

Unit Six

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

6.1. The World Moves to War

After the end of World War I, the **allied statesmen** believed that:

- Treaty of Versailles. and
 - League of Nations and security
- } avoid future world wars and ensure lasting world peace

However, the two decades that followed the end of World War I:

- Witnessed widespread conflicts.
- The post - war governments in almost all European countries had to face many problems such as:
 - ✓ political,
 - ✓ economic and
 - ✓ social problems.

Italy:

Note: **Particularly Italy was hard hit by above crisis.** Although Italy was one of the Allied powers and a victor nation of WWI, it faced various problems and crisis in the immediate post-WWI, these problems and crisis were:

- Widespread social and political popular unrest which was the result of popular uprisings.
- Workers in leading industries went on strike.
- Shutting down of production and took over factories after the example of the Russian Bolsheviks.
- Peasants also revolted against wealthy land owners.
- Intensification of fear among the wealthy landowners and the town middle class who feared a communist revolution.
- Italian nationalists and soldiers who served in the Italian army were also dissatisfied with the terms of the Versailles peace settlement.
- 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 favorable condition for the rise of **Fascists** to power in Italy in 1922.

"Fascism":

- Origin - Latin term "*fascis*", which was a **bundle of sticks bound together with an axe that served as a symbol of power and unity in ancient Rome.**
- 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:

- Came to power in Italy in 1922
- 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.

Benito Mussolini:

- was the leader of Fascist party (1883-1945)
- Fought in the First World War as a corporal.
- Before the war, he was a socialist.
- But, during the war, he abandoned socialism and became an ardent nationalist.
- In the war years, he developed new ideas about **government** which he called "**fascism**".
- Used all the discontents and fears of the people for his own political end.
- Promised to establish strong law and order, to end social unrest and protect private property.
- Promised different interests to different groups such as:
 - ✓ To nationalists, promised to restore Italy's greatness.
 - ✓ To capitalists and landlords, his movement was a defense against communism.
 - ✓ To workers promised to 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** (imposition of direct military control of normal civilian functions of government).
- 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.
- Mussolini called himself "**Il Duce**" or "The Leader" and took into his hands the destinies of Italy, as dictator.

Germany:

- Founded **Nazism** (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.

The suppression of the communist insurrection in 1919 was followed by:

- The 1919 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**.

Hitler:

- A **veteran** of World War I.
- Joined the party in **Munich**, a city in southern Germany where Hitler settled after serving in the German army during the First World War.
- Helped the Nazi party grew in power especially after became its leader (1889 - 1945)

Stormtroopers (SA) or "Brown Shirts":

- Organized as soon as Hitler became the leader of the Nazis,
- It was a private army named after the color 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.
- 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 **MeinKampf (My Struggle)**.

MeinKampf (My Struggle):

- It was the book written by Hitler in prison
- Described the ideology of Nazism and Hitler's future plan to make the Germans dominant in Europe.

In this book:

- Hitler expressed his belief that 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*.

Hitler was released from prison in December 1924 and this was followed by:

- 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 marketcrash** 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.

The means through which Hitler became a German chancellor:

- The Weimar Republic was one of the European states which was 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 above desperate situation brought Hitler and the Nazis once again to the political scene. After once Hitler became a German chancellor:

- 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* in 1932, they were still **short of a majority**.
- In 1933 there was **politicaldeadlock** among the political parties in Germany.
- **The deadlock** 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) in 1933**.

Hitler after taking the office of Chancellor,

- 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 and Hitler 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**”, *Fuhrer* in German.
- Soon afterwards, Hitler started to take aggressive measures which ultimately led to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939.

The fundamental cause of the Second World War:

- The unfair decision at Versailles Treaty;

- Emergence of governments which have Fascist ideas in Italy, Nazism in Germany, and militarism in Japan as well as the formation of the Rome - Berlin - Tokyo Axis;
- The weakness of the League of Nations to solve conflicts;
- World economic depression.

The unfair decision at Versailles:

- **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**.

The emergence of Fascist ideas in Italy, Nazism in Germany, and militarism in Japan:

- In **Japan** there was 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.

The weakness of the League of Nations to solve conflicts and stop aggressors:

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**.

Italy:

- 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.

On the whole, the Failure of the League of Nations and the failure of 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**."

Germany:

- Hitler's 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.

Hitler's aggressive actions were:

- 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**.
- The German armies occupied the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland in March 1936.**
 - By the Treaty of Versailles, The German army had been forbidden entry into **Rhineland**
 - But, Germany returned to rearm at a rapid pace and occupied Rhineland.
- In March 1938, German armies annexed Austria (Can be taken as the immediate cause of the war)**
 - 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.
- 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**
 - 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.**

The Munich Conference (Agreement) in September 1938:

- It was the **Appeasement Policy:**
 - ✓ proposed by **British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain**
 - ✓ supported by the **French Prime Minister Edward Daladier; and**
 - ✓ **attended by Hitler of Germany and Mussolini of Italy**
- It was **an effort to avert war through which British and French agreed to meet Hitler to discuss on war problems.**
- By the Appeasement (Munich Agreement):
 - ✓ Germany was allowed to annex the **Sudetenland.**
 - ✓ In return, Hitler promised to **respect the sovereignty of the rest of Czechoslovakia.**
 - ✓ Hitler 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.**
- By the Appeasement Policy, Chamberlain **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 Hitler's opinion that the west would not go to war with Germany in defense of an East European power.**

The Reason why 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.
- They feared to antagonize Mussolini and push him into alliance with Hitler.
- Despite their **caution**, however, the Fascist military bloc was formed.
- The military block was formed in **1936** when Mussolini announced the formation of a **Rome – Berlin Axis**, which was the **alignment of Italy and Germany.**
- In the same year, **Italy, Germany and Japan** signed the **Anti – Comintern Pact (an anti – communist alliance).**
- The formation of **an anti – communist alliance** was resulted in **Soviet Russia willing to join the western powers against Germany and its allies.**
- But, 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.

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, British and French 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.

The means through which Nazi – Soviet Non – Aggression Pact was signed

- Despite mutual distrust between the Soviets and the Western powers, the Western powers wanted to consolidate the **anti-German alliance by including Soviet Russia.**
- When the Western powers 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.

By Nazi – Soviet Non – Aggression Pact:

- Both Soviet and Germany got diplomatic value,
- But, 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.**

6.2. Military Aspects and the Course of the War

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

Invasion of Poland by Germany:

- This event marked the beginning of the Second World War was Hitler's army invasion of Poland from different directions on September 1, 1939.
- Two days later, **Britain** and **France** declared war on **Germany.**
- In spite of its numerical superiority, the Polish army could not stand the well armed German attackers.

"Blitzkrieg" or lightning-war

- It the Germany's Second World war strategy used to invade Poland
- It was aimed to win a **quick** and **decisive** victory through the **coordinated attacks** of the German **air force** and **fast moving ground forces.**
- Helped Germans to succeed to invade Poland by using a massive aerial strike followed by a swift advance of the German infantry and armored divisions.
- Enabled Germany to shatter whatever Polish resistance,
- Assisted Germany to overrun Poland in less than a month.
- On the 30th of September German troops entered into the Polish capital, **Warsaw.**

- Poles, with no direct assistance from their western allies which nominally declared war on Germany were defeated.
- Germany annexed **Danzig (Polish town)**.

Invasion of Eastern Poland, Baltic States and Finland by Soviet Russia:

In the mean time, the Soviets (Russia):

- Advanced quickly into eastern Poland to get its share of the spoils.
- Took over Eastern Poland.
- 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)**.
- Fought a difficult but finally victorious war with **Finland** and annexed some **Finnish** territory.
- The annexation of:
 - ✓ Eastern Poland,
 - ✓ Baltic States and
 - ✓ Finland

} gave the **soviets security** against Nazi invasion

But the USSR did not use the time gained by the Nazi- Soviet Non- Aggression Pact for which Stalin is now blamed.

“Sitzkrieg” or Sitting War (Phony war):

- For about seven months after the Polish surrender, there was no real fighting on the Western Front.
- Therefore, it was the period of no fighting or war

Invasion of Denmark and Norway by Germany End of Phony War:

- It 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.

The Invasion of Netherlands, Belgium and France by Germany in 1940:

They became the next victims of German invasion on the Western Front.

- France was invaded on May 10, 1940 along the **Meuse River** and through the **Ardennes hills**, which **Britain** and **France believed, wrongly, to be impossible terrain for German tanks**.
- The French and British High Commands **did not anticipate** (did not expect) 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 (forced) this Allied force to retreat to **Dunkirk**, a port in northern France.
- 300,000 troops of allied powers, was saved from falling into German hands by evacuating across the **English Channel**, but **all the equipment was left behind**.

The Italian (Mussolini’s involvement in the war):

- 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, 1940 **Paris surrendered to the Germans**.
- Then the French signed an **armistice** (peace agreement) 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 **puppetgovernment** 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 attacked Britain.
- The offensive was to be launched from the air.
- The use of air was aimed to win air supremacy before a full scale invasion of Britain.
- Therefore, Hitler aimed at weakening Britain’s defense capacity by destroying the British **Royal Air Force (RAF)** and its **airfields**.

Reaction of Britain against Germany

- **Winston Churchill** became Prime Minister of Britain in May 1940 by replacing **Neville Chamberlain**.
- In his first speech to the House of Commons, **Churchill** clearly stated his government's policy in favor 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, --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."*⁵

The first phase of the Battle of Britain:

- Started in early August when the "**Luftwaffe**" (the German Air Force) began bombing **southern Britain**.
- In August and September, the *Luftwaffe* launched its attack **in daylight**.
- The aim of day light attack was to **wipe out British airfields and fighter planes**.
- But the British **Royal Air Force (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.

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**.
- By the night bombing of London and British industrial centers, Hitler wanted to **destroy British industrial production and to terrify the population which might induce the British government to ask for peace**.
- However, the "*Luftwaffe*" was unable to paralyze 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. The invasion of Germany against Soviet Union on 22 June 1941

Germany's failure at the battle of Britain was followed by the invasion of Soviet Union by Germany which was thought by Hitler to be accomplished before winter. The Soviet Union invasion was to fulfill the goal of Hitler called "**Lebensraum**" which the vast Soviet territory could provide for German settlers. Additional aims of the Soviet invasion were to the **wheat of Ukraine and the oilfield of Caucasus**:

The Soviets responded with a so-called **scorched earth policy** which called for destruction of everything that could be of use to invaders in 1941. In December 1941, the Russian winter entered. In June 1941, the German's plan called **Operation Barbarossa**; Hitler launched an attack on the USSR. In the same year, Germany troops were close to Moscow. But the Russians showed a heroic resistance in Stalingrad. Added to the Russian resistance, the Germans failed to withstand the Russian cold winter and failed to invade Moscow, the capital of Russia.

iv. 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**.
- The ultimate goal of Japan in 1940 was to establish the official plan called a "**New Order in Greater East Asia**". To this end, Japan adopted the slogan "**Asia for the Asians**" that announced the goal of Japanese to establish a "**Greater Asia Co-prosperity Sphere**".
- Japan also had the aim to replace the **western imperialism by Japanese imperialism** and "**Co-prosperity**" for **other Asian peoples was only pretence (cover)**. As a step to fulfill this goal, Japan invaded the **Tonkin the province in Indonesia**.
- In response to the Japanese actions of invading Tonkin, USA extended a loan to China and put an **embargo** on the export of **scrap iron** on Japan. This promoted Japan to sign a **Tripartite Treaty** with **German and Italy** widely known as "**Berlin -Rome-Tokyo Triangle**" or "**Berlin -Rome-Tokyo Axis**" to assist each other in the event of attack on any of them.
- In 1941, Japan extended its control over **Indo-china** that strained relation between Japan and USA.
- When USA's embargo was more strengthened on Japan, Japan decided to attack the USA's **naval and air power in Pacific and East Asia**.
- 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.
- Japan for a time made rapid advances in the Pacific and South East Asia and occupied.
 - ✓ **Hong Kong,**
 - ✓ **Philippines,**
 - ✓ **Burma, and**
 - ✓ **Malaya**
- On December 8, 1941, USA declared war on Japan.
- On 11 December 1941 to keep their Tripartite agreement, Germany and Italy declared war on USA.

The World at War

- The **Pearl Harbour** catastrophic made the war fully a world war. In August 1942, the war was being fought in several **theatres** situated in:

✓ Eastern Europe	✓ China
✓ North Africa	✓ Atlantic and
✓ Mediterranean	✓ Pacific
✓ Burma	
- **In the meantime, Italian troops had already invaded:**
 - ✓ **Egypt and**
 - ✓ **Greece.**
- 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.
- **The Battle of Stalingrad in Soviet Russia:**
- **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. T
- 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.

The war in North Africa

- 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 secret act, 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.

End of the war

- On June 6, 1944, USA, Britain and Canadian forces invaded **Normandy** in France against Germany this invasion was called **operation Overland**.
- The commander of the Allied troops was the USA's General **Dwight Eisenhower**.
- This invasion of the allied troops liberated almost all of France from Germany. In the meantime, the leader of **Free France, General Charles de Gaulle**, triumphantly entered Paris on 25 August 1944.
- In July 1944, **Soviets crossed the Polish territory**.
- Between August and October 1944, major part of central and Eastern Europe was under Soviet control.

