under the Western Allies. The people of West Berlin suffered, from shortage of every kind of supplies. The Western powers started to supply Berlin by air and in the end the Soviet blockade was lifted.

The above - mentioned two crises increased Western concern about military defense and quickened the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. The founding members of NATO included Belgium Britain, Canada, Denmark, Norway, France, Iceland, Italy, the Netherlands, Luxemburg and the United States. In 1952, Greece and Turkey also joined the alliance. In response to this measure, the Soviet Union and its East European satellites also signed a military alliance known as the Warsaw Pact in the Polish capital in 1955. The original founders of the Warsaw Pact were the U.S.S.R, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. Members of each alliance system agreed that an attack on one of them would be considered as an attack on all.

The formation of antagonistic military alliances strengthened the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union. The nuclear arms race seems to have already started after the first atomic bombs were used on Japanese cities. This was because Stalin right away ordered the development of these weapons in Russia at top speed.

Nonetheless, until 1949 the United States was the only country that possessed the atomic bomb. As long as this situation continued, no country was likely to attack the United States. But the USA lost its status as the sole owner of the atomic bomb in 1949, when the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb.

Farther than this, scientists and engineers in both Russia and the U.S.A. were working on new ways to deliver the destructive bombs. In place of planes, experts in both countries sought to build rocket- powered missiles, which could travel great distances at high speeds. Eventually, the Soviets won the contest. On October 4, 1957 they put an artificial satellite, Sputnik I, into orbit around the earth. In terms of military strategy, this was a great success, because rockets, which could lift a satellite, could deliver a bomb to any spot on the earth. On January 31, 1958 the United States also sent its first artificial satellite into orbit. This achievement made it clear that each country could send missiles over the other's territory from home bases. As a result, both the Soviets and the Americans feared the possible outbreak of a nuclear war, but still continued to improve and invent more and more destructive weapons.

The problem with nuclear bombs was not only their destructive power. There was also the problem of release of a deadly radioactive material. In addition, the cost of developing and building nuclear weapons and missiles was very expensive. The super powers had to spend huge sums of money on weapons and complex defence systems. Another danger with nuclear weapons was lack of guarantee to stop their proliferation, that is, spread to other countries, as in fact has happened.

Military bases were also built by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R at different strategic sites all over the world to safeguard their respective spheres of influence from the reach of the other. In other parts of the world, ground, naval, and air force bases were also built with the same goals.

There was also strong rivalry in the economic field. For instance, the West European nations formed the European Economic Community (E.E.C) in 1957. The original founders of the E.E.C were France, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg. Later, other West European states, including Britain, joined the E.E.C. The E.E.C. has now developed into the European Union. The E.E.C. was built originally to enable its member-states to compete better in

world economic activities and relations. "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenant for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike". Although W. Wilson succeeded in realizing the formation of League, he was unable to get the approval of the US senate on Americas membership into the League. Thus the US did not become a member of the League. All big nations were finally became members of the League. In 1921 the League membership rose to 51, in 1932 to 57 and in 1934 to 60. However, Germany was not allowed to join League membership until 1926, and Russia until 1934.

The League's headquarter was located in Geneva, Switzerland, where the first Assembly that inaugurated the birth of the organization, met in 1920.

The League consisted of different organs, namely:

- * General Assembly
- * Council
- * Permanent Court of Justice or Court of Arbitration
- * Secretariat

Various commissions and committees. In principle, the Assembly was the highest organ of the League. In reality, however, the council was the most decisive organ of the League. The council dealt with issues related to peace and security. Members of the council were: Great Britain, France, Italy and, Japan and later the number of the council increased to nine. These council was dominated by the Big Three. For the reason that the USA declined to join the League and the Soviet Russia had not been accorded official recognition, the places reserved for these powers on the council remained vacant. But Germany was granted a permanent seat on her admission to the League in 1926. In 1933, Japan and Germany announced their intention to withdraw from membership and in 1934, Russia was admitted and received a permanent seat in the council. The Permanent Court of Justice was also concerned with legal issues, while the General Assembly was primarily an administrative organ. The commissions and committees were responsible for issues related to labor, the mandated territories and many other issues from time to time.

During the first years of its existence, the League successfully handled the mediation of

some national disputes. However, as years went by the weaknesses and inefficiency of the League began to manifest. This was that the League had no effective mechanism for averting war or stopping aggression. This was because it had no armed force to enforce its decisions. Thus, when some states began to violate the principle of the League by following aggressive policies, the League was unable to stop war and this brought an end to any influence of the organization (League) for instance, it failed to stop Japanese aggression on Manchuria in 1931 and the Italian aggression on Ethiopia in 1935-36. In 1931 Japan occupied the Chinese province of Manchuria and turned it into a puppet Manchu state called Manchuko. The League criticized Japan but nothing else and the only result was that Japan simply left the League in 1933. The League also failed to do something effective about the Italian aggression of Ethiopia.

Some other shortcomings which discredited the League were:

- * The world's big power, the USA was not its member (neutrality of the USA).
- * Germany and Soviet-Russia were not at the beginning admitted to the league.
- * The league was dominated by France and Britain.
- * The General Assembly had no effective power.
- * The League had no armed force to stop aggressors or to enforce its decisions.

Other Consequences of the War

Another important consequence of W.W.I was that the USA emerged the most powerful country in the world. But the USA was not willing to use this power on a global scale. It soon started the traditional policy of ignoring European problems, and stayed out of the League of Nations.

The war took a little more than four years, 1914-1918. It was fought in almost all continents except on Australian and American soil. About 65 million men were mobilized. Of this figure 8.5 million were killed, about 21 million were wounded. The civilian casualties were incalculable. The aggregate expenditure of the belligerent nations was estimated at 35,000,000,000. This figure does not include the cost sustained in material destruction (roads, machines, factories, domestic and farm buildings, etc).

Review Questions

Choose the best answers from the following alternatives.

1. A major cause of WWI was
 - A. a decline of imperialism
 - B. the existence of opposing Alliance
 - C. an increase in act of aggression by England
 - D. the spread of communism in Europe

2. Which countries formed the central powers in the First World War?

A. Britain, France and Russia	C. Britain, France and USA
B. Germany, Austria, Hungary & Ottoman Turkey	D. Italy, Bulgaria & Japan

3. The immediate cause of the first world war was
 - A. imperialist rivalry
 - B. the assassination of Franz Ferdinand
 - C. the clashed between the allied powers & internal powers
 - D. military alliance

4. World War II in Europe contributed to the liberation of Ethiopia because it
 - A. Made France remove restrictions on Ethiopia's import of firearms through Djibouti.
 - B. Led the American government to provide extensive military support to Ethiopia
 - C. Allowed Ethiopia to get the help of the British in its struggle against fascism
 - D. Forced the Italian government to withdraw its troops from Ethiopia to fight in Europe.

5. Which of the following made the first world war fully a world or global
 - A. The German attack on Belgium
 - B. The declare of war on Serbia by Austro Hungary
 - C. The rise of the Nazis under Hitler
 - D. The sank of British navigation ship Linear Lutanian by Germany

6. The second World War
 - A. resulted in the emergence of two super powers
 - B. undermined the political position of the colonial powers
 - C. encouraged the liberation of colonial peoples

- D. was became a footing for the cold war
 - E. all
7. During world war the first balance of power changed
- A. when British involved in the war
 - B. When Italy shifted military alliance
 - C. when USSR joined the war with Allies
 - D. When USA declared war on German
8. What qualified the US and the USSR for Superpower status after World War II?
- A. their involvement in ideological war
 - B. the owning of Atomic Bomb
 - C. their respective military role in World War II
 - D. their economic and military strength
9. In what ways did the assassination of Franz Ferdinand became immediate cause for WWI?
- A. It led Austro-Hungary to present unacceptable demand to Serbia
 - B. It ended Russo-Serbian alliance and made Serbia easy to attack
 - C. It helped Germany to push Austro-Hungary to declare war on Russia
 - D. It forced Germany to push Austro-Hungary to declared war on Russia after Ultimatums & blank cheque
10. Why was the League of Nations established at the end of World War I?
- A. To resolve international disputes and avoid the outbreak of war
 - B. To allocate reparation money to the victorious nations in a fair fashion
 - C. To fight against the development of extreme ideologies like Fascism
 - D. To spread the ideas of self-determination and gradual decolonization
11. A major cause of WWI was
- E. a decline of imperialism
 - F. the existence of opposing Alliance
 - G. an increase in act of aggression by England
 - H. the spread of communism in Europe
12. Which one of the following is not basic cause for outbreak of WWII?

- A. Emergence of antagonistic political parties in Europe
 - B. Long term effect of WWI and failure of peace treaties signed after world war the first
 - C. Socio-economic and political crisis as well as economic depression
 - D. Invasion of Poland by Germany
13. Britain's stated reasons for declaring war on Germany in 1914 was
- A. French attacks on German colonies
 - B. U.S entry in to the war
 - C. Serbian assassination of Franz Ferdinand
 - D. German invasion of Belgium
14. Which countries formed the central powers in the First World War?
- C. Britain, France and Russia
 - C. Britain, France and USA
 - D. Germany, Austria Hungary & Ottoman Turkey
 - D. Italy, Bulgaria & Japan
15. Which of the following political party in Russia demanded world war I to an end in Russian side and signed Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany
- A. Bolsheviks
 - B. Mensheviks
 - C. Provisional government
 - D. White Armies
16. All except one is basic cause for outbreak of WWI?
- A. Nationalism
 - C. Industrial revolution
 - B. Militarism
 - D. Assassination of Austrian prince
17. Which of the following is not result of WWI?
- A. Three dynastic of Europe namely, Romanov, Habsburg and Hohenzollern, flourished.
 - B. New nations like Turkey and Austria emerged
 - C. Germany and its allies lost the game
 - D. League of nation formed as peace keeping organ of the world
18. The two countries that came out much stronger than they were before the second world war
- A. USA and Britain
 - B. Britain and Italy
 - C. Germany and France
 - D. USA and USSR

19. According to the Schleffen plan, the military objective of German offensive in the first world war was

- A. to defeat first France on the western front before moving against Russia on the eastern front
- B. to defeat first Russia on the eastern front before opening war on France on the western front
- C. to defeat the British in the English channel before moving towards Russia in the eastern front
- D. to fight against France, on the western front and Russia on the eastern front at the sometimes

20. The first open violation of the covenant of the League of Nations against aggression was

- A.The Italian aggression on Ethiopia
- B.Japanese aggression of Manchuria
- C.The German attack on Poland
- D.The Russian invasion of Poland

21.On which of the following event of WWII did Nazy German had got support from USSR?

