UNIT 8

ETHIOPIA FROM AUTOCRACY TO REVOLUTION 1941-1991

Restoration of the Monarchy

Haile Selassie came back and British domination

- Haile selassie came back and restored his power but his power limited by British administration.
- British regard Ethiopia as part of Occupied Enemy Territory Administration, and kept finance, army and foreign affairs. To gain the complete independence of the monarchy H/sellassie signed two agreements with Britain.
- The 1st Anglo_Ethiopian agreement 1942 : Britain recognize independence of Ethiopia but key sectors foreign affair, administration, finance and military were under Britain using pretext of Still WWII is going on & Djibouti was under Vichy government. Britain had plan of forming Greater Somalia
- The 2nd Anglo_Ethiopian agreement 1944: Britain agreed to restore ogaden, gave right to H/sellasie to recruit non British personnel, to use Djibouti-AA railway and to train Ethiopian military force.
- Forming greater Somalia was failed when Italy Somali land placed as Italian Trust ship. Britain kept Haud and Reserved area later restored to the Ethiopian government. Political groups rebelled over Haud but Ethiopian government regained through force.

Period of American Influence

- Ethiopia requested USA for military aid and legal advisors. H/seallasie met Roosevelt asked for support in struggle to regain Ogaden and Eritrea.
- Americans taken Radio Marina (Qagnew station) which is an important link in US global communication network. Britain ended authority over Eritrea. Due to threat of communist in Eritrea, USA prefers Eritrea to be part of Ethiopia.
- Ethiopia participation in the Korean War on side of South Korea convinced Americans that Ethiopia was ally of western world. Then the US communication base renamed as Qagnew Station to commemorate the Ethiopian battalions fought in korea.
- Point four agreement signed in 1952 in agriculture, public health, education, tourist, and public administration.

- 1953 Military Assistance and Advisory Group (MAAG) assigned to train Ethiopian army
- USA gave military help to Ethiopia in war with Somalia (got help from USSR). Ethiopia serves as peace keeper in Africa like in Congo.
- American Trans-continental & western air lines helped to set up Ethiopian Air Lines
- Loan for Repair and road construction obtained from international Bank for Reconstruction and Development mostly funded by USA. And Imperial highway authority established with American assistance. Education expanded on the line of Americans, and American Peace Corps volunteer teachers play significant role.
- By 1960 & 70 Ethiopian students view America as imperialist. America got another ally Egypt under Anwar Sadat in Red sea.
- Ethiopia built absolutism through support from USA, and Ethiopia was scarcely capitalist.

Consolidation of Autocratic Power

Being Autocratic control in central Administration

- A decree was passed by Haile selassie at the expense of regional lords. Some young people's got modern education and appointed to high position if they are loyal to the emperor. To maintain the loyalty he made marriage alliance, he also preferred loyal persons than the nobility and the patriots.
- The ministers visited the emperor at his palace to report matters requiring decisions. The order made effective through ministry of pen (Tshehafe Tezaz Wolde Giorgis W/yohannis). Mekonnen H/wold as ministry of finance.
- Mekonen Endalkachew as nominal P.minister (1943-57). Aklilu H/wold became ministry of pen in 1958. In 1961 he assumed real power
- Haile sellasie assigned danger aristocrats to away posts. Asrat kassa assigned as governor of Eritrea. Endalkachew Mekonen and Michael Imiru assigned as Ambasadors. Exceptions Abiy Abebe & Yilma Deresa appoint as minister of war & finance.
- Ras kassa Hailu, Ras seyoum Mengesah, Ras Mesfin sileshi and Ras Imiru H/selassise made member of crown council to maintain his autocratic position.
- H/Sellasie fully controlled the financial system and allocation of state revenue

Provincial Administration

- H/selassie appointed loyal officials than traditional rulers over different provinces except Tigray and Eritrea.
- The country had 13 provinces later Eritrea added and became 14 provinces with 99 sub province (awraja), 444 districts (woreda) and 1328 sub district. Governors had no modern education rather expected to maintain peace & security (Tsetita)