In 1942, the battle of Midway Island fought between USA and Japan in the Pacific region resulted in the defeat of Japan navy. At the end of 1944, the allied troops invaded Germany which resulted in the committing suicide of Hitler a week before the capitulation of Berlin on May 2, 1945.

- **Admiral Karil Doenitz**, Hitler's successor declared by Hitler himself authorized Germany's surrender to the allied force.
- On the same day **General Alfred Jodal** surrendered the German force in the West to Eisenhower.
- The next day, the German force in the East surrendered to the Soviet **Marshal Georgi Zhukov**.
- Thus, 8 May 1945 became **VE (Victory in Europe)**

After the VE day, the allied had fight Japanese in Asia. The Japanese surrender was forced by the use of the newly invented atomic bomb.

- Thus, on 6 August 1945, the first of atomic bombs was dropped on the Japanese city of **Hiroshima**.
- On 9 August the second atomic bomb, was dropped on the Japanese town, **Nagasaki**.
- Finally, on 15 August 1945, the Japanese Emperor **Hirohito** authorized Japan's unconditional surrender and consequently, the Second World War came to end.
- 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.

Consequences of WWII

- Greater loss of human life (50 million deaths)
- Material damages estimated to 2 trillion dollar
- Holocaust (mass murder of European Jew by Nazi) and minorities like:
 - ✓ **Gypsies, and**
 - ✓ **Slavs**
- The mass killing or Holocaust was carried out in concentration camps, among which the most **infamous** were:

✓ Auschwitz,	✓ Belsen and
✓ Dachau,	✓ Nordhause
✓ Buchenwald,	
- 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**.
- WWII had far-reaching political consequences:
 - ☞ End of European Age because Britain and France lost their place as world powers
 - ☞ The experience gained from the war helped to accelerate the struggle for national liberation from colonialism
 - ☞ Marked the emergence of new independent states in Asia and Africa
 - ☞ Brought about new international alignments
 - ☞ Change in the balance of power
 - ☞ the rise of the United States as a super power
 - ☞ expansion of the soviet union (USSR) and its rise as another super power
 - ☞ Since 1945, there were series crisis in almost all parts of the world
 - ☞ the emergence of the cold war
 - ☞ the beginning of the Nuclear age
 - ☞ a renewed effort to secure lasting peace through the new international organization called United Nations Organization (UNO)

Unit Seven

Major Regional and Global Developments since the End Second World War

7.1. 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 before WWII, 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.
- 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**.

Means through which U.S. and U.S.S.R became super-powers:

1. U.S.A

- Before WWII, U.S.A had been following the policy of **isolation (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 WWI and WWII proved that this policy was wrong
- 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.

2. U.S.S.R

- 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.

Therefore:

- ✓ 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 free-market economy whereas the U.S.S.R. followed **communism and command economy**.
- 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.

7.2. Division of the World into East and West and the Cold War Since the end of WWII

1. The Eastern Block led by Soviet Russia:

At the end of the Second World War the world divided in to two camps in such a way that:

- 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
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- Each of them took the official label of “**People’s Democratic**” state.
- Later, nations like:
 - ✓ **China (Beijing),**
 - ✓ **Cuba,**
 - ✓ **North Korea,**
 - ✓ **North Vietnam** 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 **Chinashook 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.

2. Western Block led by U.S.A:

- The West was made up of the **capitalist nations** of the world. The major states in this camp were:
 - ✓ U.S.A.,
 - ✓ United Kingdom (Britain),
 - ✓ France,
 - ✓ Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany),
 - ✓ Canada,
 - ✓ Italy, etc.
- The champion of the capitalist world was the **U.S.A.**

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.”***

The ‘Cold War’:

The term ‘cold war’ is used to describe:

- The post-World War II struggle between the **United States (USA)** and America with its allies on one side and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and its allies on the other side.
- During the Cold War period, which lasted from the mid-1940s until the end of the 1980s, international politics were heavily shaped by the intense rivalry between these two great blocs of power and the political ideologies they represented:
 - ✓ **Democracy** and **capitalism** in the case of the **United States** and its allies, and
 - ✓ **Communism** in the case of the **Soviet bloc.**

Origin of the term ‘Cold War’

American journalist **Walter Lippmann** first popularized the term ‘cold war’ in his book written in 1947. Lippmann used the term to:

- Show the deteriorating relationships between the USSR and its World War II allies (primarily the **United States, Britain, and France**) to the point of war without the occurrence of actual warfare.

The main features of the Cold War were the following:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A war of words (strong propaganda war). • Ideological struggle (Capitalist verses Communism). • Competition in espionage (spying). • Economic conflicts (rivalries) or competition. • Expansion in Europe and elsewhere by all means, short of armed fighting. • Building military alliances. • Heightening tensions • Building military bases in different parts of the world. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weapons race or arms race (competition to build more and more destructive weapons). • The division of Germany and creation of two separate states • The Korean war • The Cuban Missile Crisis • The armament race • Space race • Proxy wars • Many other conflicts between nations and peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America. |
|---|--|

1. U.S.A and the 'Cold War'

Containment Policy

- ✓ Containment was USA's policy of **Cold War**.
- ✓ It was embarked on by President **Harry Truman** of USA and continued by **President Eisenhower**.
- ✓ The containment Policy was **aimed to contain or check the spread of Communism**.
- ✓ It launched different plans and programs.

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.

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.

a. Truman Doctrine

The name Truman Doctrine was derived from the famous speech of the president in front of the American congress in 1947.

- It was one of the USA's **containment policies** used to defend or secure capitalism and democracy, and to resist the spread of communism launched by USSR.
- The doctrine was embarked on or declared by president Truman of USA in 1947.

Results of the Truman Doctrine:

- Extended **financial and military aid** to any nation under the influence of communism to overcome the spread of communism,
- Successfully defended or stopped the spread of communism to economically weak countries of European and Middle East.
- **Greece, Turkey and Indo-China were where the Truman doctrine successfully implemented by giving them financial aid.**

b. Marshal Plan (the second USA's Containment Policy, 1948-1952)

- **Marshal plan** was derived from the name of USA's **secretary of state** named **George Marshal**.
- The major objective (target) of the plan was to:
 - ✓ Provide **huge financial assistance** to help Europe to recover from the ruins of WWII.
 - ✓ Rebuild European economy that was weakened by WWII through the make use of providing them **money because USA believed that communism could easily spread to economically weak nations.**

Accordingly, USA provided **financial supported** and **equipments** to the weak countries of Europe that helped them to rebuild their economy and capacitated them to contain communism.

- USSR was also invited to take Marshal Plan but USSR refused to do so and had also warned the communist satellites not to take the aid.

Results of Marshal Plan:

- 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 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 USA 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.

2. U.S.S.R and the 'Cold War':

- 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.

Formation of Hostile or Opposing Military Blocks (Military Alliances) during ‘Cold War’

- 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** occurred in **Czechoslovakia 1st** and in the **city of Berlin** next called **Berlin Blockade.**

The Crisis in Czechoslovakia:

- In February 1948, Czechoslovakia was taken over by its communists and became a Soviet satellite.

The Berlin Blockade:

- Occurred in (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** among:

✓ US,	✓ French and
✓ British,	✓ 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 consequences of the Berlin Blockade by Stalin:

- 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.

Therefore, the Military Blocks were **NATO** and **Warsaw Pact**:

1. The formation of Northern Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO):

- It was the consequence of the Czechoslovakia and Berlin Blockade crisis
- The crisis of increased Western concern about military defense and quickened the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949.
- It was regional defense alliance created by USA and her allies.
- Its founding members were:

✓ Belgium,	✓ Iceland,
✓ Britain,	✓ Italy,
✓ Canada,	✓ Netherlands,
✓ Denmark,	✓ Luxemburg, and
✓ Norway,	✓ United States
✓ France,	
- In 1952, **Greece** and **Turkey** also joined the alliance.

2. Warsaw Pact

- Formed by the Soviet Union and its East European in the Polish capital **Warsaw** in 1955.
- It was initiated by USSR as a response to NATO
- Its original founders were:

✓ U.S.S.R,	✓ Poland,
✓ Albania,	✓ Rumania,
✓ Bulgaria,	✓ Czechoslovakia. and
✓ Hungary,	
✓ German Democratic Republic (East Germany)	

Members of each alliance system agreed that an attack on one of them would be considered as an attack on all.

Building of Military Base during the ‘Cold War’:

- U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R built military strategic sites all over the world to safeguard their respective spheres of influence from the reach of the other.

Economic Competition during the ‘Cold War’:**a. The Western economic Bloc**

- The West European nations formed the **European Economic Community (E.E.C)** in 1957.
- The original founders of the E.E.C were:

✓ France,	✓ Belgium,
✓ Italy,	✓ Holland,
✓ Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany),	✓ Luxemburg, and
- Later, other West European states, including Britain, joined the E.E.C.
- The E.E.C. has now developed into the **European Union.**

- It was built **originally to enable its member-states to compete better in world economic activities and relations.**

b. The Eastern economic Block

The **European communist states** had also built, earlier in 1949, their own economic organization called the **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance**.

- The above economic organization was also referred to as the **Comecon**.
- The **Comecon** was intended to strengthen economic ties among socialist states.

The nuclear arms race during the ‘Cold War’:

- 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.
- In both Russia and the U.S.A. in place of planes, experts in both countries sought to build **rocket-powered missiles**,
- On October 4, 1957 the Soviet Russia put an **artificial satellite** called **Sputnik I**, into orbit around 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.

In 1945, the U.S.A. had developed the atom bomb, the most destructive weapon that human kind had ever made, and 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 problem with nuclear bombs was not only their destructive power but also:

- Release of a deadly **radioactive material**.
- Cost of developing and building nuclear weapons and missiles was very expensive.
- Another danger with nuclear weapons was lack of guarantee to stop their proliferation, that is, spread to other countries, as in fact has happened.

The Policy of peaceful-co-existence and Detente

- The growing fear caused by nuclear weapons forced the Western and Eastern camps 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**.
- Clearly, there was a desire in both camps to relax the Cold War tensions

Peaceful co-existence:

- Premier **Nikita Khrushchev of Soviet Russia** adopted a new policy toward the West before he removed from power in 1966.
- To Nikita Khrushchev, peaceful co-existence meant that the Soviets would compete with the West, but would avoid war.

Détente:

- It was the West’s equivalent for the Soviet term, peaceful co-existence.
- Until the 1970s, there was little progress in arms limitation talks.

Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1968:

- The conclusion or signing of Non-Proliferation Treaty was the first positive move towards **détente**.
- The treaty aimed at preventing the expansion of nuclear weapons beyond the countries that already possessed them.
- Although the treaty did not prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons, it promoted renewed efforts to limit the armaments of the super powers.

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)

- It was a disarmament negotiation opened in November, 1969
- 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.
- SALT was aimed to strengthen détente.
- 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.

Factors that led to the end of Cold War:

- ▶ Communist governments began to crumble disintegrated throughout Eastern Europe,
- ▶ Breaking down of the Soviet Union into independent republics,
- ▶ West Germany absorbed East Germany to form the Federal Republic of Germany in 1990,
- ▶ Warsaw Pact dissolved in early 1991,
- ▶ The Soviet Union broke apart in 1991, and drastically reducing the military threat to NATO.

7.3. The Indian Independence Movement

- India was a **British colony**.
- The British colony of India was a large territory, which included the present states of:
 - ✓ India,
 - ✓ Pakistan and
 - ✓ Bangladesh.
- The two major religions of the people were **Hinduism and Islam**.
- The **Indian National Congress** was founded in 1885 to lead the **struggle for national independence**.
- In India, British worked to sow differences between **Muslims** and **Hindus** which was aimed at **weakening the struggle of Indians for self - rule**.
- In 1906, the **Muslim League** had split away from the **Indian National Congress**, to stand for the rights of Indian Muslims.
- The League became a **rallying point of Muslims**, while the Indian National Congress was **identified with Hindus**.
- In some cases, like in the **Amritsar Massacre** of 1919, the British used **brute force** against the Indian struggle.

Indian Non-Violent struggle:

- Non-violent struggle was the struggle without weapons by refusing to accept colonizers orders through demonstrations.
- During the inter-War period, non-violent forms of struggle were used against the British by the Indian National Congress.
- In the 1930's under the Leadership of **Mahtma Gandhi**, **civil disobedience** campaigns were carried out against British colonial rule.
- The British tried to make **half-hearted reforms**, while the Indian National Congress was **demanding for more**.
- During the Second World War, the struggle for Indian national independence was **temporarily weakened**.
- Leaders of the Indian National Congress, such as **Mahtma Gandhi** and **Jawahralal Nehru**, were arrested.
- At the end of World War II, however, the struggle for independence was strengthened with much **vigor and determination**

The Simla Conference:

- The conference was called by **British on May 14, 1945** in order to make **reform and introduce self-rule considering the interests of the existing religious communities**.
- Both the Indian National Congress, led by **Gandhi, Nehru and V. Patel**, and the Muslim League, under **Mohammed Ali Jinnah**, rejected the British proposal.