- A.The annexation of Sudetenland
- B.The invasion of Poland
- C.The occupation of Czech
- D.Attack on Denmark and Norway

22.The USSR and USA became super powers after WWII because both

- A. manage to develop atomic bombs
- B. were founding members of Uno
- C. had the only veto rights in security council
- D. build their economy by lending loans to Europeans

CHAPTER EIGHT

African move towards independence

8.1 Resistance and revolts

Before establishing colonial rule in Africa, Europeans had to overcome the African

resistance. The Africans did not at all welcome the European rule. Infact, the African reaction to the imposition of colonialism was not the same everywhere. In some parts of Africa, the Europeans got the collaboration of Africans that they used divide and rule system to occupy the areas they desired.

Some Africans developed strong military institutions based on centralized political system. It is possible to consider two examples of African resistance. from East and West Africa. In German East Africa, in what has now become mainland Tanzania there was a resistance against the German colonialism and it was named the Maji- Maji Rebellion (1905-1907). This rebellion started in 1905 when Africans refused the imposition of forced labour. Within short period, the rebellion engulfed much of German East Africa. The rebel warriors attacked all foreigners with out discrimination. The rebels caused much destruction and killed several foreigners. In 1906 the Germans started a cruel suppression. The rebel villages were burned and their crops were destroyed. In 1907 the rebellion came to an end and over 26,000 Africans were killed as the result of this revolt. In addition to this tens of thousands lost their lives due to hunger or sickness.

Another example is Samore's struggle against the French expansion in West Africa (1882-1898). He was a Mango warrior who confronted the French around the Niger River. His clash with the French started in 1882 with the first armed conflict which took place at Keniera. He did not only fight the French with arms but through diplomatic means as well. He tried to play off the British against the French. Samore was able to get modern weapons from Sierra Leone on the coast. Later he was cut off from his supply of arms, and finally he was defeated by the French in 1898.

There were also other several instances of Africa resistance to European colonial expansion. Nevertheless, Ethiopia was the only African country which succeeded in warding off European colonialism.

Several factors accounted for the failure of African resistance. Firstly, Africans were not united to challenge the European conquests. Secondly, the Europeans had the advantage of modern fire arms which the Africans did not possess. European troops were disciplined, experienced and well trained. Thirdly, Europeans signed deceptive treaties with Africans, like for instance, the Treaty of Wuchale, a Treaty signed

between Emperor Menilik and Italy. Because of the factors mentioned, Europeans were in a better position to crush African resistance. In many cases, European colonial rule in Africa lasted for about sixty or seventy years. During this period the Europeans employed different forms of colonial administration.

8.2. Pan-Africanism

Pan-African movement passed through a number 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 Caribbean Islands. These black people had come from different, 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 of American and colonial racism. Thus, they were united by their color and by their sufferings.

In the 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.

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 outside Africa. Even in its early stage, it also stood for the defense of Africans in Africa. The First Pan-African Congress was held in London in 1900. One of the actions of this Congress was to protest to Britain's 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 Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912) and W.E.B. 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-African Movement developed towards a new form. In this new form, the "pan-Black" idea grew into Pan-African. 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 Nkrumah 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.

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.

8.3 The Organization of African Unity

The idea of forming the Organization for African Unity (OAU) was a result of the Pan-African Movement. As was pointed out earlier, one of the ideas expressed in Pan-Africanism was the desire for African unity. To achieve this goal, the necessary steps had to be taken by Africans themselves. An opportunity for that appeared in 1957. In that year Ghana became the first black African country to gain independence after World War II. The first leader of independent Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, was one of the African nationalists to participate at the Manchester Pan-African Conference of 1945.

How did the OAU come into existence?

In April 1958 Nkrumah invited all independent African countries to an All-Africa People's Conference at Accra. Eight independent African countries: Ghana, Egypt, the Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco, Libya, Liberia and Ethiopia participated in the conference. This conference was important for two reasons. Firstly, representatives of nationalist movements from 28 non-independent African countries attended the conference as observers. The intention was that from what they saw at the conference, nationalist representatives could hasten the process of independence in their respective countries. Secondly, many of the resolutions of the conference became corner stones for OAU that was established five years later. One of those read: The member states declared that they would observe a policy of 'positive neutrality'. They pledged themselves to observe one another's political and territorial integrity and to settle their differences by conciliation and mediation within the African community.

The main objective of the Accra conference was to set up the Organization for African Unity. However, with regard to the structure of the organization, there was no consensus among African states. This led to the emergence of two groups of states with different ideas.

In 1961, the two groups held separate conferences at Casablanca and Monrovia. Afterwards, they were identified as the Casablanca Group and the Monrovia Group. The

Casablanca Group included Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Algeria, Egypt and Morocco. The Monrovia Group consisted of Sierra Leone, Liberia, Nigeria, Togo, Ethiopia and Libya. The Casablanca group was led by Kwame Nkrumah. States in this group were regarded anti-Western, while those in the Monrovia group were considered as pro- Western. Their attitude towards the ex-colonial powers was one point of difference between the two groups. More than this, however, the main point of difference between the two groups was the issue of a unified Africa under one government and one head of state. Nkrumah advocated the creation of a single African state, each African state giving up its sovereignty. His proposal would reduce the new nation-states to mere provinces of the continental state.

But most African states wanted "functional cooperation rather than integration. This and other points of difference continued to undermine the solidarity of African states. For the time being, however, an agreement was reached, to postpone the final goal of forming a United States of Africa and form the organization of African Unity (OAU). The OAU was formed in May 1963 in Addis Ababa. At the founding conference, held in Addis Ababa, 31 independent states signed the Charter of the Organization. The purposes of the OAU, as contained in the Charter, included: To promote the unity and solidarity of the African states, to coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa and the hope to eradicate all forms of colonialism from the continent.

The functions of the OAU were performed by various organs, commissions and committees set up for the purpose. The highest organ was the Assembly of the Heads of State and Governments. This organ met at least once a year. Another organ was the Council of Ministers made up of the Foreign Ministers of member states. The Council met twice a year and prepared agenda for the annual meetings of the Heads of States and Governments. The most important organ was the General Secretariat. It did most of the work of the OAU. The Office of the General Secretariat was in Addis Ababa. The first General Secretary of the OAU was a Guinean, Diallo Telli. The OAU also had various commissions set up to deal with the social, economic, educational, health and nutritional problems of Africa.

The record of the performance of the OAU, especially during its early years, showed

both successes and failures. To begin with successes, the OAU, through its Committee for Liberation, assisted the liberation movements of the non-independent nations. On several issues at the United Nations, African states often took a united stand. Several border disputes have also been settled through the efforts of the OAU. Probably, the greatest achievement in this respect was the Nigerian crisis in 1967. Although four states - Ivory Coast, Tanzania, Zambia and Gabon - recognized the separatist state of Biafra, the vast majority of African states kept their pledge to Article III (3) of the OAU Charter: "respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each member state and for its inalienable right to independent existence". In accordance with this article, they "adopted a policy of trying to reconcile the two parties in the civil war within the framework of Nigerian unity." Eventually the crisis was solved.

Several factors were responsible for failures of the OAU in its performance. Among the factors, one was difference of opinion among member states on methods to be used in accomplishing the tasks of the organization. As was indicated above, the attitude adopted towards the ex-colonial powers and the structure of the OAU were other points of difference among member states. In addition, there were other differences. Firstly, there were differences in official languages used by African states. English, French, Portuguese, Spanish and Arabic speaking states exhibited differences in the OAU, though this should not have been an insoluble obstacle to unity of action, had there been the desire to achieve it. Secondly, many states were members of other non-African organizations. In North Africa many states belong to the Arab League and their interest was to fight against Israel. The problem was that some members of the Arab League tried to bring the Israeli issue to the OAU forum. Thirdly, although the OAU had set up various commissions to deal with social, economic, and related problems, there was little achievement in this field. Despite its weaknesses, the OAU struggled to strengthen the solidarity of African states to overcome the many problems facing the continent. To this end, at the 36th OAU Summit, held in Algiers in 2000, the Heads of African States and Governments decided to transform the OAU into the African Union. This was the original goal expressed in Pan-Africanism.

Problems of Independent African States and the OAU

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.

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.

Success 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 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. Furthermore, the member states remained reluctant to build the infrastructure necessary for rapid movement of goods and services. To overcome 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.

8. 4 Decolonization and Liberation struggles

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 maladministration.

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 within a few decades.

Factors at that time facilitated the liberation struggle were:

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 is 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 1960, 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 colonies 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 re-united at independence. Tunisia also won its independence in 1956 under the leadership of Habib Bourgiba.

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 Armed 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 1960 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.

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 1961 and 1970 respectively.

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 Gamal 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.

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 Nyerere. Zanzibar 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 nationalist movement known as the **Mau 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 1963 and Kenyatta 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 Ian 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 take military actions to suppress the white minority racist government in South Rhodesia. Thus, the Africans resort to guerrilla fighting. Long and bitter war was 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 was established in April 1980. Robert Mugabe became the first Prime Minister and South Rhodesia adopted the name Zimbabwe (after historic Zimbabwe).

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 1960. Independent Democratic Republic of Congo emerged with Joseph Kasavubu as President and Patrice 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 1960. 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 Hammarskjöld 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.

In July 1964 Kasavubu appointed Tshombe as Prime Minister. Tshombe became fierce and brutal in dealing with local matters. Kasavubu sacked him in 1965. In the same year, the army 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.

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 Spínola. 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 (PAIGC) led the two small colonies of Portugal to independence in the same year. Sao Tome and Principe 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 mandatory 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. Finally 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 human 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 policy. On 21 March 1960, police fired on a peaceful and unarmed demonstrators at Sharpeville. 72 people were killed and some 186 including women and children were wounded. The incident is remlared as the Sharpeville 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 leaders including Nelson Mandela and banned all black political organization as illegal. Mandela was in jail at Robben island until he was released in 1990.

The struggle of the ANC finally bore fruit. Apartheid 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 in the ANC. Mandela has left a rich legacy of democratic government in South Africa.

Effects of Colonialism in Africa

- Economy and culture of the Africans were destroyed,
- Africans lost their freedom,
- The Africans were exploited and oppressed,
- The Africans were disunited and were forced to accept foreign culture, etc.

Review Questions

Choose the best answers from the following alternatives.