The 1955 Revised Constitution

- Revised to have similarity with Eritrea and create false positive image. The constitution stressed the power of the emperor. “By virtue of imperial blood as well as by anointing which he has received the person of the emperor is sacred. His dignity is inviolable and his power is indisputable”.
- Human and democratic rights stated but they were not effective
- The emperor had a power to dissolve the parliament. The president of chamber of senate elected by the emperor, and president of chamber of Deputies elected by the members. Proposals forwarded to the emperor for approval to become a law. Members of the chamber were conservative mostly from the land lords.
- The role the Prime minister was little. After 1960 coup the emperor made constitutional revision and the executive authority to be transferred to Prime minister & council of minister and to separate function of head of state and head of government. But this was not practical until 1974 revolution.

Modern Military Forces and the Security

- Holeta Genet military school opened and graduate as commissioned lieutenants
- H/sellassie military academy opened at Harar in 1957, graduates appointed as leadership in military units including Imperial body guard (most privileged to the emperor)
- Imperial Air force set up in 1947 by Norwegians help
- 1942 modern Ethiopian police force organized along British lines. Under it there was department of public security
- 1950 America trained Ethiopian armed force, which became biggest force in Sub Sahara
- Netch Lebash organized by loyal volunteers. Later replaced by the territorial army

Weakness of Autocratic State were: lack of modernization, absence of democratic rights, irresponsibility in use of government power, dependence on foreign help, failure to address question of nationalities, failure to make reforms, absence of saving and back ward socio economic conditions.

Socio-economic Conditions, Land Tenure and Agriculture

- The population largely engaged in agriculture but it was subsistence with traditional farming. Peasants paid tax to the state from the produce. There were scarce education and health facilities in rural area.
- 1941 a decree made which regularize provincial administration, government employees to be paid salaries and abolish right of officials to collect dues. 1942 proclamation issued uniform rate of taxation. In 1944 land tax payments made in money than Asrat (kind) and abolish labor service. In 1947 & 1959 education and health tax respectively.
- There was land privatization in three ways: for the northern settlers (non local officials & descendents of Neftegna), the madarya (temporary grant), and grant of government land to patriot soldiers and civil servants. This turned the local peoples in tenants and economic inequality prevailed. There was no legal agreement between landlords & tenants. The share crop agreement will be fourth (erbo), one third (siso) and one half (equal arash).
- Due to failed coup of 1960 the government initiates policy which reduces plight of peasants and promotes agricultural development. 1965 land reform and development authority (later ministry of land reform and administration in 1966) established. Tenancy bill rejected by the parliament the students hold slogan “land to the tiller”.
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Trade and industry

- There was low circulation of goods, and the export items were coffee, hides & skin. Coffee mostly exported to USA and the Ethiopian import items provided from Japan & Italy. There were also little saving using Banks & Equb.
- Arada was market center before liberation, later Mercato became popular, the domestic merchants replaced the foreigners.
- General Transport Company or Ambesa established in 1952 with share.
- Industries established which substitute imports which focus on light industries.

- The Dutch company (HVA) set up two sugar facories at Wonji and Matahra. The campany changed in to HVA Ethiopia with share, but the profit mainly given to Dutch campany.
- The main source of government revenue was land tax, custom duties and Adola gold mine. The per capital income was low 90 % of the people were illiterate. Due to the gap between expenditure and revenue the government forced to take loans.

Education

- Education expanded after the liberation period. Ministry of education and fine arts created. H/sellasie High schools in 1943, Wingate School in 1946 established. The number of primary & secondary schools increased. The education facilities concentrated in towns like Asmara & Addis Ababa. There was also gender imbalance between students & shortage of teaching personnel. Foreigners recruited for secondary schools.
- University college of A.A established in 1950, H/sellasie University in 1961 and catholic nuns organize a new university in 1967. Financial problem was one of the obstacles for the expansion of education.