The 1946 Arrangement for independence

- But in 1946, under a better arrangement Indians were allowed to establish a **Provisional Government and a Legislative Assembly**, though still under British colonial control.
- **Nerhu** was appointed **head of the Provisional Government**.
- At this time, the Muslim League was calling for a separate Muslim state which later became **Pakistan**.
- The last British **Viceroy to India, Lord Louis Mountbatten**, and the British Government agreed to give independence to two separate states in the Indian sub-continent namely **Pakistan (Muslim) and India (predominantly Hindu) in 1947**.
- **Therefore**, On January 26, 1947 India became an independent state, with **Jawaharlal Nehru** as its **first Prime Minister**.
- Pakistan, too, became independent with **Mohammed Ali Jinnah** as its **first President**.
- **Pakistan** was officially declared to be an **Islamic state**,
- While **India** was declared to be a **secular state**.

The Conflicts between Pakistan and India:

- Attacks on Hindus by Muslims in Pakistan, and similar attacks on Muslims by Hindus in India took place at the time of independence.

- The consequences of the conflict:
 - ✓ chaos,
 - ✓ property destruction,
 - ✓ beatings and killings of people, on both sides.
 - ✓ People were forced to abandon their home areas.
 - ✓ Large number of Muslims fled from India to Pakistan.
 - ✓ Similarly, large number of Hindus left Pakistan for India as well.
 - ✓ Mahtma Gandhi advised **tolerance** for both religious communities.
 - ✓ But **fanatics** (extremists) did not listen to him. Indeed, one of them, a Hindu fanatic, **murdered Gandhi in 1948.**
 - ✓ Relations between Pakistan and India have characteristically been **full of tension, accompanied by intermittent armed clashes.**
 - ✓ Both have become nuclear powers.

Note: The British colony of India was divided into 3 independent states after they got independence from British colony. These were:

- **India**
- **Pakistan**
- **Bangladesh**

7.4. Indonesia: From Dutch Colony to an Independent Nation

- Indonesia, in the **Pacific region** of the **Spice Islands** was a colony of the **Netherlands**.
- During the inter-war period (1918-39), the **Indonesian national struggle for independence grew strong.**
- The colonial parliament called the **Volksraad(People's Council)** established by the **Dutch** meant **little to freedom - seeking Indonesians.**
- Rather, the Indonesians began to organize themselves to struggle for independence.
- It was with this spirit that **Sukarno** formed the **National Party (Indonesian Party)** in 1931.
- But the **Japanese** occupation of **Indonesia** during the Second World War stopped the Indonesian struggle against the Dutch.

The Struggle of Indonesians against Japan:

- Indonesians fought against Japanese occupation troops during the Second World War.

The reason why British came to Indonesia:

- British troops came to Indonesia, in order to disarm the Japanese troops.
- However, in 1945, the Indonesians had already liberated their country from the Japanese, before the arrival of British troops.
- In the meantime, Indonesian's had formed an **independent republic.**

The coming of Dutch to Indonesia once again:

- Soon enough after Indonesia got independence, the Dutch, once again came to Indonesia hoping to restore their rule.
- This gave rise to an anti - colonial war in Indonesia to drive out the Dutch.
- Military operations between the Dutch and the Indonesians ended in August 1950
- A transitional government called the “Netherlands-Indonesian Union” was formed in 1950, to administer the country which was heading to independence.
- That Union government was dissolved, and Indonesia became an independent republic in May 1956.
- The first president of the Republic of Indonesia became **Sukarno**. Indonesia is a land of Muslims.
- **Sukarno's** government became pro-U.S.S.R.
- It also stood against Western imperialism.

Non- Aligned Movement:

- **A moving force in the Non- Aligned Movement** were:
 - ✓ **India,**
 - ✓ **Yugoslavia,**
 - ✓ **Egypt, and**
 - ✓ **Indonesia under Sukarno**

7.5. Arab- Israeli Conflicts

Up to the end of WWI, **Palestine** was part of **Ottoman Empire**. Following the end of WWI by the Versailles peace settlement, the Middle East countries including Palestine were divided between Britain and France as **mandate territories**. Accordingly:

-  **Syria and Lebanon** were given to **France**
-  **Palestine, Trans Jordan, and Iraq** were given to **Britain**

When Palestine was made a mandate territory under **British administration**:

- It had a **Jewish minority**, T
- The great **majority** were **Arabs**.
- The **Jewish population in Palestine had grown as a result of massive immigration of Jews due to the efforts made by Zionism**.

Zionism:

- Provided an ideology and leadership for the international Jewish community to get a national homeland in Palestine
- The first **Zionist congress** was organized in 19th century or 1897 in **Switzerland** by a Jewish leader named **Theodore Herzl**.
- It was from this time onwards that Zionism became a political movement as a result of the growth of Jewish nationalist feeling and as a reaction to **anti-semitism** in Europe.

Objective of Zionism:

- It was to **create a national state for Jews in Palestine**.
- To achieve this objective, the organization promoted the **settlement of Jews in Palestine**.

The Balfour Declaration:

- During WWI (1915), to **get the Arabs support against Ottoman Turkey, British promised Palestine for the Arabs**.
- But 1917, Britain had promised to give Palestine to the Jews.
- When the number of Jewish settlers in Palestine grew considerably, in - between the two World Wars, conflict between Arabs and Jews in Palestine started.
- This was resulted in the 1920s and 30s **Arabs protest** against the increasing Jewish immigration to Palestine.
- In the meantime, the British mandate government was unable to solve the problem of Arab-Jewish conflict.

Note: *The basic fundamental cause (root cause) of all of the Arab-Israel War was the Arab-versus Israel Nationalism*

At the WWII, the **Zionist movement** had already won **world-wide sympathy** owing to **Nazi persecution of Europe's Jews**. Consequently movement:

- Continued to organize **further immigration of Jews into Palestine**.
- Increased Jewish immigration and the Zionist goal of making Palestine a Jewish state heightened Arab hostility.
- Caused the starting of terrorist activities among the Jews and the Arabs against each other.

Due to the inability of British to stop the problem between Arab and Israel in Palestine, in 1947, the British government announced its plan to give up its mandate authority and pass the problem of Palestine to the United Nations, which was resulted by following:

- On the basis of a UN Commission report, the Security Council voted for the partition (division) of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states.
- But, Jerusalem was to be an international city under UN supervision.
- Zionists accepted the plan but the Arab world opposed it demanding the right to self-determination for Palestinian Arabs.
- The Arabs wanted an independent Arab state without partition.
- On May 14, 1948 Britain withdrew from Palestine.
- The **Jews** in Palestine immediately declared the establishment of an **independent Jewish republic** which they called **Israel**, with its capital at Tel Aviv.
- Until 1977, no Arab state gave recognition to the state of Israel.
- This event marked the beginning of bloody conflicts between the Arabs and the new state of Israel, which have continued to dominate the history of the Middle East for half a century without any solution.

The First Arab-Israel War (1948 – 1949)

Though the state of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948 under the leader **David Ben Gurion** (the first Israel prime minister), following the evacuation of British troops from Palestine on 15 May 1948, fighting between Arabs and Jews broke out. The first Arab- Israeli War broke out immediately after the establishment of the state of Israel.

The newly created Jewish state of Israel was attacked by:

- | | |
|---------|----------------|
| • Egypt | • Iraq and |
| • Syria | • Trans-Jordan |

The results of the first Arab-Israel war:

- ✚ The attacking Arab armies were pushed back by Israel on all fronts
- ✚ Israel controlled more territory than what she had given by the UN partition
- ✚ From this war Israel acquired more land and became larger.
- ✚ Many Arabs were moved out of the territory of Palestine on which the Jewish state of Israel was created.
- ✚ The territorial gains of Israel included half of Jerusalem (the old quarter) and the northwestern coastal strip along the Mediterranean Sea.

- ✿ **Trans-Jordan** was the only Arab state to achieve any success in the war. Its army successfully held the **hill country of central Palestine**.
- ✿ After the war, Trans-Jordan took this territory and the state **changed its name to Jordan**
- ✿ The territory held by **Jordan** across the **river Jordan** was the **West Bank of River Jordan**.
- ✿ The cease-fire line at the end of the war ran through Jerusalem dividing the city into two halves.
- ✿ The UN mediated the cease- fire and the agreement which ended the war.
- ✿ But the Arabs refused to sign any final peace treaty and prepared themselves for another war.
- ✿ Many of them moved to the nearby Arab countries.
- ✿ At first, some of the Palestinian refugees fought to regain their homeland as **fedayeen** or militants under their traditional leader the **Mufti**.
- ✿ Having failed to achieve their objective, Palestinians turned to *Al Fatah*, a guerilla group, and other terrorist organizations, such as the Black September.

The Second Arab-Israel War (The 1956 Suez Canal Crisis)

In 1952, the Egyptian ruler called **Farouk** was overthrown from power by an organization known as the **society of Free Officers** led by **Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser** who proclaimed **Egypt republic** and made **Egypt centre of Arab nationalism**.

- The various Palestinian Arab groups and agencies merged and formed the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1964.
- The PLO formed a government-in-exile, and also carried on a **guerrilla** war against **Israel**.
- Through military and diplomatic means, the organization promoted the interests of the Palestinian Arabs.
- The PLO's famous and long year leader was **Yasir Arafat**.

Meanwhile, Israel's Arab neighbor states actively continued their struggle against the **Zionist state**. They used the **Arab League** which was founded in **1945** as a platform.

- The League made the **liberation of Palestine an issue of priority**.
- From 1954 on, **Gamal Abdel Nasser**, President of Egypt, became an active champion of the Arab case.
- In 1956 Nasser first got the withdrawal of all British troops that had been stationed in Egypt.
- Then, he nationalized the Suez Canal Company, whose shares Britain and France owned.
- This action angered Britain and France because the actions of Egypt were also dangerous to Israel.
- And the Second Arab-Israeli War, also known as the Suez War, started when Israel attacked Egypt.
- Britain and France also joined the war on the side of Israel.
- The war came to an end when **American, Soviet Russian** and **UN** pressure forced Britain and France to stop the war against Egypt.
- President **Eisenhower** of the USA was unhappy about the Suez war mainly because he believed that the war would likely lead to **increased Soviet influence in the Middle East, as it actually did**.

Consequences of the war:

- Israelis conquered the **Egyptian territory of Sinai**.
- **Increased Soviet influence in the Middle East**.
- After some times, Israel was also persuaded to surrender its conquered territories.
- A UN peace-keeping force separated Israel and Egypt.
- An **uneasy calm** reigned until the outbreak of the Third Arab-Israeli War was started.

The Third Arab-Israeli War

- It was also called the **Six Days War, in 1967**.
- The war was fought between:
 - ▶ **Israel** on one hand and
 - ▶ **Syria, Iraq, Jordan** and **Egypt** on the other side
 - ▶ **Egypt was the champion or leader of Arabs**

In the war, USSR supplied weapons to Arabs.

Israel was supported by:

- ▶ USA,
- ▶ Britain
- ▶ Federal Republic of Germany (west Germany)
- The war was started by Egyptian ruler (Nasser).
- a large Egyptian force was deployed in **Sinai**
- At the same time, Nasser closed the **Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping**.
- Nasser demanded that U Thant, the then UN Secretary-General, and pullout the UN peace-keeping forces from the region.
- Minor clashes had taken place between the Israeli and Syrian forces along the border of the two countries.
- Syrians started shelling (shooting) Israeli settlements from the **Golan Heights**.

- As tensions grew, **Moshe Dayan**, the **Israeli Minister of Defense**, decided to start a **pre-emptive** (preventive) strike.

The consequences of the war:

a. Israel:

- emerged victorious
- Occupied:
 - **Golan Heights of Syria**
 - **Sinai and Gazza Strip of Egypt**
 - **West Bank of Jordan**
- The Israeli Air Force had destroyed Nasser's air force
- Israeli troops reached the Suez Canal.
- The Israeli army defeated **Jordanians** on the **West Bank** and **took the whole Palestinian territory occupied by Jordan**.
- Used the newly occupied territories as **buffer zone**
- Israel **reopened the Gulf of Aqaba**

b. Palestine

- ▶ The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) which was founded in 1964, **started guerrilla warfare against Israel**.
- ▶ On June 10, 1967 Syria and Egypt accepted a cease-fire.

The Fourth Arab-Israel War (1973)

- ◆ Started on 6, October 1973 by Arabs
- ◆ Egypt, Syria and other Arab states fought with Israel
- ◆ The Egyptian leader who declared war on Israel with his Arab allies was **Anwar Sadat** because the former Egyptian ruler named **Gamal Abdel Nasser died in 19710 and succeeded by Anwarae Sadat in 1972**.

The cause of the war was Israeli athletes at the Munich (W. Germany) Olympic Games were massacred by PLO agents. After years of preparations, Egypt and Syria again opened war against Israel. In October, 1973 the Fourth Arab- Israeli War broke out. This war is also known as the *Yom Kippur War*, because the Arabs began the conflict with a surprise attack on Israel on *Yom Kippur*, a Jewish religious holiday.