1. After the 6th conference had in Manchester in 1845, the main goal of pan- African movement was to realize the
A. Unity of African peoples C. Cultural diversity Africans people
B. Territorial integrity of Africa D. Independence of Africans
2. Which of the following regional grouping members believed that their own internal problems must be solved first before the establishment an inter-state political union
A. Brazzaville group B. Casablanca group C. Monrovia group D. neo-Colonialism
3. Which of the following **was not** factor that facilitated the liberation struggle of Africans in the post-world war the second
A. Political changes and spread of liberal thinking with in the colonial countries
B. Active participation of Africans in in the war gave confidence
C. The positive example set by Asians states that had won independence earlier than Africans
D. The educated intellectuals adopted culture of colonialism as mean of development and modernity
7. The first black African country to adopt independence from British re-named as
A. Ghana B. Guenea C. Algeria D. Mali
8. As French Sudan was for Mali to Madibo Tita as North Rhodesia was for __ to
A. Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe C. ZANU, Joshua Nkomo
B. Zambia , Kenneth Kaunda D. Zambia, Hasting ta

9. _____ Voted yes and got independence from French rule after Charles de Gaulle gave opportune
- A. Guinea Bissau B. French Guinea C. Guinea Conakry D. Equatorial Guinea
10. FNLA was resistance movement of Algeria against by Ahmed Ben Bella as__
- was resistance mov't of Mozambique against Portuguese
- A. FRELIMO B. PAIGC C. UNITA D. MPLA
11. Which of the following was true about Apartheid in south Africa
- A. It was crystalized its demand in to a cell for one man to "one vote"
- B. It was discriminatory and racism led by Nelson Mandela
- C. It gave freedom for Anc demonstrators called Sharpeville massacre
- D. It was segregation in sport, recreational areas, churches, schools – etc and white minority rule over black majority
12. All of the following statements express Nelson Mandela genuinely **except**
- A. The first democratic president of South Africa
- B. Who imprisoned at Robben Island for about 27 years
- C. Able to reconcile blacks and whites with revenge rather than peace
- D. Left his presidency for the next democratically elected President peacefully
13. Which of the ff contributed to the failure of African resistance to European colonialism?
- A. Few Africans themselves were willing to pay sacrifice for freedom
- B. Class struggle in African societies weakened African resistance
- C. Europe colonial powers used African mercenaries against resistance
- D. There were too few competent African leaders to organize resistance
14. Which of the following battle marked the beginning of colonial rivalry?
- A. Omdurman B. Tel El Kabir C. Fashoda D. Adwa
15. The first African country which won nominal independence was
- A. Egypt B. Ghana C. South Africa D. Uganda
13. Which of the following is false about African colonial resistance between the two world wars?
- A. Young Kikuyu association organized in Kenya against British to restore fertile land

occupied by white settlers

B.Colonial assembly which established in Uganda through agreement is called Lukiko

C.Anc basically stood against apartheid in South Africa and it was the first democratic

party in Africa

D.Neo Duster was the only African constitution in Tunisia against French and won nominal

independence

14. Which of the following is persuasive statement about OAU and UNO?

A. the former was to decolonize Africans whereas the latter is to colonialize the Africa

B. both were/are international organization established to ensure world peace

C. both have/had veto powers such as Britain,USA,USSR and China which can disprove or

approve decisions

E. the former as for continental peace keeping whereas the latter is to keep global peace after world war two

CHAPTER NINE

Ethiopia from liberation to revolution

9.1. Haile Selassie's Come Back and British Domination

Haile Selassie re-entered Addis Ababa on May 5, 1941, following the defeat of Italian forces by patriots and British forces, as explained in Unit Five. His imperial power

was restored; and he took control of the government of Ethiopia. Patriots, the Orthodox Church and noblemen accepted the restoration of the monarchy. Collaborators of Italian occupation were also pardoned and accommodated in Haile Selassie's new government.

However, Haile Selassie's power was limited by the British Military Administration in Ethiopia. The British regarded the whole of Italian East Africa, including Ethiopia, which had come under their control, as Occupied Enemy Territory [OETA]. In the case of Ethiopia, the British practically shared governmental powers with Haile Selassie. The British Occupied Enemy Territory Administration kept for itself powers in the areas of finance, the army and foreign affairs. Overlapping of powers also created problems for Haile Selassie. Although this arrangement in a way helped Haile Selassie to bring peace and normalization in the countryside, Haile Selassie needed to regulate his relations with the British. He also wanted to regain the complete and independent powers of the monarchy. For that purpose, he negotiated with the British and signed two significant agreements.

On January 31, 1942, the first Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement was signed. This agreement recognized Ethiopia as a sovereign state. However, it allowed the British to have final authority over Ethiopia's foreign relations, administration, finance and the military. The British reasoned that the Second World War was still being fought and Djibouti was under a pro-Nazi, Vichy government, and there might be a danger from that direction. The Emperor had no other choice but to accept what the British asked for. This passive acceptance provided an excuse for the British officials to have extraordinary rights particularly in the Ogaden, and over certain strategic areas, such as the French Somaliland border areas and the Addis-Ababa-Djibouti railway.

The British combined the Ogaden with former Italian Somaliland and began to administer the whole area taking Mogadishu as a centre. In 1940, they had proposed to combine the five Somali-inhabited territories of Northern district of Kenya, Italian Somali land, British Somali land, Djibouti and the Ogaden to form a single state called Somalia. Above all, they developed a plan to create what they called "Greater Somalia". Their secret plot in the Reserved Area, along the southeastern borders, forced the Emperor to open another round of negotiations. The Second Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement was signed on December 1944. By this agreement the British recognized the Ogaden and

the Reserved Area as an integral parts of Ethiopia. They requested only to remain in the regions for two more years until the end of World War II. They also made some concessions to the Emperor: the right to recruit non-British foreign personnel and to use the Djibouti railway line as an outlet. They also agreed to train an Ethiopian military force, to replace their army, which had been dominant in the country since 1941.

In 1948 the UN placed Italian Somaliland under Italian Trusteeship. With this the British desire to realize the idea of Greater Somalia failed. The British agreed to the return of the Ogaden to Ethiopia. But they kept the Haud grazing land and also the corridor known as the "Reserved Area", stretching from the Haud to the border of French Somaliland, as part of British Somaliland. The return of Ogaden was a diplomatic victory for the Emperor.

After another round of diplomatic talks, the British gave up and restored the Haud and the Reserved Area to the Ethiopian government in 1955. Political groups in British Somaliland and in the Italian Trust territory expressed their protest against the British agreement with Ethiopia over the Haud. Some members of those groups came into the Ogaden and agitated the people to rebel. The Ethiopian government responded by using force which helped it to regain control over the region.

Period of American Influence

After World War II American influence became powerful in the Middle East. At this time it was Ethiopia which took the initiative to get closer to the Americans. The Emperor, who could no longer tolerate British heavy-hand over Ethiopian, wanted alliance with the USA. Official contacts between the two states began in 1943. Ethiopia formally requested the U.S.A for military aid as well as other experts and legal advisors. In 1945, the Emperor met President Roosevelt in Egypt and asked for support in the struggle to regain the Ogaden and Eritrea. The understanding reached there became the basis for future Ethiopian-American friendship and cooperation.

The Americans had felt the strategic importance of the Red Sea and in particular the Radio Marina in Eritrea. They had already taken control of Radio Marina in 1942. After 1953 Radio Marine (Qagnew station) became a large self-contained base, with more than 300 U.S. military personnel, and became an important link in the U.S global communications network.

In 1948, Britain decided to bring an end to her administration in Eritrea. American replaced Britain as the dominant power in Ethiopia since 1953. The threat from the communist bloc made Eritrea an increasingly valuable asset to retain. Thus the Americans preferred Eritrea to be a part of Ethiopia and supported Ethiopia's claim over that territory.

Ethiopia's stand in the Korean War convinced the Americans more. During the Korean War (1950-53) the Emperor showed willingness to provide troops to fight under the U.N., which deployed chiefly American forces. North Korea's goal was to unite South Korea with the North under communism. The UN gave military support to South Korea. Ethiopia's participation in the War was an indication that it identified its interest with the western world. The Americans took Ethiopia as a potential ally, which might play an important role in the politics of the Middle East. Once the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia was endorsed, the Ethiopian government persuaded the USA to give it military support. In October 1952 negotiations were held to regularize the status of the U.S. communications base. By then the base was named the "Qagnew Station" to commemorate the Ethiopian battalion that fought in Korea and returned on 22 May 1952. The two states signed an agreement in 1953 governing the Qagnew Station and other facilities in Eritrea which remained in force until 1978.

Two additional agreements strengthened the Ethio- American partnership. The "Point Four Agreement" signed in 1952 laid the foundation for American assistance in the field of education and public health. Point Four, as the organization came to be known, was involved in agricultural, public health, education, tourist and public administration training and awarding of scholarships. In 1953, another treaty was signed for US military assistance. A unit known as Military Assistance and Advisory Group (MAAG) was assigned to all branches of military units and training institutions of the Ethiopian armed forces.

The U.S.A gave to Ethiopia military aid which increased after 1960, particularly when Somalia became independent and entered into conflict with Ethiopia. By 1970, 60 per cent of the USA's military aid to Africa went to Ethiopia. By then American support to Ethiopia maintained by far the largest army in sub-Saharan Africa. The USA and the USSR were playing the Cold War game in the Horn of Africa, since Somalia was getting

similar military aid from the U.S.S.R.

American military assistance enabled Ethiopian troops to play the role of international peace-keeper under the UN in Africa. In 1960, during the Congo Crisis Ethiopian troops served as a UN peace-keeping force.

American assistance was also given in the field of civil aviation. In 1945 the American Trans- continental and Western Air Lines (TWA) helped to set up the Ethiopian Air Lines (EAL), Providing it managerial and supervisory personnel. The other major area of American support was in the field of road repair and construction. Roads built by the Italians had been badly damaged in the course of the war of liberation and repair was a burden on the Ethiopian government. In January 1957, the Imperial Highway Authority was established with the help of the Americans. Loans for repair and road construction were obtained from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), mostly funded by the U.S.A. American influence was also great in the sphere of education. With the exception of a few elite schools run by the British and the French, education was conducted along American lines. In the national University, the enrolment and evaluation system were modelled on standard American colleges.

American Peace Corps volunteer teachers, who came in the 1960s, accepted teaching assignments in the high schools, even in remote towns. They contributed a lot in advancing education in Ethiopia.

Later, however, anti-Americanism grew strong among the left-wing University students in the late 1960's and early 1970s. These students viewed the USA as an imperialist state supporting a regime which was reactionary and an obstacle to progress. Furthermore, the value of Ethiopia for the USA diminished in the 1970's. That was because the U.S.A was able to get a new ally in the Red Sea region. The new ally was Egypt under president Anwar Sadat. Previously Egypt, under President Gamal Abdl Nasser, had been an ally of the U.S.S.R. But that changed after 1973. As a result, when Haile Sellassie's government crumbled, the U.S.A did not come to its help. Ethiopia was scarcely capitalist even on the eve of the 1974 Revolution. There was only a very small commercial bourgeoisie, and hardly an industrial bourgeoisie. Therefore, like other Third World countries, Ethiopia found itself in a position of dependence on external capitalist countries. Haile Sellassie built his absolutism through external support, particularly from

the U.S.A.