Ethio- Eritrean federation and Union

- In 1941 fascists expelled from Eritrea, the Britain set occupied enemy territory administration. Eritreans made demonstration for unification of Eritrea and Ethiopia and the unionist party also formed. Political parties formed on ethnic and religious basis. British had planned to unite the lowland with Sudan and the highland with Tigray. The liberal progressive party led by Tesema Asmerom formed in the highland, and Muslim league formed in 1946 in lowland. Pro-Italian party also established to return Italian colonial rule.
- 1947 four powers commission of Enquiry (USA, USSR, Britain & France) came to Eritrea. The unionist and Muslim league became the major rivals. With the assessment of peoples opinion 50 % voted independence, the remaining unity and a few voted to unite with Sudan.
- 1950 UN appointed commission of five men. Guatemala & Pakistan opted for independence; Burma & South Africa recommended federation with Ethiopia and Norway favored union. With majority vote Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia in 1952.

- Eritrean constitution was written by UN. In the election of 1952 the unionist party got majority seat and Tadla Bahru became chief executive of Eritrea. The emperor of Ethiopia did not want to accept special status of Eritrea due to high degree of democracy and civil liberty in Eritrea might incite the rest of Ethiopian peoples. The emperor made undemocratic acts on Eritrea, he replaced Tadla Bahru with Asrate Kassa and he replaced Arabic & Tigrigna with Amharic as state language and hoisted Ethiopian flag.
- 1962 Eritrean assembly decided to unite Eritrea with Ethiopia. Eritrea became one of the provinces of Ethiopia. Opposition began and Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM) established in 1958 in Cairo. In 1961 Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) established in Middle East and made attacks led by Edris Awate.
- Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) or Jebeha and Eritrean people's Liberation Front (EPLF) or Sha'abiya were the two rival separatist groups between 1972-74, the EPLF became dominant. Arabs regard Eritrea as Arab land and hated H/selasies regime with its close ties with Israel. During Arab-Israeli war arabs support Eritrean movement. Ethiopian students also support Eritrean issue.

Early Opposition against Haile Selassie Government

- The Emperor favored collaborators (bandas) after restoration of his power. Blatta Takala Walda Hawaryat a renowned patriot opposes emperor's return to the throne and made a plot but he was imprisoned. Later he became vice minister of Interior and Afa Negus. With his attempt to assassinate the emperor he was killed in 1969.
- Another famous patriot Belay zeleke was not much appreciated by the emperor. The emperor gave choice of either governor of southern Ethiopia or governor of Bichena. Belay was only given Dejazmach, and lost Mota and Debre Markos. Belay expressed his anger by disobeying orders from central government. In 1944 forces of Gojjam and A.A invaded his district; he was surrendered and kept in prison. Later broke out of prison but he was caught and publicly hanged.
- Grandson of T/Hymanot of Gojjam Bitwaded Negash Bezabih (renowed patriot) made plot against the emperor. His plot to assassinate the emperor and to proclaim a republic was discovered.

Woyane Rebellion 1942-3

- British had plan of uniting Tigray & Eritrea. To prevent this, H/selassie appointed his own officials in the province. The officials became corrupt, unpopular and made forced tax. The militia stationed b/n korem & Quiha were poorly paid and looted peasants.
- There was old age conflict b/n Raya & Azebo and the government. They want to secure their traditional local powers. Under the leadership of Blatta H/Mariam Reda the movement had remarkable success. The government assigned Abebe Aregay as commander. Finally with aerial bombing of Britain the rebellion was crashed in 1943.

Challenges to the Regime

The failed coup d'etat of 1960

- The coup organized by General Mengistu Neway (commander of imperial body guard) and his brother Germame Neway. They realized any peaceful ways of change & reform was impossible. The rebels stated the backwardness the country in contrast with other African states and the ineffectiveness of the regime to bring progress. The rebels seized public building and took as hostages some members of the imperial family and leading figures in the government using A.A police force. The new government declared in 1960. Asfawosen became constitutional monarch and Ras Imiru as head of government.
- The rebels failed to get support of other army unit and they did not put leading officials and army generals under control. The army and air force made a reaction & the emperor quickly returned from South America. The imperial body guard and police force (Tsie Dibu) did not with stand army and Air attack. Mengistu & Germame exit from A.A. Germame was killed and Mengistu was caught and publicly hanged.
- Only university students supported the coup through demonstration. It showed that it was possible to remove the monarch. "The torch of change had been kindled by the rebellion".