The Arabs got early successes which did not last long. Within three weeks, a cease-fire was arranged. By then the Israeli forces were advancing deep into both Egypt and Syria. In 1978, President Sadat signed the Camp David Agreement with Prime Minister Mennachem Begin. In this agreement Sadat gave full recognition to the State of Israel. However, his attempt at securing peace with Israel resulted in his death at the hands of Arab extremists. Thus, after four bloody wars, Arab states failed to realize the objective of liberating Palestine. The Arab-Israeli conflicts continued and the Palestinian Arabs adopted a struggle called the **intifada** ("revot").

The consequences of the Fourth Arab-Israel War (1973):

- ☞ The Arab forces were defeated by Israel
- ☞ Palestine intensified their struggle against Israel through **Fedayeen** means guerrilla warfare
- ☞ PLO, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and later the "**Black September**" continued series of attacks on Israel.
- ☞ **The Camp David Agreement was signed**
 - The agreement was signed by President **Jimmy Carter** of USA, **Anwarae Sadat** and Israel prime minister called **Menaaihem Begin** in September 1978 at **camp David in Washington D.C**
 - By the agreement, among all the Arab states, Egypt alone (only Egypt) gave recognition to the state of Israel in Palestine.
 - It was the agreement by which **Anwarae Sadat** (Egyptian leader) peaceful solution to the Arab-Israel conflict.
 - But, **Anwarae Sadat** was soon assassinated by the Arab extremists who opposed the recognition given to Israel in Palestine in the Egyptian ruler.
 - The state of Israel in Palestine is still not recognized by all Arab states except Egypt and the Arab-Israel conflict is not resolved yet.

7.6. The Vietnam War

- Since the 1880's, **French colonized Indochina in Southeast Asia** that included:
 - ✓ Vietnam
 - ✓ Laos, and
 - ✓ Cambodia
- Then, Vietnam was part of French Indochina

During WWII:

- When French were driven out of **Indochina**, **Japanese replaced French and occupied Indochina**.

- **Vietnamese**, under the leadership of **Ho Chi Minh**, started a **peasant based resistance movement against the Japanese since 1941**.

Indochina after Japan defeated and surrendered in WWII:

- **Indochina including Vietnam** became independent in 1945
- But, allied forces of **British** and the **Chinese Kuomintang** forces came to **Indochina to remove the Japanese**.
- After the allied force removed Japan from Indochina, they **ignored the declaration of the independence of Indochina (including Vietnam)**,
- They helped the return of the **French to recolonize the region in 1946**.
- But it was **not easy for France to reestablish its authority, especially over the Vietnam part of Indochina**.

Vietminh:

- It was a Vietnam nationalist forces in eastern Vietnam that begun a guerilla based resistance movement against Japanese Occupation.
- The leader of the movement was **Ho Chi Minh**.

Ho Chi Minh:

- A **Marxist** and a nationalist.
- Became leader of independent republic of Vietnam at the end of WWII

French refused **to recognize the independence of Vietnam** because French:

- Aimed at recolonizing Vietnam
- Insisted on the formation of **federation** of three self-governing states of **Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam** under **French colonial control**.
- Intended to put **Vietnam** under Emperor **Bao Dai** but Vietnam refused to recognize the federation and to be recolonized by French and demanded total independence.

The "dirty war" 1946-1954:

- Started between French and Vietnam when Vietnam declared her independence and French rejected to recognize the independence of Vietnam
- The cause of the war was the aim of French to recolonize Vietnam
- **The war was called "dirty war" by French citizens who did not want to fight it (they opposed fighting the war) because they exhausted by WWII**.
- During the war, the Vietminh **gained support from:**
 - ✓ **Soviet Union**
 - ✓ **Chinese Communists**, after it came to power in 1949.
- French received substantial aid from the **United States**.
- By this support the United States **hoped that the French would prevent a communist take - over in Vietnam**.
- The Americans feared that communists would endanger US economic and political interests in the region.

The consequences of the war:

- France was defeated at the Battle of **Dien Bien Phu** in May 1954.
- In July, 1954 representatives from:
 - ✓ Britain,
 - ✓ USA,
 - ✓ USSR and
 - ✓ Communist China met at (Switzerland)
- At the Geneva conference:
 - ✓ France **formally accepted the end of its rule over the whole of Indochina**.
 - ✓ Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam were to become independent states separate from one another.
 - ✓ Temporary division of Vietnam into North and South at the 17th parallel.
 - ✓ The division created a **communist state in North Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh in 1955**.
 - ✓ A pro-Western government under **Ngo Dinh Diem** was established in **South Vietnam**.
 - ✓ It was also decided that the country would be reunited under a single government after national elections scheduled to be held within two years.

The war between the two Vietnams (North and South)

- It became clear, especially when the leaders of **South Vietnam together with the Americans refused to sign the Geneva Agreement**.
- The USA refused to sign the Agreement, because it feared that a united Vietnam might fall under communist control.

- The fear was not groundless (it has grounds or reasons) because after the conference, communist North Vietnam started to work for the reunification of the country as a communist state.
- To this end, the **North Vietnam planned to use communist guerilla forces, which started operation throughout South Vietnam.**
- Communist guerilla bands strived for the realization of a united, communist Vietnam by force of arms.

Vietcongs:

- They were groups of **North Vietnamese Communists** that had set up a united guerilla movement in 1960 against South Vietnam.
- This marked the outbreak of a civil war between the **Vietcongs**, supported by North Vietnam, and the government of South Vietnam.

The Course of Vietnam War and why USA directly participated on the side of South Vietnam:

- In 1961, the United States increased its financial and military aid to the South Vietnamese government.
- North Vietnam and the **Vietcongs** obtained assistance from the **Soviet Union and Communist China.**
- Beyond the financial and military assistance, the USA began direct participation in the conflict in 1962.
- Even for US troops fighting on the side of the South Vietnamese government, the communists proved too powerful.
- By 1964 around 40 per cent of South Vietnam had fallen under the control of the **Vietcongs.**
- The growing worry caused by this, together with attacks against US forces in Vietnam, led the American Congress to vote for US President Lyndon Johnson's request for "all necessary steps, including the use of armed forces " against **Ho Chi Minh** and North Vietnam.
- That led to escalation of the war.
- US forces in Vietnam were increased in number.
- The US also began aerial bombing in North Vietnam.
- In this military venture the USA was assisted by:
 - ✓ Australia,
 - ✓ New Zealand and
 - ✓ South Korea.
- In 1966, USA feared that if communism won Vietnam, it would spread to other countries of South East Asia.
- Also, the US government did not want to accept defeat.
- The more effort the USA made, the harder it was to withdraw, though this was what the USA had to do in the end.
- **North Vietnam successfully resisted every effort of the US forces at terrorizing them into submission.**
- The US forces used modern weapons produced by post- World War II military technology.
- However, according to Jack Watson:
Massive bombing, anti-personnel weapons, napalm and other terror weapons, and the use of chemicals to defoliate trees the better to expose Vietcong guerillas could still not win the war for ... the Americans.

The reason why did the US fail to win the Vietnam War:

- As the war dragged on, the US government began to face strong opposition at home.
- Reports on high numbers of Americans killed and wounded caused popular opposition against the war.
- Many Americans were also horrified by news of cruelties committed against Vietnamese civilians.
- A policy of **Vietnamization (a policy to end involving in Vietnam)** of the war was introduced by President Nixon (37th American president), from the end of 1969.
- That was due to heavy American losses and opposition from the American public.
- At first, American troops were reduced by half.
- Eventually, the USA was forced to withdraw totally from Vietnam.
- The evacuation process (total withdrawal) started particularly after a cease-fire mediated in February 1973 by **Henry Kissinger**, the US Secretary of State.
- The last US troops left Vietnam the same year.
- **In 1974, the government of South Vietnam Collapsed and Vietnam was United as a Single Communist Country.**

7.7. The Chinese Socialist Revolution

- Between 1644 and 1911, China was a feudal empire under the **Manchu (Ching) Dynasty**.
- After a period of civil war between Chinese war lords, the **Kuomintang (Nationalists) and the Communist Party of China took power in alliance, in 1926.**
- The **Kuomintang** was a bourgeois- nationalist party founded in 1912 by Sun Yat-Sen.
- The head of the Kuomintang (KMT) was Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925).
- Sun was a nationalist and anti-imperialist and was respected by Chinese communists.
- The Chinese Communist Party (CPC) was founded in 1921.
- On Sun's death, the leadership of the KMT and its republican government was taken over by **Chiang Kai-Shek**.

The Reason why did the KMT and the CPC split in 1927

- Unlike Sun, Chiang Kai-Shek was not in favor of the alliance with the CPC.
- Therefore, in 1927, he dissolved the alliance and started attacks on the communists.
- Consequently, the Chinese communists made their **Long March to Yenan**, for safety.
- The communists covered a journey of over 9,000 kms.
- And out of the original 100,000 persons that set out for the journey three-quarters perished before they reached their new base area in the north.
- It was during this period that Mao Zedong emerged as the leader of the CPC.

The reason why Japan wage war on China in 1931:

- In 1931, Japan attacked north- eastern China and took control of the Chinese province of **Manchuria**.
- In 1937, Japan began a total war against China, which has come to be known as the **Sino-Japanese War**.
- The war became part of the Second World War in Asia.
- The **KMT** under **Chiang Kai- Shek** and the **CPC** under **Mao** formed an **alliance to fight against Japanese invaders**.
- But the alliance was a loose one.
- During the Second World War, different parts of China were occupied by the forces of the KMT government, the CPC and Japan.

China After Japan defeated in WWII in 1945:

- **Kuomintang** and the **Communist** forces fought each other to **control and take power over the whole of China**.
- In the struggle, the **Kuomintang had many advantages**:
 - ✓ First, the Kuomintang **fighting forces outnumbered the Communist forces in a three to one ratio** at the beginning.
 - ✓ Second, **Chiang Kai-Shek**, leader of the Kuomintang government, had US assistance, though no American troops were sent to fight in China.
 - ✓ Finally, the Allies, including the Soviet Union, recognized the Kuomintang government as the only legal authority in China.
 - ✓ **But, the communists depended exclusively on the popular support they had among the Chinese peasants who benefited from the Communist land reform policies.**

The Chinese Civil War

- Started in 1946 when the **Kuomintang army** started a massive attack against **Communist strongholds in northern China**.
- As a result, all the major cities in northern China fell under the Kuomintang forces.
- But the communists continued to dominate the rural areas.
- However, the early success of the Kuomintang forces did not last long because of the following factors undermined Kuomintang power internally and led to its defeat by the Communists:
 - ✓ There were bad economic conditions in the territories under Kuomintang control.
 - ✓ The Kuomintang government suffered from inflation, corruption and poor military strategy.

The Consequences of the civil war:

- In January 1949, the communists captured **Beijing**, the capital and **declared the communist Republic of China**.
- **Chiankai Shek**, Kuomintang's leader **fled to Taiwan** (Formosa) and formed a **Nationalist Government at Taipei**.
- New communist government was set up

The new Communist government in China:

- It had popular **support in the Chinese mainland**.
- It also began to obtain international recognition.

- The first of such international recognitions came from the **Soviet Union and its satellites**.
- In 1950 a treaty of **friendship, alliance and mutual assistance** was signed between **Communist China and the Soviet Union**.
- Economic agreements were concluded between the two countries.
- **On the basis of these agreements, the Chinese government obtained a great deal of aid from the Soviets to build the country's industry.**

Chinese First Five-Year Plan:

- Carried out from 1953-1957.
- The period of its operation was regarded as a "**transition to socialism**".
- The plan emphasized on **heavy industry and collectivization of agriculture in accordance with socialist principles**.
- During the plan period, the government **nationalized banking enterprises, industry and commerce**.
- Thus **private ownership of enterprises** was abolished.

The Great Leap Forward:

- The **Great Leap Forward** was introduced by Mao during the Chinese Second Five-Year Plan in 1958
- The plan was a more ambitious.
- **Its objective was intended to take China to the second stage of communism.**

During the Second Five-Year Plan:

- Large farm areas were organized into rural cooperatives called **communes**.
- Members of each **commune** were organized into **production brigades**.
- Members of Commune took responsibilities ranging from farming to weaving.
- Despite Communist efforts, the **commune system failed to meet its immediate goals**.
- As early as 1959, it became clear that Mao's "Great Leap Forward" to the second stage of communism had failed.
- The main factors for the failure of "Great Leap Forward" were:
 - ✓ **Food shortage,**
 - ✓ **Mismanagement,** and
 - ✓ **Peasant resistance to the communes.**
- The **Great Leap Forward was responsible for a terrible famine during 1958-62, which killed people by hundreds of thousands**. The peasant communes proved failures.
- Although there was disaster in agriculture, China made significant **progress in industrialization** because:
 - ✓ The Communist government was able to improve the life of the Chinese people in some ways.
 - ✓ Public sanitation and health were greatly improved.
 - ✓ Illiteracy was greatly reduced.
 - ✓ Women obtained full equality with men.
 - ✓ **Opium** smoking was eradicated.

Despite the above success, China communist government faced the following serious problems:

- **Power struggle** within the **Communist Party**, and
- **Opposition from the rural areas**.
- The so-called **enemies of the people** or **political opponents** were **jailed or killed**.

During the first seven years of communist rule:

- About a million people were executed.
- The West regarded China as aggressive, especially in Korea where the Chinese government claimed that it was upholding China's legitimate rights and security.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

- It was another **Mao's disastrous policies**.
- It was started in 1966.
- It was a political, social and cultural movement launched by communist China under Mao
- It led to (its features) **economic and political disruption** on a **big scale** before being called off.