9.2 The Eritrean Problem

Eritrea became an Italian colony in 1890. In 1941, with the expulsion of the Fascist army, it was taken over by the British administration as an Occupied Enemy Territory. By the time the Emperor was raising the Ethiopian flag in Addis Ababa on May 5, 1941, the people in Asmara were holding a demonstration calling for the reunification of Eritrea with Ethiopia. On the same day, the leaders of the demonstration announced the formation of the Unionist Party, an organization that was to play an important role in the future of Eritrea.

With the coming of the British, Eritrea made some advance towards political development. The British allowed the right of free speech and press, and the right to form political parties. Political parties grew in number within a short period. Nevertheless, these political parties were founded on ethnic and religious basis. The British deliberately encouraged differences among these parties. That was because they had the plan of separating the western lowland region to add it to their colony, the Sudan. Regarding the highland territory of the Tsegreña-speaking groups, they planned to join it with Tigray to form a separate Tigray State. To this effect, the British proposed in 1943 to the Eritrean highland elites the formation of a united Tigray. Those that accepted the proposal formed a separatist group that later evolved into what came to be known as the Liberal Progressive Party led by *Ras* Tessema Asmerom. Besides, the British encouraged the Muslims to establish their own political organization. In 1946, the Muslim League was formed.

It demanded independence for Muslim-inhabited lowland Eritrea or union with the Sudan. Between January and February 1947, the Unionist Party, the Liberal Progressive Party and the Muslim League were duly registered. A pro-Italian party was also formed later, towards the end of the year. This party wanted the return of Italian colonial rule under the cover of UN Trusteeship. It was dominated by Italians and half-castes, who were well established in Eritrea. However, it had few followers and could not play any meaningful role at the coming of the Commission of Enquiry.

In 1947, the Four Powers Commission of Enquiry, representing the USA, USSR, Britain and France, was sent to Eritrea to determine the future of Eritrean people. The arrival of

the Commission signaled the climax of political agitation, in which the Unionist Party and the Muslim League came out as the major rivals. In 1948, an assessment of people's opinion was held in Asmara, on the future of Eritrea. Close to 50 per cent stood for independence, while others voted for unity with Ethiopia, and a few chose union with the Sudan. As a result, the Commission could not decide and referred the matter to the UN General Assembly in 1948.

In 1950, the UN appointed a Commission of five men from Burma, Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan and South Africa to decide the fate of Eritrea. But the Commission did not come to unanimity over the issue. Two members, from Guatemala and Pakistan, opted for independence. South Africa and Burma recommended federation with Ethiopia. Norway favoured union with Ethiopia. The UN General Assembly supported the majority opinion, and the USA and Britain followed. As a result, the General Assembly voted to that effect in 1950. Accordingly, Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia in 1952.

An Eritrean constitution was written by the UN, which among other things prohibited (according to Article 91) the Eritrean Parliament from passing legislation that violated the Federal Act. Political parties were organized and competed for the seats in the Legislature. In the first election of 1952, the pro-Ethiopian Unionist Party emerged as the largest party. It got 32 out of the 68 seats in the Parliament. The founder of the party, Tedla Bahru, became the chief Executive of Eritrea.

At the outset of the federal arrangement, the Emperor and his representatives were against Eritrea's separate identity under the federal system. They accepted the arrangement only out of necessity. The Emperor did not want to accept the special status given to Eritrea. He feared that the relatively higher degree of democracy and civil liberty exercised by the Eritreans might incite the rest of the Ethiopian people that were under his autocratic rule. However, Prime Minister Akililu Habtewold was able to see in time the danger of the dissolution of the Eritrean Federation, and opposed to it in the early 1960s. But the Emperor was determined to follow his own interests and transplanted his autocratic rule in Eritrea. This antagonized all the Eritrean parties including the Unionist Party that had struggled for the union of Eritrea with Ethiopia. In 1955 Tedla Bahru, the Chief Executive of the Eritrean Assembly, resigned under pressure from the Emperor, and was replaced by Asrate Kassa, a Shoan notable

Following that, the Emperor made Amharic the official language in place of Arabic and Tigrigna. He also terminated the use of an Eritrean flag and hoisted the Ethiopian flag instead. In addition, he forbade all sorts of political activities. He appointed more loyal Christians to responsible positions.

In November 1962, the Eritrean Assembly voted itself out of existence by ending the federal arrangement and decided to unite with the rest of Ethiopia. Eritrea lost its federal status and became one of the provinces of Ethiopia. The extinction of the federation consolidated internal and external opposition. Four years earlier, in 1958, Eritreans in exile had already founded the Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM) in Cairo. The ELM was a movement which sought to achieve its objective by political and diplomatic means, including intervention from the UN. This organization was soon neutralized, and the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) came into existence in 1961 established by Eritrean exiles in the Middle East. The ELF started to receive Iraqi and Syrian support. It started to launch armed attacks in September of that year, under the leadership of a former rebel, Idris Awate, in the western lowlands.

But the ELF's sectarian conception of the struggle soon resulted in division within itself. As a result, three major groups emerged. These three groups began the process of merger in 1972 to form the Eritrean Liberation Front and Popular Liberation Force (ELF-PLF). In 1973 the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) was formed.

The last years of Haile Sellassie's reign witnessed two organizations competing for recognition as leader of the Eritrean separatist movements: ELF and EPLF, or in their popular Arabic designation *Jabha (Front) and Sha'abiya* (Popular). The two groups carried out a relentless struggle for supremacy in the period from 1972-1974, in which the EPLF triumphed. By 1974, the EPLF had over 10,000 members in the field fighting against the Ethiopian army.

Until the outbreak of the 1974 Revolution, the movement in Eritrea remained only a local issue without gaining wider international recognition. It was only a few Arab states which were sympathetic to the movement and provided material support. They regarded Eritrea as an "Arab" land and hated the regime of Haile Selassie because of its close ties with Israel.

After the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, most states of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf

adopted a strong anti-Zionist policy. This was a great opportunity to the Eritrean cause. Arab support to the Eritrean movement became significant.

In Ethiopia, even the Ethiopian leftists in the student movement, which had a firm stand on Ethiopian unity, in principle adopted the position of recognizing the right of Eritreans to self-determination.

9.3 Oppositions against Haile Selassie's Government

In 1936, some prominent men among the aristocrats boldly opposed the Emperor's decision to go into exile to appeal to the League of Nations. When in 1941, he was restored to his throne with the backing of the British government, many resented his restoration to power. On top of that, the Emperor favored the exiles and even some collaborators, ('*bandas*'), ignoring and marginalizing the genuine patriots.

Blatta Takala Walda Hawaryat was one of the most renowned patriots of the occupation period, who organized the patriots to fight against the Fascists. He tried all means to prevent the Emperor from returning to the throne in 1941. When the Emperor was restored to power he started to plot against him. His first plot started soon after liberation in 1941. His plot was uncovered but he was put in prison and freed in 1945. He was again involved in another plot the following year. This time his detention lasted until 1954. On his release, Takala was given a high government post, becoming successively Vice Minister of the Interior and *Afa Negus*. In November, 1969, however, he organized a group of armed men to assassinate the Emperor. The plot was discovered, and he was killed in a shoot - out with the police.

Belay Zeleke was another famous patriotic leader in the struggle against the fascists from his home base, in eastern Gojjam. His courage made him a legendary hero throughout Gojjam and Ethiopia at large. His popularity was not very much appreciated by the Emperor. The Emperor was very suspicious of him and wanted to remove him from his home base. To this effect, the Emperor gave Belay the choice of either to be Governor- General of one of the provinces in the south of the country with the title of *Ras* or governor of Bichena *Awraja*. Belay rejected the former and accepted the latter. The Emperor granted other Gojjame patriots high titles and positions. But Belay was rewarded with only the title of *Dejazmatch* and made governor of Bichena district. Belay, a man with a great ambition, did not like what he got. More than that, the loss of Mota

and part of Debre Marqos districts which had been under his control, angered him as a disgrace to his reputation. Out of anger, Belay made the ill-fated decision to stand up against the government by turning to banditry.

He expressed his grievance by disobeying orders coming from both the Governor-General and the central government. In February, 1944 a combined force from the rest of Gojjam and Addis Ababa invaded his district. After three months of fighting, he surrendered and was brought to Addis Ababa. There, he was kept in prison. A few months later, he broke out of prison, but was captured on his way to Gojjam. He was brought back to Addis Ababa, and was later made to stand trial and was publicly hanged. Bitwaded Negash Bezabih was the grandson of King Tekle Haimanot of Gojjam. Like several others, he was a renowned patriot in Gojjam during the Italian occupation. He had reached the rank of Vice-Minister and had been appointed President of the Senate before his conspiracy. In 1951 he led a plot against the Emperor. The plot, reportedly, was to assassinate the emperor and proclaim a republic. In his attempt he got the support of some former patriots and army members. The plot was, however, discovered. The plotters were caught while carrying on a secret meeting. They were tried and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The plot, like the others before it, was carried out on an individual basis, uncoordinated, and destined to failure.

The Weyane Rebellion of 1942-43

After 1941, the newly restored regime made a quick move towards Tigray, in particular to reassert its authority by imposing taxation. Here the challenge came from traditional lords. Moreover, British influence was very high, because the British wanted to administer Eritrea and Tigray as the Italians had united them in 1936-1941. To prevent the British plan, Haile Selassie appointed his own officials in the province. The officials, however, were corrupt. They used unnecessary force and fraud in the process of tax collection. Furthermore, the peasants were forced to provide provisions to tax assessors and their followers. Sometimes, the government stationed contingents of militia in districts, until all taxes were collected. The cultivators had to support the militia in districts until all taxes were collected. A case in point was the militia stationed between Korem and Quiha, who were poorly paid and as a result turned to looting, and raping of peasants, as well as creating destruction.

Another cause of the rebellion was the age-old conflict between the Raya and Azebo ethnic groups and the government. The Raya and Azebo ethnic groups on the eastern edge of the Tigray plateau did not want to lose their traditional local powers to the government. The Wajirat, who were Christians, had elected elders with administrative power. In general, as long as they had been willing to pay tribute, they had been left to exercise their traditional rights in former times. The conflict cropped up when the state started to appoint its own administrators in the region. In addition, some of the nobility joined the revolt to regain traditional privileges. The Weyane rebellion achieved some remarkable success under an able leader, *Blatta* Haile Mariam Radda, and spread over a wide area between 1942 and 1943.