Bale peasants rebellion

- The causes were maladministration, land alienation heavy tax, operation and religious bias. The government granted lands to dignitaries, military & civil servants, and the bureaucrats expropriate peasant lands. The land re-measurement of 1963 sparked the rebellion. The pastoralists did not pay tribute by crossing boundaries until the collectors leave the area.

- The pastoralists required to pay for pasturing their animals on what was regard as state land. The tax collectors were looted and raped. Fitawrari worku Enquselassie antagonized muslims, he took the side of chrstians. Expansionist Somalis considers Bale as terra irridenta (unredeemed territory) or territory claimed for Somalia. Rebellion began at Afker or El-kere led by Kahin Abdi. He burnt government posts. In Wabi by Haji Ishaha Mohamod Dadi and in Dolo by Balambaras Waqo Lugu made a rebellion.
- With conflict of Guji & Boarana the Ethiopian Somalis and Rayitu Oromo's moved to bale later to Moqadisho. Cherri Gutu and Waqo Gutu were leaders of the rebellion who trained in Moqadisho, they destroyed orthodox church and burnt documents. Waqo Gutu attacked town of Bidre. District administrators and police killed by the rebels.
- The government control Negele-Borana and districts of Bale. After the war the state treated the peoples fairly. The government canceled all land taxes up to 1967. Waqo Gutu was given title of Grazmach & hectares of land and he became rich.

Gojjam peasant's rebellion

- Dejach Tsehaye became the governor of the province; his corrupt rule dissatisfied the gojjam peasants.
- The government issued decrees that require all citizens to have guns registered up on payment. The intention of the government was to disarm the people.
- 1967 income tax proclamation issued. Damot & Motta lead the rebellion. They made petition and appeals through delegation later turn to violent tactics. They meet at Azwari River and agreed to expel state officials and destroy property of traitors.
- In 1968 state officials withdrew from the district, the resistance spread to other areas.
- 60 % of eastern Gojjam were against the state. Deputy administrator arrived at Awobel & began measurement of land. The peasants managed to stop the measurement. Militia under Demis Alamrew sent to Awobel and looted property. The army and police force made continuous fighting with peasants.

- The peasants present their problem to the emperor. They asked for better governance, education, health, transport and stop tax. But the emperor warned them to give up their unlawful activities.
- Commission made up of ministry of Interior and finance came to gojjam and stayed at Bichena, D.Markos, Damot and Motta. Clash began between peasants and the government and there was heavy loss on both sides.
- The last commission under Dejach Kifle Ergetu & Dejach Kifle Dadi arrived at D.markos and discuss with rebels. Then Dejach Tsehayu replaced by Dejach Dereje Mekonen. Later rebels ordered to put arms and return to their farms. Then they were made from all previous taxes.
- But over-zealous leaders began to collect tax using force; this led to clashes in Damot and Motta. The rebels attack police quarter at Dembecha. The government attacked the villages of Damot using Air force. A delegation led by Haile Mariam Kebede arrived at Feres Bet to pacify the problem. He promised that "rist" lands not be measured but taxes should be paid. Only Dega Damot refused, then the government ordered to invade Dega Damot. Later the situation was fairly calm.

The Ethiopian student Movement

- The first university college established in 1950 later colleges was founded in some towns, teachers and the curriculum imported from Europe. The goal of education system was to produce manpower supportive to the region. But students began to question why their country remained backward.
- Students began to expose reactionary nature of H/sellasie regime. The 1st newspaper "news & views" and the 1st university association was "university student union"
- The students played the role of political opposition due to: absence of political parties, social respect given for educated few and the campus life enable students to discuss on national issues. Students were aware of lack of democracy, inequalities, backwardness and corruption and they called for changes
- Students criticize the regime through traditional poetry. The scholarship students made discussion with the Ethiopian students and told them about struggle for independence in their countries.
- The students were the cause for 1960 coup d'état by staging demonstrations. The student's political radicalism increased and they made demonstrations in favor of land reform. The Ethiopian university student service (EUSS) that is senior students give one year teaching

service for high school students, this enable to have closer communication between them.