The objectives of the Great Proletarian Revolution

- **attacking old ideas, old cultures, old customs and old habits in order to bring education, art and literature in line with Communist ideology**

Chinese intervention in the Korean War

- The foreign **policy of the Communist** government was **active and vigorous**.
- In 1950 China intervened in the **Korean War**.

- In the same year, Chinese forces occupied **Tibet**.
- Tibet is a mountainous land between **India and western China**.
- Tibet had once been part of the Chinese Empire, and China claimed it to be part of China.
- In 1959 the revolt of the Tibetan nationalists was harshly crushed. Chinese policy and action in Tibet soured its relations with India.
- Soon afterwards, there was a border dispute between India and China, which led to fighting in 1962.

The relation of China and Soviet Union and Mao's personality cult

- China's friendly relations with the Soviet Union did not last long.
- Beginning from the late 1950s, relations between the two countries were closely related to the Soviet Union's policy of **de-Stalinization**.
- When **Khrushchev** denounced **Stalin's personality cult** in 1955, **Mao took this as an attack on himself and his leadership in China**.
- In criticizing the USSR after Stalin, Mao also believed that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had turned away from socialism.
- Mao labeled what **Khrushchev and the U.S.S.R** were doing as **revisionism**.

By **revisionism**, Mao meant that the Soviet Union was going back to capitalism. He claimed that his own ideas, which were to be labeled as Maoism were the most modern and correct forms of Marxism-Leninism. A development of a Mao personality cult was underway.

- The conflict grew worse as Mao became convinced that the Chinese Communists, not the Soviets, provided the best example of a **Marxist-Leninist system in practice**.
- Mao criticized Khrushchev as **revisionist** and of having gone against Marxist-Leninist ideals.
- Mao regarded China as the real **model** for world communism.
- Mao antagonized the Soviets who began to withdraw their support from China.
- The Soviet did not back Chinese actions in Tibet or India.
- During the early 1960s, China and Soviet began a war of words.
- The Soviets cancelled all economic and technical programs in China and called back their advisors and specialists.
- **In 1966, the attack against the U.S.S.R became part of the campaign of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.**
- In March 1969, Chinese and Soviet forces clashed over a disputed territory along their common border.
- **Sino (China) -Soviet** relations reached a low point.
- However, the Chinese, already economically and technically self-sufficient, no longer needed Soviet assistance.
- By then China had become one of the great powers of the World, especially after the Chinese tested their first atomic bomb in 1964. Moreover, China has improved its relations with the USA.

Unit Eight

ETHIOPIA FROM AUTOCRACY TO REVOLUTION (1941- 1991)

Haile Selassie's Come Back and British Domination (British Era)

Background

In 1940, Italy entered in to WWII by shifting her alliance from British towards Germany. Before the outbreak of WWII, Italy was an ally of British but suddenly she averted her diplomatic relation from British and re-established with Nazi Germany. The aim of Italy was to conquer British colonies in East Africa. The Italian measure forced British to give answer to the question of Emperor Haile Sellassie, who had been exiled in London for about five years. British used Emperor Haile Sellassie as a symbol of unification of Ethiopia, which assisted to raise the morale of Ethiopia patriots who were in full-fledged war with fascist aggression in Ethiopia.

To chase Italy from Ethiopia, British launched attack from three directions:

1. From the direction of Eritrea in the north- **General William Platt**. The bloody battle took 53 days at the battle of **keren** in Eritrea, and crashed the fascist force in Asmara. Finally, in 1941, **Platt's** troops subdued the Italian force at **Ambalage in Southern Tigray**.
2. From direction of Kenya in the south- British military chief, **General Sir Allan Cunningham**. He punished Italy in Kenya at **Kismayu** and forced the Fascist troops to retreat back to **Mogadishu**. With the collaboration of Ethiopia patriots, Cunningham destroyed the Italian resistance in the south and entered **Addis Ababa on 7 April 1941**.

3. From the direction of Sudan. It was from this direction that British allowed Emperor Haile Sellassie to march in to Gojjam using the native troops in exile Known as **Gedeon Force**. The Emperor was supported by **British contingent force in Sudan** led by British generals named Major **General Orde Charles Wingate** and **Brigadier General Daniel Sandford**. The Emperor fought his way and re-entered Addis Ababa on 5 may 1941.

Therefore:

- The emperor's 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 the emperor's new government.

During the immediate post-liberation period, the emperor (Ethiopia) had faced the following **economic disruption** and **political complications** problems:

The disruption of the economy was attributed to:

- The termination of Italian investment
- The drying up of trade and hence the of the government revenue
- Government inability to raise taxes
- The presence of 400,000 Italian civilians

Political complications were caused by:

- Widespread diffusion of Italian arms
- Fragmentation of Ethiopian elite into three different groups. They were **men of exile, collaborators of Italy, and patriots**.
- The political administration was further handicapped by the fact that a **significant section of the educated class had died during the occupation**.

8.1. The Ethio- British Relation (1941-1955) or British Era

Following the Ethiopian liberation from Italian rule, British strongly opposed to recognize **neither the Emperor nor** an independent Ethiopia. Then, British **reduced the power of the emperor and practically shared the Ethiopian power with the emperor that created overlapping of Power in Ethiopia**. In 1941, British effectively established the administration she used to call **Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (OETA)** that encompassed the whole Italian East Africa including Ethiopia that helped British to administer Ethiopia from April 1941 to January 1942.

In 1941, probably to satisfy the British military and colonial officials, Emperor Haile Sellassie I continued to assert that Ethiopia agreed to British terms that implicitly reduced the status of the country down to a protectorate level under British.

Ethiopia, as a result of its liberation by the help of British troops, was firmly put under the British political and economic control. These key positions and powers included the forcing of Ethiopia to:

- Incorporate into British based sterling area.
- Use British East African Shillings.
- Be dependent on British banks.
- Be served exclusively by the **British Overseas Aviation Corporation (B.O.A.C)**.
- Be under British political and military power that included censoring of the Emperor's private correspondence.

Although Emperor Haile Sellassie restored his monarchical government on May 5, 1941 his government's power was directly reduced and controlled by British. After he entered Addis Ababa, Emperor Haile Sellassie took only five days to:

- Reinstitute his imperial prerogative rights.
- Make the first ministerial appointments, but not functional due to British domination.

British used the **internal instability and the continuation of WWII as a pre-text to fully control both the Ethiopian internal political affairs and the Horn of Africa as well**. This created **confusion among the Ethiopia people including the emperor as to whether Ethiopia was liberated from colonial rule or re-conquered by British** because British did not allow the emperor to exercise his full prerogative right (privilege political right).

Although this arrangement made by British and Ethiopia helped Emperor Haile Selassie to bring peace and normalization in the countryside, the emperor needed to regulate his relations with the British. He also wanted to regain the complete, full prerogative right and independent powers of the emperor (the monarch). **This was the reason why the emperor made repeated negotiations and signed treaties with British. The negotiations were aimed to reduce the British influence in the Ethiopia.**

The First Anglo-Ethio Agreement (Treaty) On January 31

- Recognized Ethiopia as a sovereign state

- Ended the OETA.
- But, the treaty guaranteed British the right to exercise final authority over the Ethiopian:
 - ▶ Foreign affairs,
 - ▶ Internal administration,
 - ▶ Finance,
 - ▶ Military and
 - ▶ Police force.

The agreement further helped British to establish “**Reserved Area**” along the **Franco- Ethiopian rail way** line for strategic purpose, where she included Ogaden to merge it with the former **Italian Somaliland and the British Somaliland**.

- 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,**
 - ✓ **certain strategic areas along French Somaliland border areas, and**
 - ✓ **Addis-Ababa-Djibouti railway.**

Note: The first Anglo-Ethio Treaty did not bring meaningful benefits to Ethiopia. Rather, it gave more advantages to British.

The Second Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty (Dec. 19, 1944)

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
- 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.

Therefore, both the entire Anglo-Ethiopian relation and the condition in Ogaden forced Emperor Haile Selassie to start a new negotiation with British in 1944. The aim of the emperor was to:

- Regain Ogaden in particular, and
- His prerogative right in general.

However, British used the ongoing of WWII as the pre-text and then, she referred to the importance of Somaliland and Ogaden as strategic position to set out military operation against Japan, and refused to restore Ogaden to Ethiopia.

As the result of the Agreement, even though Ogaden was not restored to Ethiopia,

- ▶ Ogaden and the “Reserved Area” were unconditionally recognized by British as the integral parts of Ethiopia.
- ▶ British made some concessions to the Ethiopian government such as the Ethiopian right to:
 - ✓ Recruit non-British foreign personnel.
 - ✓ Control Djibouti Rail way communication line.
 - ✓ Get the British support to train the Ethiopian military force to replace the British army in Ethiopia
- ▶ By the agreement, British requested only to remain in Ogaden and Reserved Area regions of Ethiopia for two more years that Ethiopia allowed British to exercise military administration in Ogaden and the “Reserved Area” for two additional years until the end of WWII.
- ▶ British continued to control Eritrea and Ogaden because Ethiopia’s claim was not accepted by British. This was because British had the intention to merge Ethiopian territories of Ogaden and Haud Grazing land with Somaliland to establish “**Grater Somalia**” which was coined by British.

Focus:

- **Ethiopia won better diplomatic advantage by the 1944 Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty than the 1942 treaty.**

The Third Anglo-Ethio Treaty (1948)

In 1948, UN decided to put the **Italian Somaliland** under the **Italian Trusteeship** and the British objective to Greater Somalia failed. This UN decision forced British to abandon the idea of creating “Greater Somalia” and Ethiopia used that opportunity to negotiate with British to restore Ogaden. In the same year, British submitted to the Ethiopian claim and practically restored Ogaden to Ethiopia. But the following Ethiopian regions were kept under British control until 1955:

- The Haud grazing land and
- 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. However, the restoration of Ogaden to Ethiopia in 1948 was not followed by settled political atmosphere in Ogaden because the Somali Youth League at Moqadishu, which was

formed in 1943 by British to mobilize support for her proposal to build “Greater Somalia”, strongly opposed the British restoration of Ogaden to Ethiopia.

The Anglo-Ethiopian agreement on the issue of Haud Grazing land was concluded in 1955. Indeed, Haud was restored to Ethiopia in the same year and in 1955, British influence in Haud was totally terminated and further ignited the grievances of the Somalis in the British Somaliland.

New administrative structure was made functional and Ogaden was divided in to two districts:

1. Qebri-Dehar in the south, under the leadership of **Girmame Neway**, and
2. Jijiga in the north under the leadership of **Fitawrat Demissie Teferra**.

However, the restoration of Odaden and Haud grazing land was resulted in:

- Opposition of Political groups in British Somaliland and in the Italian Trust territory that 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.

8.2. Ethio-American Relation (American Era)

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. **To counter-balance** the British Political machinery, Ethiopia began to seek a new foreign diplomatic relation. Then, Emperor Haile Selassie established relation with USA.

The first Ethio-American relation was dated back to the beginning of 20th century when American envoy named **Robert P. Skinner** came to Ethiopia in 1903 and received by Emperor Menelik II. **Skinner** and Menelik signed the treaty of **friendship and commerce**.

The British domination of the internal and foreign affairs of Ethiopia right from 1941 onwards, was the major cause for the new diplomatic relation that Ethiopia established with USA. Ethiopia demanded UAS’ assistance to restore Ogaden and Eritrea that British controlled.

Although USA signed a commercial treaty with Ethiopia in 1903, she did not actively engage in the matters of Ethiopia until the end of WWII. The diplomatic efforts of Emperor Haile Sellassie convinced USA to establish relatively better diplomatic relation with Ethiopia as a counter weight/balance to the British control over Ethiopia key positions.

Officially, Ethio-American relation was signed or started in 1943. Accordingly, Emperor Haile Sellassie sent Yilma Deressa, the then Ethiopian vice- interior minister to USA. Then, Yilma officially expressed the Ethiopian interest to USA’s to get USA’s:

- military aid
- exerts and
- legal advisors.

The emperor himself also secretly met Roosevelt, the then USA’s president in 1945 in Egypt. **The Emperor met President Roosevelt in Egypt and asked for support in the struggle to regain the Ogaden and Eritrea. The understanding reached in Egypt became the basis for future Ethiopian-American friendship and cooperation.**

In 1945, USA formally involved in the issue of **the Ethiopian financial system**. It was due to the fact that in the post liberation period, British knowingly complicated the Ethiopian currency because she had the intention to **eliminate Maria Theresa**, which was circulating in Ethiopia **with popular Ethiopian people’s support**. According to British, Maria Theresa was old aged and out dated. This was the pretext that British used to replace Maria Theresa **with East African Shillings** that in turn aimed by British to dominate currency circulation.

In 1943, Ethiopia America Treaty laid a sound base for the beginning of the American financial assistance. USA printed the Ethiopian **Currency Note** at **Philadelphia** in USA. The Ethiopian note currency was first printed at the beginning of 1945, and replaced Maria Theresa Thaler and East Africa shilling. The Americans had felt the strategic importance of the Red Sea and in particular the Radio Marina in Eritrea. In Ethiopia, America had already acquired **Radio Marina** in Eritrea in 1942, which America considered as **strategic position to control the situation in the Middle East**. **Radio Marina** was an Italian facility built by Italy on the out skirts of Asmara in Eritrea. America began to use the Radio Marina for military purposes. It helped America to receive message from naval vessels and to send message to pentagon military base in America.