The government assigned the former patriot leader Ras Abebe Aregay to command its forces against the rebellion. The government also appealed successfully to the British for air attacks on the rebels. Finally, artillery and bombing from the air crushed the rebellion by the end of 1943.

The Failed Coup d'état of 1960

The 1960 attempted *coup d'état* was the first of its kind. It was organized by educated officials to overthrow Haile Selassie's government. Its leader was General Mengistu Neway, the Commander of the Imperial Bodyguard. The master-mind behind the *coup* was his younger brother Germame Neway. Germame had returned to Ethiopia by imperial order in 1954, after graduating with an M.A degree in Social Sciences in the USA. He worked for the government under various capacities. Realizing that any peaceful way of change and reform was impossible, Germame and his brother Mengistu turned to a coup d'état, with the help of officers in the Imperial Bodyguard.

When the *coup* started, the rebels made their intention public by stating the backwardness of the country in contrast to the newly independent African states. The latter were showing rapid progress in the path of development. Thus, without directly attacking the Emperor, they pointed out the ineffectiveness of his regime to bring about real progress.

Securing the support of the Chief of the Addis Ababa Police Force the rebels launched tactical surprise. They seized public buildings and took as hostages some members of the imperial family and leading figures in the government. The reign of Haile Selassie

was declared to have ended. Asfawosen was made the mouth-piece of the rebels; he was to be the constitutional monarch of the country, paid and salaried. On December 14, 1960, a new government was declared. The Head of Government was to be the liberal aristocrat *Ras* Imiru Haile Selassie (a close relative of the Emperor).

The rebels failed to put other leading officials, nobles and army generals under control. They also failed to get the support of other military units for the *coup*. Consequently, they faced alone the joint reaction of the Army and the Air force. The Emperor was in South America when the *coup* was staged, but he came back home quickly to save his endangered throne.

The Imperial Bodyguard along with the Police Force (under its leader Brigadier-General Tsige Dibu) could not resist the might of the Army and Air Force. The loyalists won victory after a battle that lasted only two days. Losing hope, the Neway brothers shot the hostages, 18 in number, held in the Ganate Le'ul Palace (now Main campus of Addis Ababa University). Thereafter, they fled to the outskirts of Addis Ababa. As they made their exit, the Emperor made his victorious entry into the capital. The rebel leaders were unable to escape. Germame was killed on the way to Mount Zequala. At the same place and time Mengistu was badly wounded and captured. Mengistu was later brought to trial and hanged.

The *coup* was easily crushed. Only the University students supported its cause by staging a demonstration. In spite of its failure, the rebellion made a powerful impression on educated people, and showed that it was possible to remove the monarchy. "The torch of change had been kindled by the rebellion". University students became the torch-bearers of this change in the years ahead, and kept on their struggle against the imperial regime.

Peasant Rebellions

The Bale Rebellion

The Bale peasant rebellion had deep-rooted social and political causes. Grievances stemming from maladministration, land alienation, heavy taxation, ethnic discords between settlers and native farmers, and religious bias were some of the major problems in the region.

The bureaucrats began to expropriate peasant lands turning them into tenants under different pretexts. Between 1942-1970 the government granted more than 4,828,560 hectares of land to dignitaries, and military and civil servants in many provinces in the south. Perhaps as much as 30 per cent of imperial land grants in southern Ethiopia were located in Bale province. This led to serious land shortage in the province.

However, it was the 1963 land re-measurement policy in the region that sparked the rebellion. As a result, landowners were able to possess land more than double their lawful possessions. When they were compelled to pay tax arrears on the extra lands, the landlords put the burden of extra tax on the peasant cultivators.

Discontent was also rife among pastoralists of the province. The pastoralists avoided paying taxes by crossing the international boundaries, only to return as soon as the tax collectors had disappeared from the scene. Moreover, the Somali nationalist agitations of the Republic of Somalia of the early 1960s presented a challenge to the government. Then, the Ethiopian government began to tighten its control over the border lines in regulating the movement of pastoralists particularly in the Delo and Wabe areas.

In addition to the regular tax paid on their livestock, pastoralists were required to pay for pasturing their animals on what were regarded as state lands. The police and militia that were sent to collect taxes usually looted and raped, and committed all sorts of injustices. These, generally worsened the difficult traditional relations, between the Christian officials and the Muslim pastoralists. On the eve of the rebellion, the new Governor, *Fitawrari* Worku Enquselassie, continued antagonizing the Muslim local population. He took the side of the Christian settlers.

Islam was the ideology that brought the Oromo and the Somali of the province together. Externally the Somali Republic's expansionist policy that considered Bale as part of its *terra irredenta* (unredeemed territory, i.e. territory claimed for Somalia) provided all sorts of encouragement to them. It called upon the already dissatisfied Muslims to stand firmly against the Haile Selassie regime.

Rebellion started in the village of Afker, in the district of El-kere, under the leadership of Kahin Abdi. With his group, he began to strike on government installations. In September 1963, the group burnt government posts in Afker. Similar groups simultaneously did the same thing in Wabe and Delo. In Wabe it was carried out by *Haji*

Ishaha Mohammed Dadi in Delo by *Balambaras* Waqo Lugo. Both *Hajji* Ishah and Waqo Lugo had some tracing and received encouragement in Mogadishu.

In 1964, in an inter-clan conflict, the Borana and Guji Oromo drove out the Ethiopian Somalis and Rayitu Oromo from Sidamo, and forced them to flee across the Genale river into Bale. Frustrated by lack of response from the government, the leaders of these dislocated clans went to Mogadishu. Among those chiefs were *Grazmatch* Cherri Gutu and his brother Waqo Gutu, additional future leaders of the rebellion.

These and other groups who got military training and weapons in Mogadishu returned to the areas of Bale in 1965. Then under the leadership of Waqo Gutu, and with Waqo Lugo as his lieutenant, they started organized resistance against Haile Selassie's regime. The first rebel action took place on 8 February 1965, when a small force under Aliye Chirri overran the town of Oberso, destroying the only Orthodox Church there and burning state documents. The Christian settlers fled to Mena and Negele-Borana. Three days later, Waqo Gutu with about 250 rebels attacked the town of Bidre. The town fell into the hands of the rebels on February 18, after an engagement with the police force from Negele.

Then, the governor of Bale, promptly, asked the Emperor to station a large military force in the province to maintain law and order. In March 1965, in another engagement, two district administrators, along with many police and territorial soldiers, were killed by the rebels.

In December 1966, the government put Negele- Borana and all the districts of Bale (except Fasil district) under martial law. Two army brigades consisting of 4,500 men and volunteers were put under the command of *Fitawrari* Worqu for the prosecution of the campaign. The objective was primarily to cut off the main rebel supply routes from Somalia and to seize their rear base. As a result, in less than three months the resistance in Negele-Borana (Sidamo) was extinguished in early 1967. But the resistance in Bale continued for another three years.

According to official sources, the state lost a very low number of its men, not more than 54 as opposed to 871 for the rebels. The army created great suffering to the peasants, when it destroyed villages, animals and crops. After the war, however, the state treated the people fairly. There was no revenge, and none of the rebel leaders was deported or

punished. The government cancelled all arrears in land taxes up to 1967. Furthermore, the state elevated some of the local gentry to higher administrative posts, which eventually helped to strengthen its political power in the region. Finally, Waqo Gutu was given the title of *Grazmach* and hectares of land. He became a wealthy man owning much livestock and plenty of land in his village of Meda Walabu near Mena town.

The Gojjam Rebellion

The corrupt rule of *Dejazmatch* Tsehay Enquosilassie, who had been Governor-General of the province since 1960, had been the main source of political dissatisfaction in Gojjam. His policy of appointing officials from outside the region created resentment among the local gentry. Furthermore, his policy of impoverishing the Gojjame nobles by starting the collection of overdue arrears and accusing those who did not pay made him the enemy of the nobility and the peasantry alike.

The conditions in Gojjam moved from bad to worse when the governor issued a decree that required all citizens to have their guns registered upon payment. According to this decree, all gun-holders were to obey the decree and get their weapons registered within three months or otherwise forfeit their property. The hasty manner of its enforcement soon became a source of public outcry. It was clear to the people that the real intention of the governor was to disarm the population and to bring them to total submission. Hence, this repressive policy soon became a liability to the state. It made the masses stand against the state.

The 1967 Income Tax Proclamation ignited the rebellion. Damot and Mota districts were at the forefront of the rebellion. They refused to elect or admit tax assessors, and prevented the adjacent districts from obeying government directives. At first, the protest took the form of petition, and appeals through delegations. Only when these failed did they turn to violent tactics. On 7 February 1968, rebellious peasants from the two districts met at the Azwari river and took a solemn oath of unity and action, electing their leaders. They agreed to expel all state officials, boycott government courts and to destroy the property of traitors (i.e. those who did not obey their decision).

By the end of February 1968 nearly all state officials had withdrawn from the area and for nearly two months the rebels were in full control of the districts. Resistance expanded into the adjacent districts of Bichena, Debre Marqos and Bahr Dar.

By the middle of March 1968, about 60% of eastern Gojjam had openly gone against the state. It is remarkable that little violence was used so far. As a result, the government was reluctant to commit itself to forceful means, thinking that the resistance would be gradually solved peacefully.

The mood changed, however, following a small incident in Debre Marqos district in the village of Awobel. On 9 March, 1968, the villagers were enjoying a feast in their village church. At the time, the deputy administrator arrived with his followers and guards and began to measure a plot of land. All cried out against what the administrator was doing. They managed to stop the measurement, forcing the assessors to leave the village.

A unit of militia under the command of Demiss Alamirew, the Governor of the district, was sent to Awobel. Then, the militia looted property and apprehended seventy men. Fifty-six of them were later sentenced to prison. On 6 April, 1968 more than three thousand rebels from Bichena, Damot, Debre Marqos, and Mota moved towards Mengisto to set the prisoners free and to punish Demiss Alamerew. About seven kilometers short of their goal, the rebels met a combined force of the Territorial Army and the Police. After two days of continuous fighting, government forces ran out of ammunition, and only the timely arrival of regular troops saved them. This was the first direct involvement of the army in the conflict.

It was after this incident that the central government sent commission after commission to look into the problem. On April 17, presented their problems to the Emperor both orally and in writing in Addis Ababa. They informed him of their miseries under bad governors and militia. They asked for better governance, better educational, health and transport facilities and demanded the stopping of tax assessment. The Emperor, however, was not pleased with such boldness and rejected their pleas. He warned them to give up their "unlawful activities". Deeply disappointed and empty handed, they returned home.