- Students staged demonstration around the parliament with a slogan “land to the tiller”.
- The newspaper “news and views” replaced by “struggle” spread new political ideas to the public. Students stand against USA which was giving military support to the regime. Uniting various student unions University Student Union of Addis Ababa (USUAA) was formed.
- In “struggle”, Walelign Mekonen supporting linguistic and cultural independence of nationalities. In 1969 president of USUAA was killed. Brutal measures taken on student demonstrators opposing Tilahun’s death. But students continue their protest.
- Anti-imperialist and anti-right wing authoritarian regime flaring up inspired by Marxist theory. The ideas transmitted to Ethiopia through Ethiopian students abroad using their journals “Tatek”(gird yourself) and “Challenge”.
- The country suffered famine that hit Wollo and Tigray. Many peoples were died, but the government was hiding the famine for the rest of the world. The student’s resisted government’s policy hiding the famine, they exposed the famine which showed the moral & political lowliness of the region.
- The students did not have political party but play viable role for downfall of the monarchy. A well-organized military force took power in 1974.

Ethio- Somali Conflict

- British and Italy Somali land unite as Somalia and they were ambitious to build greater Somalia by bringing the five Somali territories. Their flag consist of five stars. Somalia rejected treaties concerning boundaries between Ethiopia & Somalia and the Somali’s used means to gain international support for their greater Somalia policy.
- British wanted to unite northern Kenya with Somalia. Kenyan leaders abandoned the idea and the Kenyans made cooperation with Ethiopia on mutual defense pact. Border clash began in Ethio-Somalia, but with declaration of Khartoum the fighting comes to end.
- Somali leaders appealed to UN but did not gain positive response. In 1964 OAU summit of Cairo passed declaration on African borders which said that “All members pledged themselves to respect the existing on their achievement of national independence”. Somalia’s

shifted to Arab forum for anti-Ethiopian resolutions by pressing Ethio-Israeli connection to strengthen Arab opposition on Ethiopia

- Ali Shermarke became president and Ibrahim Egal became P.minister in 1967. Ibrahim Egal revives diplomatic relations with Ethiopia and Kenya. In 1969 Siyad Barre took power through coup and revives policy of Greater Somalia.

Popular Revolution and fall of the Monarchy

Causes

- Students oppose the government due to failure to introduce reforms to achieve eco, political & social progress. In Feb. 1974 popular revolt began due to famine of wollo which claimed the lives of peasants. The government tried to hide the famine but foreigners and intellectuals exposed the famine. Then opposition and resentment grow strong due to no respect of human and democratic rights, poverty and corruption.

Beginning of the Revolution

- Soldiers stationed at Negele Borana mutinied against bad conditions of life. Unrest also spread due to rise of petroleum price resulted from Arab Israeli war. Taxi drivers made strike opposing price rise and teachers opposed educational sector review. Students made violent demonstrations.
- Soldiers of second division, fourth division in AA and Air force in Debre zeit joined the mutiny. Aklilu H/wold resigned and replaced by Lij Endalkachew. Endalkachew promised to initiate reforms including constitutional reform.
- Cabinet formed consisting educated and progressive ministers, withdraw sector review, reduce price of petroleum and increase salary of soldiers. But unrest and challenges to government continued. Soldiers set up committee known as coordinating committee of armed force, police & Territorial Army. The committee arrested Aklilu & other officials.
- The committee calls military units to send representatives. The meeting held at head quarter of 4^{th} division, this was the first meeting of committee or Derg. Mengistu became 1^{st} vice chairman and major Atnafu as 2^{nd} vice chairman. Dual power exercised by the Derg and Endalkachew. They imprisoned Lij Endalkachew.

- Derg became the only power in the country after removal of Endalkachew. They arrested prominent figures including the emperor in sep 1974.