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. America gave attention to Eritrea because unless Eritrea was qualified for independence, it will remain weak and might fall under the influence of Communist bloc led by USSR, which was the single rival block of USA's capitalist bloc.

The Ethiopia's involvement in the Korean War (1950-1953) on the side of America convinced America to urge the Ethiopian support. Therefore, USA supported the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia. Later, Radio Marina was renamed **Qagnew** station to commemorate the Ethiopia contingent force that fought in the Korean War on the side of the West (America) and returned on 22 May 1952. **After 1953 Radio Marine (Qagnew station) became a large self-contained base, and became an important link in the U.S global communications network. The Americans took Ethiopia as a potential ally, which might play an important role in the politics of the Middle East.**

The 1952 Ethio-American Treaty

The agreement included:

- The **Qagnew** and its facilities administration by USA that continued until 1978.
- **Point Four Agreement** (agreements that USA agreed to provide to Ethiopia):
 1. Agriculture and public health education,
 2. Locust control,
 3. Public administration training, and
 4. Awarding of scholarships.

The 1953 Ethio-American Treaty

The treaty was signed to substantiate (confirm) the continuation of **Qagnew** station under American use. To compensate this advantage, USA agreed to offer military assistance to Ethiopia. The military support was started when USA attached **Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG)** to all branches of Ethiopia's armed force. The group gave military training to the Ethiopian army.

Before Ethiopia received American assistance in military sector, the Ethiopian:

- ✓ **Air Force** was trained **Swedish**
- ✓ **Navy** was trained by **Norwegians**.

Following the Ethio-American Treaty of 1953, the Harar Military academy **largely obtained America's financial, technical assistance as well as advice**. Unfortunately, the Ethiopian **police force and Imperial Bodyguard did not receive sufficient Assistance from America**.

The extent of America's military support was raised in 1960 because the alignment of Somali with USSR for a military aid proposed to be used in the future war against Ethiopia initiated America to increase the Ethiopia's help. The **Debrezeit air force**, which was founded in 1948, received the highest aid from USA. In Ethiopia, the largest American aid was given to **civil aviation**. The Ethiopia's Civilian Airline was set up in 1945. It was founded by the Ethiopian delegation who attended the founding conference of UN in the same year.

The airline was founded with the help of America. The America's organization which set up the **Ethiopian Air Line (EAL)** was known as **Transcontinental and Western Airline (TWA)**. The EAL embarked on functions with five aircrafts identified with the name **C-47**.

Road maintenance was another concern of American support to Ethiopia. In 1951, America established the **Imperial Highway Authority (IHA)** in Ethiopia. The major activity of IHA was **maintenance and development of the Ethiopia's road network**. America repaired the Ethiopia's **Telephone lines** with the help of the organization known as **American Multi-National International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT)**. In 1952, under America's advice and assistance, the Ethiopian Imperial Board of Telecommunication was established.

America also became the main sources of Ethiopia's students' scholarship. The American agencies, which carried out this programme, were the **African American Institute, and African Graduate Fellowship program (AFGRAD)**. The standard of evaluation were made American college's model.

In 1960, the programme of **Peace Corps Volunteers** from America, was launched in Ethiopian high schools, and reduced the contributions of Indian teachers. The Peace Corps Volunteers served in Ethiopia towns, and remote rural areas, where there were no any modern facilities.

However, the dominance of American in all Ethiopian sectors did not earn acceptance among Ethiopian's university students. Because they viewed American's involvement in Ethiopia as global frame work of imperialism. **The students' opposition against America was followed by the deterioration of Ethio-American relation and American disengagement in Ethiopia.**

The pro-western shift of Egyptian policy initiated by Anwar Sadat and the positive relation established with America as well as the advances in satellite communication that reduced the importance of Qagnew station in Ethiopia added fuel to the Ethiopian students' opposition against America, and finally terminated the American assistance to Ethiopia.

8.3. The Issue of Eritrea

1. The Federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia

Back ground:

- In 1557, Eritrea, on the Red Sea coast was conquered by Ottoman Empire and Ruled by governors appointed by the

Ottoman pasha of Jeddah.

- Massawa controlled by Egypt in 1820s and 1840s, and Massawa came under Italy in 1885.
- Eritrea was part of Ethiopia before it became full Italian colony in 1890.
- Formerly, Eritrean officials took the title called **Bahr Negash** ((literally, ruler of the sea).
- Under Italy, Eritrea from 1890 to 1941 did not experience democracy.
- In Eritrea, Italy:
 - ✓ Intensified regional and religious differences.
 - ✓ Applied the policy of divide and rule.
 - ✓ Used modern education for Colonial purpose.
 - ✓ Deprived the right to form political parties until 1941.

Eritrea during Immediate post Liberation of Ethiopia

- Made parts of British OETA in 1941.
- In the same year, held demonstration that called for unification with the motherland, Ethiopia.
- On the same day, formed **the Unionist Party**.
- Unionist Party members were both Muslim and Christian people, but dominated by Christians.
- Members of the unionist Party included:
 - ✓ Gebre-Meskel Woldu (the leader of the party),
 - ✓ Wold-Ab Wold Mariam,
 - ✓ Ibrahim Sultan, and
 - ✓ Abdulkadir.
- The party members propagated the independence of Eritrea from foreign administration (British).
- From 1941 onwards, British allowed Eritrean people to exercise political democracy such as:
 - free speech
 - free press
 - the right to form political parties based on ethnic religious groups
 - the to hold demonstrations and meetings

To liberate Eritrea from Ethiopia, British:

- Aggravated differences than integrity.
- Deliberately formed **separatist political parties on regional and religious basis to keep differences**.
- Deliberately instigated the establishment of **opposing political parties in Eritrea to counter balance the Unionist Party**.
- Proposed to merge Arab speaking wetern low land Eritreans with her colony of Sudan, and to merge highlander Eritreans with Tigray to form independent state of Tigray.
- In 1943, initiated the **Liberal Progressive Party** (separatist group) led by **Ras Tessema Asmeron**.
- **The party was founded by high land Eritrean elite to create a unite Tigray**
- British also encouraged the foundation of Muslim League in 1946 to challenge the Unionist Party.
- **The league demanded independence for Muslim-inhabited lowland Eritrea or union with the Sudan.**
- Accordingly, 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 1947,
 - ✓ 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.

The Movements of Eritrean Unionist party

- **Patriotic Association for the Union of Eritrea** with Ethiopia was formed in Ethiopia in 1944.

- **Wold Giorgis Yonannes**, the Chief Minister of the then Ethiopia in Addis Ababa was its leader in same year.
- Later, its leader became **Dejazmach Beyene Beraki** and **Ato** (later **Dejazmach Tedla Bahru**).
- Its funds were raised by the “**Society of the Unification of Eritrea with Ethiopia**”. Its head quarter was in Asmara chaired by **Colonel Nega Haile Sellassie** (leader of fund rising).

The Four Power’s Commission of Inquiry sent by UN to Eritrea:

The Commission:

- **Was arrived Eritrea in 1947.**
- Members’ were **USA, Britain, France and the USSR.**
- Was sent to identify the willing of Eritrean people (either union with Ethiopia or to be independent).
- The arrival of the Commission signaled the climax of political agitation or boosted the moral of Unionist Party and Muslim League because both groups were the major opposing groups and expected the arrival of the commission supporters of their independent interests.
- Held referendum in Asmara in 1948.

The Results of the referendum:

- About 50% of the Eritrean people voted for union with Ethiopia.
- Nearly 50% were voted for separation from Ethiopia (for independence)
- The rest voted either for the union with Sudan or to continue under Italian administration.
- Then, the commission failed to conclude the fate of the future Eritrea by referendum, and brought the case to the General Assembly.
- To investigate more cases about future Eritrea, UN General Assembly sent Commission five Men to Eritrea from:
 1. Burma,
 2. Guatemala, a pro-Italian
 3. Norway, pro-Ethiopian
 4. Pakistan, Champions of Muslim League
 5. South Africa
- The recommendations of the Commission about future Eritrean did not come to unanimity (an agreement) over the because they recommended different proposals listed below:
 - ✓ Norway--- favored union with Ethiopia
 - ✓ Guatemala and Pakistan – favored independence
 - ✓ South Africa and Burma -- favored federation with Ethiopia.
- The UN General Assembly supported the majority opinion (federation).
- USA and Britain supported federation and in 1950, the UN General Assembly decided to federate Eritrea with Ethiopia which practiced 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.
- The unionist party got 32 out of the 68 seats in the Parliament.
- The founder of the party, **Tedla Bahru**, became the chief Executive of Eritrea.

UN General Assembly recommended **Eritrea** to have the following under federation with Ethiopia:

- ✓ separate regional government,
- ✓ her own parliament,
- ✓ Prime Minister,
- ✓ a national flag,
- ✓ two official languages (Tigre and Arabic),
- ✓ Police force,
- ✓ To form Federal Council in which Ethiopia and Eritrea equally represented,
- ✓ Granted freedom of press and association, worshiping, and due process of law.

UN also decided the power of **Central Government of Ethiopia** over Eritrea which included:

- ✓ Foreign affairs,
- ✓ foreign and interstate trade,
- ✓ foreign communications,
- ✓ issuing of currency,
- ✓ Administration of finance.

2. Eritrea from Federation to Union:

- From the beginning, Emperor Haile Sellassie and Prime Minister **Akilu Habte-Wold** did not respect the federal arrangement of Eritrea.
- The Emperor and his representatives were against Eritrea's separate identity under the federal system.
- The emperor and his supporters accepted the federal 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 threaten 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 emperor's measure antagonized all the Eritrean parties including the Unionist Party that had struggled for the independence of Eritrea with Ethiopia.
- **Tedla Bahru**, chief executive of Eritrean Assembly, was forced by the emperor to resign in 1955.
- The emperor replaced **Tedla by Asrate Kassa** (a Shewan notable), who was loyal to the emperor.
- Therefore, the emperor made the following changes in Eritrea:
 - ✓ abolished Tigre and Arabic languages and adopted Amharic as the official language of Eritrea,
 - ✓ abolished the flag of Eritrea, and hoisted the Ethiopian flag
 - ✓ Outlawed the official Eritrean seal.
 - ✓ forbade any political activities and political parties in Eritrea;
 - ✓ Abolished the equality of religion in Eritrea.
 - ✓ 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 Eritrean federation consolidated internal and external opposition.**

The emperor's measures taken against Eritrea had marked the formation of opposing groups. Accordingly,

- In 1958, Eritreans in exile founded the **Eritrean Liberation Movement in Cairo (ELM)**.
- The ELM was a movement which sought to achieve its objective by political and diplomatic means, including the intervention from the UN.
- This organization was soon neutralized, and a new organization called **Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF)** came into existence in 1961 which was established by Eritrean exiles in the **Middle East under the leadership of Idris Awate.**

The ELF:

- support Iraqi and Syrian
- launched armed attacks in September 1961, under the leadership of a former rebel, Idris Awate, in the western lowlands.
- its sectarian conception of the struggle soon resulted in division within itself, and three major groups emerged
- These three groups began the process of merger to form:
 - ✓ The Eritrean Liberation Front, and Popular Liberation Force (ELF-PLF) formed in 1972
 - ✓ Finally all merged in 1973, and 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 with its popular Arabic designation **Jabha** (Front), and
- ✓ EPLF with its popular Arabic designation **Sha'abiya** (Popular).

The two groups carried out a relentless struggle for supremacy in the period from 1972-1974, in which the EPLF triumphed (won victory).

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.

8.4. Consolidation of Autocratic Power

8.4.1. Control over Central Administration

Emperor Haile Sellassie built his autocratic control central administration through the make use of the following:

- The 1942 and 1943 decrees that helped the emperor to:
 - ✓ Concentrated more political, administrative and economic powers in the hands of the central government at Addis Ababa at the expense of the provincial (regional) lords and administrations.
- The emperor reduced the power of the nobilities by the above 1942 and 1943 **Provincial Administration Decrees**
- The criteria that the emperor used to promote individuals into the highest posts during the post-liberation period:
 - ☞ Loyalty than being member of a royal family (loyalty to the person of the Emperor was the chief criterion for recruitment and promotion of all individuals, of whatever origin, to higher posts)
 - ☞ Men of humble origin
 - ☞ **The sons of loyal persons were more preferred to the sons nobility of birth**
 - ☞ Dependence on the emperor for position
 - ☞ Absence of independent source of power unlike hereditary nobles
 - ☞ Better modern educational background
 - ☞ Traditional (Political marriage) relations with the emperor's state functionaries to confirm loyalty
 - ☞ Tradition marriage brought rapid promotions to several educated Ethiopians and men of noble background.
 - ☞ Palace service
 - ☞ Men of exile were benefited than men of patriots
- **The above connections to the Emperor and the royal family made officials be totally subservient to the will of the Emperor, and blindly obey him.**
- Most of the high ranking officials and the ministers of government frequently visited the Emperor at his palace to report on all matters that required his directives and decisions.
- The order of the Emperor was made effective through the **Ministry of Pen.**
- The Minister had the traditional title of **Tsehafe Tezaz** (literally, scribe).