On 1 June, 1968 a commission, made up of representatives from the Ministry of the Interior and Finance came to Gojjam. The commission spent eleven days moving around the districts of Bichena, Debra Marqos, Damot and Mota. Back in Addis Ababa, the commission recommended military means to end the problem.

Suddenly, violence started between June 18 and 20. Several clashes occurred, in which

both the government and peasant sides suffered heavy casualties. The central government quickly sent 900 troops. Mota and Bichena were put under military administration. In the meantime, the third and the last commission was sent to Gojjam. It included *Dejazmatch* Kifle Ergetu, the Minister of the Interior, and *Dejazmatch* Kifle Dadi, a Crown Councillor. They arrived at Dabra Marqos on July 5, to have direct talks with the rebels. The delegation traveled by air and road, listening to stories of repression and returned to Addis Ababa. It submitted a comprehensive report, stating that the provincial officials had lost the trust and confidence of the people. On 23 July 1969 *Dejazmatch* Tsehayu was transferred to Kafa and *Dejazmatch* Dereje Makonen replaced him. Other officials appointed by Tsehayu were replaced by the local gentry of Bichena and Dabra Marqos. A few days later, a general pardon was declared. Rebels were ordered to put down their arms and return to their farms. On September 7, all farmers were made free from all penalties for past failure to pay tax. But, they had to pay arrears by December 1972.

Before conditions returned to normality, over-zealous administrators began to collect taxes using forceful methods. This was followed by clashes in Damot and Mota. The most serious was the one that broke out on 17 October 1968, following the rebel attack on the police quarters at Dambacha district. After two days of fighting, that involved the Air Force, the rebels withdrew leaving behind 50 dead and many more wounded. On the government side, five were killed and six wounded. The Air Force attacked some villages in northern Damot and western Mota.

The state's Police commission paid a one-day visit to Gojjam in mid-December and recommended that a delegation including nobles from Dabra Marqos be sent to Damot to pacify the peasants. A delegation led by the renowned Gojjame nobleman, Haile Mariam Kebede, arrived at Feres Bet on December 21. It addressed a huge gathering, emotionally appealing to the people to put down their weapons and spare the land from violence. He also promised that *rist* land would never be measured but that tax had to be paid! Thereafter, the resistance decreased greatly. Only Dega - Damot refused to submit. The government ordered Territorial Army forces and peasants from Agaw Midir and Wenbera to invade Dega Damot. By February 1969, all resistance had been broken down and the situation was fairly calm.

In May 1969 the Emperor visited Gojjam. He gave promotions and feasts and awarded titles and medals, which was intended to please the gentry and the clergy. The peasants had also won significant concessions. Most of the unpopular bureaucrats had been removed and tax assessors were recalled. The income tax was postponed indefinitely. Moreover, farmers were freed from paying tax arrears for the previous 19 years. All of the peasants received pardon.

The Ethiopian Student Movement

The establishment of institutions of higher education was begun in the post-liberation period. The first university college was established in 1950, followed by opening of colleges in some other important towns of the country. Teachers and curricula were imported from the western world.

But due to official censorship, materials on Ethiopia were not available to enlighten the students and enable them to look critically at the existing social problems. The goal of the education system was not to produce a potential challenge, but to produce technocrats who would be supportive to the regime. However, as the students were exposed to western values and political systems, they started to make comparisons between their society and the western world. They started to question why their country remained backward.

Despite censorship and the unfavorable situation, student newspapers were started and associations were formed in the university. Then, students began to play an important role in exposing the reactionary nature of Haile Sellassie's regime. The first newspaper was "News and Views" and the first students association was the "University Student Union" established in 1959. In Ethiopia, the whole student body in general and the university students in particular played the role of a political opposition for many reasons. In the first place, the absence of political parties and a strong indigenous class of traders and entrepreneurs left only the students as focal point in expressing opposition against the regime. Secondly, the social respect given to the educated few, in a country of a high rate of illiteracy, gave this group of students a sense of responsibility for their country. Thirdly, the campus life gave student leaders the opportunity to discuss national issues and influence students so as to make them pay attention to the

miseries of the masses.

The first social criticism against Haile Sellassie's regime was expressed in the form of traditional poetry by university students in their campus, in which the message is passed by means of understatement and word play. The arrival of young men from English-speaking African countries had influence on the political awareness of the university students.

Scholarship students that came from different African countries had joined the University at Addis Ababa, after 1958. They were greatly shocked by the strict censorship and lack of political freedom in Ethiopia. They had wrongly believed that Ethiopia was a place of freedom and could be an example for Africa. The African students told their Ethiopian student friends about the struggle in their respective countries to gain independence and from colonial rule. No doubt the students drew lessons from these discussions.

More than that, however, it was the attempted *coup d'etat* of 1960 which undermined the popularity of the Emperor. It helped the students to boldly engage in the struggle against the regime. Above all, it was only the university students who came behind the cause of the coup by staging demonstrations. After the coup failed, the students were made to apologize publicly in writing to the Emperor. However, there was no doubt that the Emperor and the public were well aware of the students' support for the aims of the *coup*-makers.

In 1961, the consolidation of several colleges under a central administration as Haile Sellassie I University further created the opportunity for cohesion and political radicalism. The students made their challenge through organizing public demonstrations, particularly in favor of land reform. The worsening conditions of the peasantry and the hard life of the urban masses provided the objective basis for student radicalism. In the course of time, University student political radicalism spread into the high schools. It happened through the instrumentality of the Ethiopian University Student Service (EUSS), i.e. senior classes in the University used to give a one year teaching service in high schools before graduation. The programme, which started in 1965, provided a medium for closer communication between University students and high schools in particular. These "teachers" enlightened the students and increased

their political awareness. Particularly they made them aware of the backwardness of their country as a result of the reactionary nature of the regime.

In 1965, the University students staged a demonstration in front of the Parliament shouting the revolutionary slogan “Land to the Tiller,” while the deputies were debating the regulations of tenancy. The fact that the demonstration was staged in front of the Parliament was something new and significant in the history of modern Ethiopia. This was a new approach in which the students recognized the Parliament (as the people’s representative) not the Emperor, as holder of the country’s sovereignty. In the following years, demonstrations became annual events.

In 1967, the student newspaper “News and Views” was replaced by “Struggle”. At the same time, student activists managed to unite the various college unions in Addis Ababa into one organization called the University Student Union of Addis Ababa (USUAA). It was done with the view of creating one mouth-piece for the University students of Addis Ababa. Thus, the student newspaper “Struggle” became the organ of spreading new political ideas among the students and the public at large. There was also a strong stand against the USA, which was giving massive military support to the reactionary imperial regime that was seen as an obstacle to the country’s development. In the November 1969 issue of “Struggle”, an article was published on the nationalities problem in Ethiopia. The writer was one of the student activist called Walelign Makonnen who firmly supported cultural and linguistic independence of the nationalities. This became a challenge to the government whose ethnic policy was repressive. The Ethiopian press and radio informed the public that the students had to stop such activities, which their families should also forbid. The government saw the University students as a potential danger to its power. In late December, 1969, the president of the USUAA, Tilahun Gizaw was killed by government agents. This was the beginning of brutal measures against the students. The next day, a gathering of thousands of students mourning the death of the student leader was fired on and some lost their lives. The University was closed, but was reopened again after three weeks. But all this did not stop the movement. Through illegal pamphlets, the students continue their protest against the regime.

The Ethiopian student movement had also an external wing. The world-wide student

movement, anti-imperialist and anti-right wing authoritarian regimes, had been flaring up in the 1960s, inspired by Marxist theory. These revolutionary ideas were transmitted to Ethiopian students at home through Ethiopian students abroad in Europe and the USA. Their journals "Tatek" (Gird yourself) and "Challenge" were brought into Ethiopia and put into circulation secretly. They gave direction to the Ethiopian student movement in general.

On the event of the revolution, the Ethiopian students at home got another opportunity to expose the reactionary nature of the regime. During the period under discussion the country suffered from the famine that hit hard Wollo and Tigray. People die in large numbers. Others left their homes for the urban areas. Despite the suffering of the people, the government was hiding the famine from the rest of the world. The students with some of their instructors resisted the government's policy of hiding the famine of 1972-74. By so doing they exposed the famine, which showed the moral and political lowness of the regime to the public and accelerate its downfall. It should be underlined also that the famine was both a result of the absence of rains and man-made conditions. The students were not organized as a political party to cause the final downfall of the monarchy and to play a viable role in the transfer of power in 1974. As a result the more organized military force played the key role in the overthrow of the feudal power and took over government power. However the student movement, at first gave direction and guidance to the new regime in 1974. The students' slogans of land reform, the right of nationalities and political liberties were taken away by the Derg as a means to consolidate its political position.

Ethio-Somali Conflict

On independence, British and Italian Somaliland were united and emerged independent as the Republic of Somalia on 1 June 1960. The new Republic was ambitious to build "Greater Somalia" and adopted a flag with a five-pointed star symbolizing the five territories which Greater Somalia wanted to possess. According to this design, Somalia was to comprise former Italian Somaliland, British Somaliland, French Somaliland (Djibouti), the Ogaden in Ethiopia and the Northern Frontier District (N.F.D) in Kenya. It remained a duty for the Republic to obtain the "lost" parts and bring together all five Somali territories within a single Somali state.

With this objective in mind, Somalia rejected all treaties concerning the boundaries between Somalia and Ethiopia. It rejected treaties signed before Somalia emerged as an independent state. The Constitution of the Somali Republic also contained provisions to promote the aim of Greater Somalia. The Somali politicians used all means to gain international support for their policy of Greater Somalia.

At the end of 1963 the British government sought to unite the Northern Frontier District of Kenya with Somalia. This idea was not accepted by the Kenyan leaders, and was abandoned. Afterwards, the Somali Republic broke off diplomatic relations with Britain and Kenya. This increased cooperation between Kenya and Ethiopia. Both agreed to a mutual defence pact. Following this, the Somali leaders began a series of clashes along the 1600 km Ethio-Somali border as early as 1964. As a matter of fact, they knew that they could not defeat Ethiopia but hoped to internationalize the boundary issue and gain sympathy for the cause of Greater Somalia. They also hoped to re-direct the inter-clan conflicts in Somalia towards the issue of national unity. But the conflict ended when Somalia and Ethiopia issued a declaration in Khartoum announcing the end of the fighting.

Subsequently the Somali leaders appealed to the UN Security Council, but did not gain any positive response to their dream of "Greater Somalia". At Somalia's request, several meetings of the OAU were held. Finally, it was decided that the OAU should assert a principle about African borders. The first OAU summit, held in Cairo in July 1964, passed the Cairo Declaration on African borders, which said that "All member states pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence". Somali leaders outrightly rejected the resolution.