The Military Dictatorship (1974-91)

Consolidation of Military Dictatorship and Measures Taken

- The Derg proclaim Provissional Military Adminstrative Council (PMAC) assumed power and took the following measures: imprisonment of officials; banning anti-government officials; execution of 52 officials (Aman Andem); development through cooperation campaign, proclaim Ethiopian socialism; nationalize banks & commercial companies; and eliminate opponents.
- Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) stood against. Derg made Red Terror against EPRP in alliance with Ethiopian socialist movement (Meison) whose counter attack was white terror.
- Somalia was ready for invasion of Ethiopia using the support soviet. USA did not provide military assistance to Ethiopia because their relation strained following Military rule.
- In 1977 the forces of Siyad Barre attack and controlled large parts of eastern Ethiopia. Derg trained peasant militia force to reinforce the regular army.
- Mengistu adopted Marxist- Leninist ideology, then soviet began to arm Ethiopia ending her relation with Somalia. In alliance with soviet, Cuba and south Yemen the Ethiopians made counter attack and drove the Somalia's out of Ethiopia. The Air force and heroic peasant militia ensured victory of Ethiopia.

The three attention of military government after victory of Somalia were:

1. Elimination of EPRP which followed "Red terror" through "Disclosure campaign". Innocent peoples became victims of red terror. Then EPRP moved to southern Ethiopia. Meison identified as Derg opponent in 1977.
2. The task of party formation. By recruiting individuals loyal to military government Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) established, Mengistu as secretary general.
3. Suppression of opposition groups and freedom fighters. Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU), Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) & Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). EDU emerged after the fall of old regime led by Mengesha seyoum. EDU wanted to restore feudal

monarch. Later EDU defeated by Derg & TPLF and driven out of Tigray.

- In 1976 Derg issued nine points for Eritrean problem but fail. The invasion of Somalia diverts the issue, and EPLF control large territories of Eritrea. After victory of Somalia Derg made massive attack against EPLF. But Derg did not expel EPLF from their base Nakfa. Derg also made Red terror and irresponsible action campaign to eliminate EPLF.
- TPLF founded by group of university students in 1975 and began struggle at Dedebit. TPLF obtain support from EPLF. TPLF made a war with EDU and EPRP and drove them out of tigray. In the Raza campaign the TPLF ambushed the Derg force and became the leading force in the struggle.
- Derg made Red star campaign against EPL, but saved from total distruction by the force of TPLF in sahel and push the Derg back. Failer of red star campaign was turning point for the struggle. The Derg celebrated the inauguration of workers party & 10th anniversary of the military government. This coincides with a severe famine. Then the Dergue made resettlement of Tigray and wollos to southern parts of Ethiopia. There was also villagization which intended to tighten control over rural population. This led to the rise of opposing groups Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), Sidama Liberation Front (SLF), Oromo Islamic Front (OIF), Afar Liberation Front), Benshangul Liberation Front (BLF) and Gambella Liberation Front.
- TPLF benefited from opposition of Derg. TPLF defeted Derg troops at Enda Selassie in 1989, thousands of Derg soldiers were captured and killed. The victory of Enda Sellasie withdraws the Derg troops out of tigray and crushes the morale of Derg army.
- In 1989 high ranking officers made unsuccessful coup in A.A when the emperor was in a visit to East Germany. Mengistu execute the suspected officers which kills the fighting morale of all Derg officers. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and soviet enabled the military government to lost external support. In 1990 half heartedly introduce mixed economy.

Fall of the Military Dictatorship

- After controlling the whole Tigray TPLF aimed to liberate Ethiopia from dictatorship and they formed Ethiopian people’s revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) in 1990. EPRDF included TPLF,Ethiopian people’s democratic movement (Amhara Peoples Democratic Movement (APDM) and Oromo people’s Democratic organization (OPDO).coalition

force of EPRDF drove Derg out of Tigray and Mengistu fled to Harare in 1991. EPLF controlled Asmara & Assab and formed Provissiona Government of Eritrea. EPRDF entered A.A.

- EPRDF established provisional Government under Meles Zenawi as Head of state. By the conference of different political groups they set up transitional government (TGE) and approve the charter.
- In 1993 local administrations established and referendum for Eritrean independence conducted. Constitution was also drawn. In 1995 EDRE set up.