Tsehafe Tezaz Wolde Giorgis Wolde Yohannes:

- ☞ The most prominent political figure who was **Tsehafe Tezaz** from 1941 to 1955
- ☞ powerful and smart.
- ☞ used his powers, at times, for political **intrigues** against the other ministers.

Mokonon Habtewold:

- ☞ Minister of Finance
- ☞ Organized and led the opposition against **Tsehafe Tezaz Wolde Giorgis** and sacked him from the post in 1955.

Prime Minister, Makonen Endalkatchew:

- ☞ Remained a nominal figurehead from 1943 to 1957.
- ☞ Later appointed President of the Senate.

Aklilu Habtewold:

- ☞ Made Minister of **Tsehafe Tezaz** (Pen) in 1958
- ☞ But it was in 1961 that he actually assumed real power as Prime Minister and **Tsehafe Tezaz**
- ☞ He did not have as much power as **Wolde Giorgis**
- ☞ This helped the Emperor to exercise his autocratic power without any limit
- Haile Sellassie was well aware of the **sources of danger**. Therefore, to minimize threats for his power, emperor gave less influential political powers to aristocrats such as:
 - ☞ **Asrate Kassa** (made governor of Eritrea, and later crown council).
 - ☞ **Endalkachew Mekonen** and **Michael Emiru** were assigned to ambassadorial posts.
 - ☞ **Ras Kasa Haylu, Ras Seyoum Mengesha, Ras Mesfin Seleshi, and Ras Emiru Haile Selassie** were made members of the crown Council that gave them some **opportunity for political influence**
- However, **Abiy Abebe** (Minster of War) and **Yilma Deressa** (Minister of Finance) were remained exceptional and given highly ranked powers.
- **The above all methods helped Haile Selassie to maintain his autocratic position, by playing off the nobility of birth against the nobility of service**

Haile Sellassie had also full control over the fiscal (financial) system which remained the pillar of his power.

- ☞ **In the post-war years, the Ministry of Finance emerged as the most influential agency of the government.**
- ☞ The Emperor had control over all allocations of state revenues until the early 1960s.
- ☞ The Emperor used budget in the manner of a **benevolent father**, and at times ordered expenditures for non-governmental purposes

8.4.2. The centralization of Provincial Administration

- In principle, provincial administration was left to the traditional ruling powers.
- But in practice, the recruitment remained under the strict control of the Emperor.
- To overcome regional tendencies, generally the nobility were deprived of their traditional political rights.
- Except **Tigray** and **Eritrea** under two noblemen, the rest of the provinces were **generally governed by members of the royal family, loyal officials of no aristocratic background or close friends of the royal family**.
- The country was divided into 12 administrative provinces.
- Later, the provinces were made 13 by splitting Hararghe into two and creating Bale, as a separate province.
- Finally with the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia, the total number of the provinces became 14, which were divided into sub-provinces (*Awrajas*) and districts (*Woredas*).
- According to the 1964 count, there were 99 *awrajas* (sub - provinces), 444 districts and 1,328 sub-districts, over which a uniform administrative structure was forced from the central government.
- Governor-generals of the provinces as a rule were persons with traditional education, with no modern qualifications.
- What was expected from Governor-generals was loyalty and the maintenance of "peace and security" (*Tsetita*).
- Governor-generals had supreme power over all civil servants, according to imperial directives.
- Since the provincial administration was highly centralized:
 - ✓ The provincial administrators were forbidden from appointing, dismissing or transferring state servants.
 - ✓ They also strictly forbidden from recruiting their own police force.
 - ✓ They deprived the right to leave their provinces prior to the permission of Ministry of Interior.

8.4.3. The 1955 Revised Constitution

The 1931 Constitution was revised in 1955 mainly:

- To create a false positive image for the state.
- To have similarity to that of Eritrea, that had a more progressive constitution and was federated with Ethiopia in 1952.

In reality, however, the 1955 Constitution:

- Stressed on the special rights of the Crown.
- Articles (about ¼) were concerned with the issue of imperial succession and the power of the Emperor at large.
- Largely a legal charter for the **consolidation of absolutism**.
- States that **"By virtue of His Imperial Blood, as well as by the anointing which he has received, the person of the Emperor is Sacred. His dignity is inviolable and His power indisputable"**.
- Included provisions on human rights, such as **freedom of speech** and **press** but were **made ineffective by phrases such as "in accordance with the law." or "within the limits of the law"**.

In the revised constitution, **if there was anything progressive in it, it was the introduction of the representative principle for the Chamber of Deputies or Lower House of the Parliament** in addition the **Upper House of the Parliament or Senate**

The Chamber of Deputies (Lower House of the Parliament):

- Members were elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage.
- Arranged to be filled by elected representatives of the people, beginning from 1957.
- Its president was elected by the members
- Most of its members were conservatives.
- Property qualification for being a candidate, and many Deputies were in fact landlords.
- Political parties were not allowed to a candidate.

The Senate or Upper House of the Parliament

- Remained an appointed chamber.
- The Emperor kept the power and the right to:
 - ✓ postpone,
 - ✓ extend,
 - ✓ suspend sessions, and
 - ✓ dissolve the Parliament.
- Its president was appointed by the Emperor

Proposals of either Houses of the Parliament (the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies) were forwarded to the Emperor through the **Prime Minister for approval to become a law. The Parliament had no right of selecting the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers, who remained accountable to the Emperor and chosen by him.**

Like the **feeble role** (weak role) assigned to the Parliament, the post of the Prime Minister meant little until the failed *coup d'etat* of 1960.

- The *coup* was a shock to the Emperor.
- Haile Sellassie was forced to examine political conditions in the country.
- Committees were formed to study and recommend the following reforms.
 - ✓ Constitutional Revision and separation of the function and position of the Head of State to be separated from the function and position of the Head of Government.
 - ✓ Executive authority be transferred from the Emperor to the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers.

In 1960 the Emperor announced that he had made a significant change in the position of the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers, and that the ministers would be responsible to the Prime Minister. Thereafter the Prime Minister and the Ministers would be collectively responsible to the Emperor and Parliament. But, all this was not practically implemented and the power of the Emperor remained intact up to the outbreak of the 1974 Revolution.

8.4.4. Controlling Media

- To widen the scope of centralization process, Emperor Haile sellassie controlled the media.
- Newspapers had no the right to provide negative comments and critics on government policies.
- They were responsible to bold the positive activities of the emperor, and they were told to magnify personality of the emperor by printing the name and sometimes the emperor's photos on schools, books, hospitals, and along roads as well as avenues.
- According to the emperor, activities considered assubversive that resulted in punishments like demotion and intimidation were:
 - critic
 - disloyalty
 - Reluctance.

Early Resistances (Oppositions) against the Imperial Regime

The patriots' Oppositions (*Blatta Takala Walda Hawaryat*, *Dejazmach Belay Zeleke*, and *Bitwaddad Negash Bezabih*)

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

His opposition was started as early as the emperor's **flight to exile** in 1936 and he tried all means to prevent the Emperor from returning to the throne in 1941. The emperor's preferring of exile life was strongly opposed by Takala. Takala did his best to prevent the emperor not to regain his throne. The major aim of Takala was to establish a **constitutional monarch**. 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 that claimed his life.

Belay Zeleke

During the Italian occupation, Belay Zeleke was the strongest patriotic leader in Gojjam. He was one of the patriots who opposed the emperor's fleeing to exile. He struggled to prevent the emperor from restoring his throne. After liberation, the emperor suspected his popularity and due to this fact, except Belay, Gojjam patriots were promoted to the highest political title (*Ras Bitwaddad*).

Accordingly, Belay Zeleke was rewarded only the title of *Dajazmach* and made the governor general of Bichena. **The lowest political title that Belay granted from the emperor and loss of Motta and Debre Marqos districts aggravated**

his discontents and resulted in his rebellion against the emperor. 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 1944, Belay was defeated and surrendered as well as captured by the force of the emperor. He tried to escape, but finally, recaptured and publically hanged.

Bitwaddad Negash Bezabih

He was also the patriot who led an opposition against the emperor. Before 1951, he was Vice Minister, and President of the senate. In 1951, he led a conspiracy against the emperor. **The objective of the conspiracy was to kill the emperor and proclaim a republic.** Finally, the plotters failed to achieve their intention because they were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonments.

The Aborted Coup d'état

- ▶ The 1960 aborted coup was the first organized attempt that intended to overthrow Emperor Haile Sellassie I from power.
- ▶ It was arranged by educated elite.
- ▶ The master-minded behind the coup was Gimame Neway, who architected the operation.
- ▶ Gimame was supported by his brother Mengistu, the commander of the Imperial bodyguard and the leader of the coup.
- ▶ The fundamental cause of the coup was the backwardness of Ethiopia compared to the recently emerged independent African states and the ineffectiveness of the imperial regime to initiate real progress in Ethiopia.

On 14 December 1960, the coup makers achieved some successes because:

- ▶ They seized public buildings and took the members of imperial family and leading figures of the government to hostages and;
- ▶ Declared a new government to be headed by the liberal aristocrat, Ras Emiru Haile Sellassie.

The mouth-piece of the coup makers was Asfawosen, the future salaried constitutional Monarch. Major General Mulugeta Buli, the commander-in-chief of the Imperial Bodyguard was designed chief of staff of the armed force. The coup makers also promised salary increment for soldiers.

The serious mistake that the rebels committed was their failure to win the support of the army and Air forces. In this case:

- ▶ They made no ample effort either to win them on their side or neutralize them.
- ▶ They did not enlist the entire military unit and radical elites in their program.
- ▶ Rather, they camouflaged or hidden their agenda.

The royalists confronted with coup makers and saved the imperial throne. At the end:

- ▶ The coup failed and
- ▶ The two brothers, Mengistu and Girmame Niway shot the hostage held in Ganata L'ul palace and fled to the outskirts of Addis Ababa.
- ▶ Finally, Girmame was killed on his way to Ziquala Mountain, and Mengistu was wounded, captured and hanged.

Though it failed to achieve its objective, the aborted coup:

- ▶ Powerfully impressed the minds of the educated group.
- ▶ It undermined the power of the emperor and indicated the possibility of overthrowing him from power.
- ▶ Further, the physical elimination of the coup makers did not bring to an end the total discontinuation of their legacy.

The peasants' Rebellion

The Wayane Peasants' Rebellion (1943)

Wayane peasants' rebellion covered the regions of Raya, Azebo and Wajirat in Tigray Region.

Causes:

Under the Italian rule, Wayane peasants were exempted from taxation, but did not last long because the restoration of the monarch was quickly followed by the imposition of taxation on the peasants.

Therefore, the basic causes of the rebellion were:

- Corruption
- Rapaciousness of government appointees and tax assessors.
- Tax assessors had engaged in plundering and looting of the peasants.
- The old aged confrontation between the Raya and Azebo Oromo people that further precipitated the rebellion.
- The government's attempt to abolish the traditional autonomy and customs' of Raya, Azebo and Wajirat people.

The **immediate cause** for the beginning of the campaigning of the emperor against the peasants was the **refusal** of the peasants:

- To pay tribute, and
- To accept new representatives of the government.

The Wayane rebellion was triggered by the:

- power abuse of tax assessors and
- government's involvement in to the communal life of Raya and Azebo people.

The power centralization process of Emperor Haile Sellassie disappointed the nobility and resented and as well as initiated them to join the rebels.

Courses:

The first expedition of the government was intended to **punish the Wajirat people who were suspected to take cattle and the other booty from the Afars**. To fight against the government the:

- discontented peasants,
- dissatisfied provincial nobilities and
- self-seeking bandits had formed a coalition under the leadership of **Blatta Haile Mariam Radda** (the leader of Wayane peasants' rebellion) and intensified fighting against the emperor.

End of the Rebellion:

- The last decisive battle took place on 6 October 1943.
- The government used **mortar and artillery**.
- It was also supported by British air force that helped the emperor to crash the force of Haile Mariam Radda in 1943.

Consequences:

The consequences of the Woyane peasants' rebellion included the following:

- Haile Mariam Radda was highly condemned;
- he was punished by a long and solitary imprisonment, and
- the Raya-Azebo people were punished and lost their lands and became tenants.

The Bale Peasants' Rebellion (1963)

Fundamental Causes:

- **Over taxation**
- **Land alienation:**
The levying of heavy taxation that the peasants could not able to pay was resulted in **land confiscation** in the districts of **Delo, Fassil, Genale and Wabe**.
- **Religious bias:** The political and financial assistance that Orthodox Christianity received from the state and the absence of the same aid for Muslims increased the conflicts between the government and the Muslin Sultanates in Bale.
- **Ethnic animosity between the settlers and the farmers.**
- **The policy of imperial land grants**
The 1963 land re-measurement (*Qalad*) practice of Emperor Haile Sellassie I had triggered the Bale peasants' rebellion.
- The mal-administration of **Warqu Enqu-Sellassie**.