When Somali leaders found that the African forum did not serve their cause, they shifted to the Muslim world, particularly Arab forums. In numerous Islamic conferences, the Somali leaders succeeded in having several anti-Ethiopian resolutions passed, pressing the Ethio-Israeli connection to strengthen Arab opposition against Ethiopia.

In July 1967, a government change took place in the Somali Republic, and the former Premier Ali Shermarke became President and the northern politician, Ibrahim Egal became Prime Minister. Ibrahim Egal's government made a *détente* with Ethiopia and Kenya. It revived diplomatic relations. And the dream for Greater Somalia was left aside

for the moment. However, the prospect of this *detente* became dim when General Siyad Barre took over political control through the *coup d'etat* of 21 October 1969. Siyad Barre revived the policy of unifying all Somali – claimed territories. If this could not be achieved, he proclaimed support for the right of self-determination for Somalis wherever they were. Then the policy of “Greater Somalia” was changed to “Western Somalia”. That was done to fulfil the policy of expansion through rebels in eastern Ethiopia. Somalia's irredentism led to a war of aggression against Ethiopia, as we shall see farther in the unit.

Popular Revolution and the Fall of the Monarchy

Causes

Since the attempted *coup d'etat* of 1960 Haile Sellassie's government had been confronted with mounting opposition. The leading forces in the opposition were students and intellectuals. They accused the government of failure to introduce reforms to achieve economic, political and social progress. In the opening years of the 1970s, the economic, political and social problems of the country were still awaiting solutions. In February 1974, almost two years after the celebration of the Emperor's 80th birthday, a popular revolt against the regime broke out. There were several immediate causes for the outbreak of the revolt. But the most important was the famine of Wollo. Throughout 1973 and early 1974 the Wollo famine claimed the lives of thousands of peasants, while forcing others to abandon their birth place. Although the government tried to hide the famine, foreign reports exposed it. Upon the exposure of the horrors of the famine, intellectuals and other enlightened Ethiopians bitterly attacked the regime for ignoring the suffering of the people. Thus, public hatred against the regime grew strong and broke out into open revolt in February 1974.

Beginning of the Revolution

The first revolt, leading up to the popular mass uprising of February, took place in the army formerly an instrument of the regime. In January 1974 soldiers stationed in the town of Negele Borena mutinied against the bad conditions of their life. Before the government could pacify the soldiers, unrest spread to the capital the following month. The unrest was ignited by the rise in petroleum price. The rise in petroleum price

actually resulted from the Arab-Israeli War of 1973. However, opposing the price rise, taxi drives in the capital went on strike in February 1974. They demanded fair charges for taxi journeys proportional to the increased price of petroleum. At the same time, there was a countrywide strike of teachers who opposed "the implementation of the educational reform program known as the Educational Sector Review". University and high school students organized violent demonstrations.

The situation became critical when soldiers in different army divisions joined the popular unrest. In late February, soldiers of the Second Division in Asmara, the Fourth Division in Addis Ababa and the Air Force in Debre Zeit mutinied. Caught amid the mounting unrest, The Aklilu Habta-Wold cabinet was unable to pacify the situation. Aklilu, who had been a Prime Minister since 1961 resigned on 28 February 1974. The Emperor appointed *Lij* Endalkachew Mekonnen to replace Aklilu as Prime Minister. The new prime minister promised to initiate reforms, "including constitutional reform." As a sign of this good will, he presented for the emperor's approval a cabinet consisting of educated and progressive ministers. Along with this, the government also tried to check "the popular unrest by withdrawing the Sector Review, reducing the price of petroleum and increasing the salaries of soldiers."

Despite these concessions from the government, unrest continued. Students were the leading agitators against the regime. They continued to challenge the government and also agitated others to join them in the struggle against the regime. As was discussed above, soldiers were active participants in the struggle. Already in February, they had set up a committee known as the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, the Police and the Territorial Army. Committee, started to take its own independent measures. In late April, for instance, the Committee arrested Aklilu and many other government officials and high-ranking military officers.

In June the Committee made a call to military units throughout the country to send their representatives—excluding officers above the rank of major—to the capital. Upon the arrival of the delegates, a meeting was held on 28 June 1974 at the headquarters of the Fourth Division. This was the first meeting of the Derg (the Committee). Major Mengistu Haile Mariam, a delegate of the Third Army Division in Hararge, became the First Vice-

Chariman of the Derg. Major Atnafu Abate, already active in the Committee and a delegate of the Fourth Army Division, became the Second Vice-Chariman.

The consolidation of the *Derg* marked the beginning of dual power in the country. This was because the *Derg* exercised its own power parallel to Endalkachew's government. The state of dual power did not last long. It came to an end on 1 August, when the *Derg* imprisoned Engalkachew and replaced him as Prime Minister by *Lij* Mikael Imiru.

Fall of the Monarchy

With the removal of Endalkachew and his government, the *Derg* became the only power in the country. So far the *Derg* had arrested many of the prominent figures of the regime. Now, the Emperor became their target. The *Derg* carried out a propaganda campaign to discredit the Emperor until he was arrested and deposed on 12 September 1974.

The Military Dictatorship (1974 - 91)

Consolidation of Military Dictatorship and Measures Taken

Having put to an end the monarchy, the *Derg* proclaimed itself the provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) and assumed full power. Both before and after 12 September 1974, the *Derg* took several measures. Among these, some of the major ones were the following.

- Imprisonment of top military and civilian officials of the Haile Selassie regime.
- Banning of all anti - government strikes and demonstrations.
- Repression of all forms of protest.
- Execution of 52 renowned officials and functionaries of the old regime, as well as General Aman Mikael Andom, the *Derg's* Chairman in November 1974.
- Conduct of the Development Through cooperation campaign or the *Zemetcha* to spread literacy and organize the peasantry beginning from 1974.
- Proclamation of " Ethiopian Socialism" and adoption of the official name of the provisional Government of Socialist Ethiopia.
- Nationalization of banks, insurance, industrial and commercial companies, as well as all rural and urban land in 1975.
- Elimination of opponents to the personal dictatorship of Mengistu Haile Mariam was completed between 1977 and 1978.

When all political organizations in the capital collaborated with the *Derg*, only the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) continued in its opposition to military rule, thus becoming its target. In cooperation with the All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement (*Meison*), the *Derg* began what it called the "Red Terror" against the EPRP, whose counter-attacks were designated "White Terror". However, before the *Derg* could totally eliminate the EPRP from the towns, it faced a challenge of a different kind. This was the invasion of Somalia.

The invasion of Somalia took the *Derg* by surprise. Ethiopia's military machine was not in a condition to stand large scale foreign invasion. The regular army which numbered no more than 50,000 troops was poorly armed. The USA had been the supplier of Ethiopia's military armaments. But it had withdrawn this support, when its relations with Ethiopia became strained following military rule. Even though the USA had promised to the Emperor in 1973 to supply a 100 million US dollar armament, including fighter and bomber airplanes, the delivery was held back. In contrast, Somalia undertook military preparations long before it started the invasion. The main supplier of Somalia's armaments was the Soviet Union.

After long preparations, Siyad Barre, the then leader of Somalia, awaited for an opportune time to begin the invasion of Ethiopia. When the popular revolution of 1974 broke out, Siyad Barre was convinced that the time had come to start an attack against Ethiopia. The attack began in 1977. By August 1977, the Somali regular army was in control of large parts of eastern Ethiopia. The Somali invasion united all Ethiopians to the defense of their country. Consequently, the *Derg*, which now assumed the role of a patriotic leader, successfully organized the training of a 300,000 peasant militia force and hastily sent it to reinforce the regular army. In the meantime, changes in the international alliance system favoured Ethiopia. Already having adopted Marxist-Leninist ideology, Mengistu hurried to make new relations with the Soviet Union. Ending their relations with Somalia, the Soviets started to arm Ethiopia. In addition, the Soviet allies, Cuba and South Yemen, sent their soldiers to fight on the side of Ethiopia. Thus, with the assistance of the Cuban and South Yemeni soldiers and Soviet military officers, the Ethiopian army started a counter-attack, which soon pushed back the Somali invaders.

By March 1978, all Somali regular forces had been driven out from the territory of Ethiopia. The efficient Ethiopian Air Force and the heroic efforts of the peasant militia were very important in the decisive victory which Ethiopia gained over the Somali aggressors.

After victory over Somalia, three major issues took the attention of the military government. The first was the total elimination of the EPRP, from the towns, which it succeeded in the use of "Red Terror" in an organized manner through what it called the "Disclosure Campaign". As a result of fear and merciless torture, many people were forced to confess things they really did not know or had not done. In the process, thousands of innocent people became victims of the "Red Terror". But the EPRP continued its struggle by moving to the northern part of the country to undertake a rural guerrilla resistance. In 1977 *Meison* was identified as the *Derg* opponent and became a target for *it* attack.

The second issue which took attention of the *Derg* was the task of party formation. The *Derg* had planned for a communist party formation by merging political organization that supported it. But it changed the strategy of party formation in 1979 from unity of different political organizations to recruitment of individuals loyal to the military government. Using that strategy a party known as the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE), and Mengistu became its Secretary-General in September 1984. This event marked the peak of the military dictatorship. As we shall see below, it also marked the beginning of the occurrence of events which hastened the downfall of the military dictatorship.

The third issue was the suppression of opposition groups and freedom fighters which had their bases in the northern part of Ethiopia. These were the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU), the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). The EDU emerged only after the downfall of the old regime. Its leader was *Ras* Mengesha Seyoum, a grandson of Emperor Yohannes IV who was married to the granddaughter of Haile Sellassie I. Members of the EDU were mainly northern aristocrats and high ranking military officers of the old regime. EDU was thus fighting to restore the feudal monarchy. There was some fighting between the EDU and

the *Derg*. The EDU also fought against the TPLF in Tigray, where both had their bases. In this fighting the EDU met a crushing defeat and was totally driven out of Tigray. In May 1976, the *Derg* issued a nine point program for the solution of the Eritrean problem. But there was no agreement and the negotiations broke down. In the following year, when the invasion from Somalia diverted the *Derg's* attention, the EPLF greatly expanded its control over Eritrea. It encircled Asmara and put Massawa under siege. By the end of 1977, only 5 *per cent* of Eritrea remained under the control of *Derg*.

The situation was reversed immediately after victory over Somalia. With full confidence, in the *Derg* started a massive attack against EPLF. The pressure of massive attacks forced the EPLF to evacuate many of the territories it held. In spite of this, the *Derg* did not succeed in expelling the EPLF from its strong base at Nakfa, in northern Eritrea. The *Derg* made another attempt at eliminating the EPLF in 1982. This time, attacks against the EPLF were carried out under the so-called "Red Star Campaign", which again failed to eliminate the EPLF.

Another political force fighting the *Derg* in the north was the TPLF. It was founded by a small group of university students who fled to Tigray in 1975. They began their struggle in Dedebit, a place located in the lowlands of Adiyabo in western Tigray. Initially, the TPLF obtained some support from the EPLF, mainly in military training and supply of some rifles. In the first phase of its struggle, the TPLF was engaged in a bloody war with the EDU. Having defeated and expelled the EDU from Tigray, the TPLF gradually expanded its control over Tigray. It also fought against EPRP and drove it away from Tigray. One of its earliest engagements with the *Derg* army was against the forces dispatched under the so-called Raza Campaign. In this engagement, the TPLF ambushed the *Derg* force and forced it to surrender. In the following years, the TPLF consolidated its power and expanded its military resources to become the leading force in the struggle against military rule.

By 1982 the TPLF was in command of a considerable force with a major part of Tigray under its control. At this time, the EPLF was in a critical condition due to the attacks the *Derg* launched under the Red Star Campaign. In fact, the EPLF was saved from total destruction by the force of TPLF who made a remarkable march along difficult terrain to

Sahel and assisted the EPLF in pushing back the *Derg* army.

The failure of the Red Star Campaign was a turning point in the struggle between the *Derg* and the northern insurgents. In 1984 the *Derg* celebrated the inauguration of the Workers Party of Ethiopia and the 10th anniversary of the military government. The anniversary coincided with a severe famine that hit Ethiopia as a whole. In order to make political profit out of the famine, the *Derg* began massive resettlements of the peasants of Tigray and Wollo, the areas most affected by the famine, to the southwestern parts of Ethiopia. Part of the intention behind the resettlement programme was the isolation of the freedom fighters from the rural population in the north. Along with the resettlement program was villagization (concentration of peasants in large villages) which also intended to tighten control over the rural population. Both programs led to widespread peasant opposition against the military government. This created favourable conditions for the rise and growth of several movements fighting for national self-determination. Among these movements, some of them already in existence, were the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), the Sidama Liberation Front (SLM), the Oromo Islamic Front (OLF), the Afar Liberation Front (ALF), the Benishangul Liberation Movement (BLF) and the Gambella Liberation Front (GLF). Peasant opposition to the *Derg's* policies above all benefited the TPLF. The Front won popular support which strengthened its power.

In a series of military victories, the Front expanded the territory under its control. Among the military victories, one particularly was very important. In February 1989, the TPLF fighters scored a remarkable victory on the *Derg* army at Enda Sellassie, western Tigray. Tens of thousands of the soldiers of the *Derg* army were captured. Many of their commanders were either killed in action or captured. The victory also helped the TPLF to capture artillery pieces and tanks.

The victory of Enda Sellassie had two consequences. Firstly, it led to the withdrawal of *Derg* troops from the whole of Tigray. This enabled the TPLF to extend the scope of this struggle beyond Tigray. Secondly, the victory was a crushing blow to the fighting morale of the *Derg* army. Moreover, the victory had another immediate consequence. This was the attempt of high ranking military officers to eliminate Mengistu from power. On 16

May 1989, the officers staged a *coup* in Addis Ababa. However, the *coup* was hastily began to take the opportunity of Mengistu's absence from the capital, for he was on a state visit to East Germany. The *coup* failed. As it was, within hours of its failure, Mengistu flew back to Addis Ababa to take his revenge. Then followed widespread arrests and all suspected officers were either executed or sentenced to serve long terms in prison. As a result, the army lost its best officers. The merciless punishment also demoralized the *Derg* officers and totally killed the fighting morale of the rank and file. Hence forward, the officers fought with less and less conviction, while the rank and file deserted and surrendered in thousands.

In addition to internal problems, things went against the military government in international politics. This was the collapse of the Soviet Union and the communist regimes in Eastern Europe. As a result, the military government not only lost its chief external support, but also faced open criticism of its rigidities from Soviet journalists and academicians. The half-hearted proclamation of a mixed economy in March 1990 was too late to change the situation for the better. The days of the military dictatorship were nearing their end. Hastening the downfall of the military dictatorship were actions taken by the TPLF, which will be treated below.

Fall of the Military Dictatorship

Immediately after controlling the whole of Tigray, the TPLF changed the strategy of its struggle to liberate Tigray to liberating the whole country from the rule of the military dictatorship and establish a democratic system in Ethiopia. To this end, the TPLF made the necessary organizational change by forming a broad front known as the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) in early 1990.

In addition to the TPLF, the EPRDF included such organizations as the Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Movement now called the Amhara People's Democratic Movement (APDM) and the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO). In the campaigns of 1990 and 1991, the coalition forces of the EPRDF drove the *Derg* army out of Gondar, Gojjam, Wollo and Shoa and moved to the capital from the northern and western directions. On 21 May 1991, Mengistu fled to Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe. This marked the total collapse of the resistance of the *Derg*. In the north, the EPLF forces controlled Asmara and Assab and announced the formation of the Provisional

Government of Eritrea. On 28 May 1991 the EPRDF forces entered Addis Ababa with no resistance and brought to an end to Mengistu's military dictatorship.

The downfall of the military dictatorship marked the beginning of a new chapter in the history of Ethiopia. The process of building a democratic system in the country was soon undertaken. Following its entry into Addis Ababa, the EPRDF established a Provisional Government under Meles Zenawi as Acting Head of State. On 26 June the Provisional Government announced that a National Conference, to set up a Transitional Government, would meet on 1 July. Accordingly, all political forces in the country were invited to attend the conference. Then followed a five-day conference in Addis Ababa, attended by several political organizations. The conference concluded its sessions by establishing the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) and the Charter that would serve during the transitional period. The importance of the Charter was that for the first time in the history of Ethiopia, it gave rights to the nations and nationalities of the country to the use their languages in conducting education and administration. The Charter allowed nations and nationalities to use and develop their respective cultures. During the first two years, the TGE was preoccupied with the tasks of restoring peace and security in the country, rehabilitation of the demobilized soldiers and forming local government. The latter was achieved in 1993, when local administration were established throughout the country. In April of the same year, referendum which voted Eritrean for independence was conducted. In May, 1993 Eritrea became a separate independent state. In 1993, a new Constitution was drawn up. The constitution was approved by a Constituent Assembly in December 1994. After a nation wide election the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) in August 1995.

Review Questions

Choose the best answers from the following alternatives.

1. Which one of the force of opposition to the autocratic state of Ethiopia launched its struggle at both the national and international arena?
 - A. Woyane peasant rebellion of 194t
 - B. The Ethiopian students movement
 - C. Gojjam peasant rebellion
 - D. Taxi- drivers movement
2. Which of the following **was not** reform undertaken by Derg
 - A. Nationalization of urban land and extra house under production established

urban dwellers Association

- B. Centralized economy of the country under the command of the government
 - C. Launched a program development through cooperation campaign for economic development and literacy campaign for eliminating illiteracy in that farmers to read and write
 - D. Nationalized Industries, rural land and redistributed for landless peasants as well as gov't controlled enterprise
3. Yekatit 66 political school was established by Derg as training center because of all of the following reasons **except**
- A. To realize objective of disseminating Marxism Leninism
 - B. To end greater objective of POMOA
 - C. To replace Autocracy with PMAC
 - D. To distribute Marxist – Leninism in masses training to be carried out
4. Who was the last prime minister of autocratic gov't and the 1st chairman of Derg Respectively
- A. Haile Selasei , Mengistu / Mariam
 - B. Aklilu Habe Wold , Tefari Banti
 - C. Lij Endalkachew Mekonen, Atinafu Abata
 - D. Lij Mikael Imiru, Aman Michael Andom
5. Which of the following oppositions against Emperor Haile Selasie I and demanding objective (goal) was wrongly related?
- A. Taxi-drivers of increase of transportation fee
 - B. Teachers association for increment of salary and pension age
 - C. Ethiopian workers for improvement little pay and long working time
 - D. Muslims for secularism and religious tolerance
6. Which of the following was not true about Eritrean problem
- A. In 1952, Eritrea federated with Ethiopia which means autocratic gov't contorted all affairs

- B. Big fours namely Britain, USA and USSR appealed the case of Eritrea to UN in 1948
 - C. UN sent 5 persons from Burma, Pakistan, South Africa, Norway and Guatemala to hear voices
 - D. Muslim dominated ELF(Jabaha) and EPLF (Shabya) marked independence of Eritrea at their foundations
7. Peasant Rebellion of Bale and Gojjam were different in that
- A. Former Supported by foreign Somalia, the latter supported by British gov't
 - B. The former caused by maladministration, religious and ethnic dominations, the latter caused by introduction of new Agricultural or land tax system
 - C. The former led by Jegama kello, the latter by Waqu Gutu
 - D. The former began 1st at Elkre, the latter began at wabi and mota (Dega Damot)
8. 1960, Coup d'état had all of the following historical truth **except**
- A. It Organized by Imperial body guard and police force
 - B. Mengistu Neway organizer of coup was USA educated, governor of Jijiga and Wolaita, hanged publicly at A.A
 - C. It assumed to make Ras Imiru as head of state and prince Asfawosen as prime minister
 - D. It became abortive because it lacked coordination
9. In order to penetrate Africa Europeans used which of the following reason as pretext in 1st half of 19th c?
- A. For searching Raw materials for their Industries
 - B. For scientific investigation, Religious mission and for geographical expedition
 - C. For market search for further profit
 - D. Strategic position of continent for Mediterranean sea

10. The Ethiopian Teachers' Association opposed the Education Sector review of 1971-1972 because it
- A. Introduced a shift system to schools
 - B. Discriminated against students from poor families
 - C. Increased the number of high school students
 - D. Proposed a reduction in the salary of teachers
11. On January 31, 1942 the first Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement was signed. This agreement
- A. Recognized Ethiopia as sovereign state but it allowed the British to have final authority over Ethiopia's
 - B. British recognized the Ogaden and the reserved area as integral parts of Ethiopia.
 - C. Allowed emperor Haile Selassie to recruit non-British foreign personnel
 - D. Recognized Djibouti as an outlet of Ethiopia

Modality of Delivery

This course requires an active participation of students. Subject teachers will also help students learn themselves. Teachers will also depend on lecturing to cover core areas of knowledge.

Assessment

There will be one standard exam. There should also be quizzes

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6. Heater D, Our World Today (1995).

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