The precipitating factor or immediate cause of Bale Peasants' rebellion was:

- Δ **The 1963 land re-measurement policy of the imperial regime**

Courses:

The first large scale rebellion was started in 1963 in the district of **El-Kere**, in specific area named **Afker**. Kahin Abdi was the first leader of the rebellion. From **El-Kere**, the rebellion was spread to **Filtu, Delo, Genale and Wabe** which was led by **Balambaras Waqo Gutu**.

The rebels lost the support they initially **granted from Somali Republic** and defeated by the Ethiopian government.

Consequences:

- During the war, peasants' villages, animals and crops were destroyed.
- However, after the war, the state treated the people fairly.
- Revenge was prohibited by the government.
- None of the rebel leaders were forced to exile life.
- Waqo Gutu, the rebel leader himself was granted new title (*Girazmach*) and land from the government.
- Land tax up to 1967 was cancelled.
- Some local gentries were strengthened in power

The Gojjam Peasants' Rebellion (1968)

Fundamental causes of the uprising Causes:

- The autocratic administrative policy of Tsehay Enqu Sellassie in Gojjam (1960-1969).
- Tshaye's policy of promotion or demotion (*shum shir*) that deliberately implemented to reward his friends and to punish his enemies.
- The campaign initiated to collect overdue taxes (formerly unpaid tax) by the same governor.
- The cash collection for the so called development of the region.
- The peasantry was also required to contribute payment to erect the emperor's statues to commemorate the emperor's return from exile.

Immediate cause of the uprising:

On the eve of the uprising, Tsehay required all the people of the region to **have their guns registered upon very little payment**. This changed the situation from bad to worse and scaled up the uprising.

Courses:

The uprising was started in the district of Mota and spread to Bichena, Debre Marqos, Bahir Dar and Dega Damot.

In 1968, an incident took place in Debre Maqos district, and changed the mood from bad to worse. The incident had taken place in Awobel village on 9 March 1968 while the villages were enjoying a feast in their parish church on Saturday. The cause of the incident was the beginning of land measurement by tax assessors.

To investigate the complaining of the peasants, the government sent three commissions to Gojjam from April to July 1968. Therefore, the first commission was sent to Gojjam and returned to Addis Ababa accompanied by seven elders represented from Bichena and Motta.

Accordingly, the elders asked the emperor for better:

- government,
- education,
- health facilities, and
- transport.

They also asked for:

- stopping of tax assessment,
- the withdrawal of tax assessors and
- the abrogation of tax law.

However, the emperor was not pleased with such boldness and rejected their demands, and rather he warned them to give up the "unlawful activities".

The districts specially Qwarit and Bibugn were continued their rebellion, but overrun by forces of:

- **Territorial Army**
- **police and**
- **peasants** of Agaw Mider (the neutral district from the conflict).

In February, all rebellions had been crushed down and the situation was fairly stabilized.

Consequences:

- The emperor made log awaited visit to Gijjam.
- He toured the province paying his respect to the monasteries and great churches.
- He gave promotions and banquet as well as award titles and medals.

All this were made to appease the gentry and clergy. The peasants also won significant concessions such as:

- Unpopular bureaucrats and administrators were removed from Gojjam,
- Tax assessors were recalled, and
- The Income Tax was postponed;
- Farmers were exempted from tax arrears for 19 years.
- All of the peasants received clemency.

The Wollo Peasants' Rebellions

Causes

The basic cause of the uprising was **land alienation**.

Courses

The first rebellion was started by attacking the prison in the district's capital (**Woldya**) in 1948. The Wollo peasant uprising was led by **Qagnazmach Melaku Taye and Unda Mohammed**. However, the rebels finally crashed with the help of **Netch Lebash** and they were **publically beaten on market day**.

The second uprising had taken place in 1970. It was caused by the attempt of the government to introduce **mechanized farming on pasture land**. The peasants responded to the attempt by killing the beneficiary of the project namely **Qagnazmach Abte Haylu**. Finally, without so much serious challenge the provoking condition was managed by the force of **Netch Lebash** and local police.

The Gedeo Peasants' Rebellions (1960)

Causes

It was also caused by land alienation. The land was alienated because Gedeo district was endowed with widespread coffee plantation that attracted a large number of men from various areas. The major objective of the flocking of people to the area was to get land from the district. Prince **Tenagneworq**, the daughter of Emperor Haile Sellassie, was one of the land seekers in Gedeo. The land alienation was resulted in reducing of Gedeo's peasants in to tenants and economic exploitation of the entire people.

Courses of the uprising

The peasants challenged the oppressive system by refusing to pay **erbo** tax that required the tenants to pay quarter of their products to the landlords. The peasants collected their coffee without waiting for tax assessor who expected to determine the amount tax (**erbo**) needed to be paid for the governors.

The last engagement took place at **Michille**. The government envoy, **Afa NegusEshete Gada** ordered offensive attack.

Consequences:

- The government destroyed peasants' properties and killed more than a hundred peasants.
- Finally, an "arbitration" commission led by **Afa NegusEshete Gada** restored the previous peace and order.
- However, the local elders who were considered as the organizers of the rebellion were punished and forced to pay compensation

The Ethiopian Students' Movement

The opposition of the students' against the imperial regime was mainly caused by the autocratic rule of the emperor that intensified:

- Nepotism,
- Corruption,
- Unemployment,
- Poverty and
- Backwardness of the country.

The other source of dissatisfaction among the educated Ethiopians was the **issue of curriculum** that directly imported from different Western countries.

More than anything else, it was the 1960 aborted coup that undermined the popularity of the emperor and initiated the students to involve in radical oppositions.

In the early years of the movement, the students confined only to the struggle for **free**:

- **presses and**
- **union.**

Accordingly, through their paper called **News and Views**, they expressed their grievances in the form of traditional poetry, **Qine**. By any means, **the university students exposed the backwardness of the imperial regime in disguised manners and called up on the mass to struggle for reform and progress.**

- The coming of English speaking African students to Ethiopia to attend their scholarship contributed positive input for the students' movement.
- The African students were surprisingly disappointed with the prevailing of strict censorship and lack of political freedom in Ethiopia and they told the Ethiopian students the ways through which struggle can bring full freedom and equality.
- Through the Ethiopian University Service (EUS) that required a fourth year students to give one year public service before graduation, the university students spread their objectives to the high school students.

"Land to Tiller" was the principal **slogan** of the students' movement. In 1965, the students presented their demonstration in front of the parliament while the parliamentarians were debating on the regulation of tenancy. In detail, the slogan called for:

- The distribution of land for the cultivators,
- Massive transfer of resource from landlords to tenants.

The idea was also strengthened by the secondary school students.

- In 1966, the university students held another slogan **"Is Poverty a Crime?"** and protested against the **"Shola"** Concentration Camp (prison).
- In the same year, the students' newspaper **"News and Views"** was replaced by the newspaper known as **"Struggle"**, and merged together various college unions into **Union of Students of University Students of Addis Ababa (USUAA)**.
- In November 1969, the **"Struggle"** published article on nationality problem. **Walegn Mekonen** was one of the authors of the article.
- In December 1969, the government agents killed the president of USUAA named **Tilahun Gizaw**.
- External influences were transmitted to the movement through students of abroad (Ethiopian students studying in Europe and USA).
- **The Ethiopian students from abroad had the journal called *Tateq* (gird yourself), which circulated among university students. It helped them to have an insight of the external world.**
- However, the main inspiring power came from an internal group known as the **"Crocodile Society"**, which was established in 1964.
- The 1972-1973 Wollo and Tigray famines gave the students additional opportunity to expose the nature of regime.
- The 1960s Ethiopian students' movement contributed a lot for the 1974 popular Ethiopian revolution that overthrew Haile Selassie I from power.

The Aftermath of the Students' Movement

By the time the government collapsed, however:

- The students were not organized enough to fill the political vacuum.
- Nobody was ready to step in to the power vacuum.
- But, it was only the military which was relatively in a position to control state power after the 1974 popular Ethiopian Revolution because students did not establish a political party to play a pivotal role in the power transmission.
- However, the students' movement gave a direction and guidance to the military regime.
- It was due to this fact that the basic questions held by the students such as the question of:
 - ✓ Land reform,
 - ✓ Cultural and
 - ✓ Linguistic equality and freedom were used by **Darg** to consolidate its political power.

The 1974 Ethiopian Revolution

Causes of the Revolution

The root (major) causes that drove various social groups of Ethiopia to participate in the 1974 popular Revolution were:

- the backwardness of the country
- the failure of the imperial regime to effect significant economic and political reforms

- corruption
- rising inflation
- famine that resulted in the death of over 200,000 people
- the growing discontent among the urban groups
- maladministration,
- power abuse,
- Absence of political freedom, freedom of speech, and freedom to political parties.

On the eve of the revolution, the following measures were taken by different social groups:

- ✦ **Ethiopian teacher's** opposed the **Educational Reform Program (The Sector Review)** adopted in December 1973 that advocated universal education up to 4th grade followed by vocational training thereafter. The Teachers' Association petitions on February 18, 1974 were concerned with teachers (**salary scales** and the **Sector Review**). Their petition also included the following demands:

- the liberalization of the laws concerning the right to demonstrate
- fair payment for all wage earners
- increment of payment for factory workers
- price control
- pensions for industrial workers
- improvement of the laws concerning dismissal of workers
- regular employment
- excluding judges and other high officials from being members of company board.
- granting of employment priorities to Ethiopians
- expansion of employment opportunities and
- The right to join trade unions for employees of certain organization.

- ✦ **Army mutiny:**

The main actors of the popular uprising that took place from January to June 1974, against Haile-Selassie's government were the armed forces.

- ✓ The 4th brigade in the Town of Negele-Borena (Sidamo province) demanded:

- payment and pension increases,
- better food allowances,
- injury benefits,
- improved living quarters,
- removal of disciplinary injustices,
- price control and
- access to water wells.
- ✓ Debre - Zeit Air Force.
- ✓ The Second Division seized the radio station in Asmara (Eritrea)
- ✱ Addis Ababa taxi drivers: The Addis Ababa taxi drivers went on strike to protest the petroleum Price increase due to the fourth Arab-Israel war.
- ✱ Ethiopian students opposition which was active since 1960s
- ✱ Employees of the Civil Aviation Agency
- ✱ Workers of the Addis Ababa Municipality
- ✱ The Muslim community demanded equal status for their religion.
- ✱ The Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Unions

Note: Famines in Wollo and Tigray (1972-3) that the emperor attempted to hide its existence had precipitated the mass opposition.

The government's responses to the demands of different social groups

- The Sector Review had suspend (postponed),
- The teachers also reassured that their other demands would be met within a month and urged them to resume (start again) teaching.
- For taxi – derivers the petroleum price was reduced by ten cents
- Soldiers' and policemen salary increased by eighteen birr

The soldiers were not satisfied by the government responses and representatives of the various military units in and around Addis Ababa went to the king and submitted the following demands:

- freedom of political parties
- the democratic election of administrators
- land reform
- the improvement of employee-employer regulations
- freeing of all political prisoners
- free education for all
- enforcement of necessary price controls
- Prosecution (trial) of officials who directly and indirectly embezzled public funds.
- salary rises for members of the army and other workers to meet market prices
- The formation of a committee including members of the army and the civilian to follow up the enforcement of the demands.

As result of the first round of military and police uprising:

- Prime Minister *Tsehafe Tizaz Aklilu Habte-Wolde* resigned on February 24, 1974
- The king appointed General Abiy Abebe as Prime Minister.
- However, the army preferred *Lij Endalkachew Mekonnen* to be Prime Minister and the king replaced Abiy Ababe by Endaldachew as Prime Minister.

The **radical Bodyguard junior officers, army and police officials** made **Colonel Alemzawd Tessema** (commander of an **air born brigade** based in Addis Ababa) a head of an **informal, inter-unit coordinating committee** that came to be known as the **Armed Force Coordinating Committee (AFCC)**. Acting with the approval of the new prime minister, Alemzawd arrested a large number of disgruntled air force officers and appeared to support the Endalkachew's government.

In early June, a dozen of members broke away from AFCC and requested that every military and police unit sent their representatives to Addis Ababa to organize for further action. Then, the army not above the rank of major organized themselves in to a new body called the **Coordinating Committee of the Armed Force, Police and Territorial Army** that soon came to be called **Darg (Committee)** under the chairman of Major Mengistu Hailemariam and vice chairman Atinafu Abate.

Note: The **rural populations** of Ethiopia were not involved in the uprising which prevailed over the first six months of 1974.

The Emergence of Darg (Military Dictatorship) the Junta

The Darg was the organization in which the members were unions or associations. The task of coordinating the **demands, strikes and demonstrations** of February-June 1974, fell on the elected leaders and committees. Some of **associations** that took part in the revolution include:

- The Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions (CELU),
- The Ethiopian Teachers Association and
- Union of Addis Ababa University Students.

The nationwide resistance against the autocratic government of Emperor Haile Selassiel finally dismantled the old regime. But the country entered in to another socio-economic and political crisis. The Darg formally known as the **Coordinating Committee** organized from the **Armed Forces, Police and Territorial Army** set up on June 21, 1974. Major Mengistu Hailemariam was elected as chair person and Major Atinafu Abate as deputy (vice chairman).

The Darg military government excluded civilian participation in decision-making processes and had restrictive policies on democratic rights. The Darg provided its legitimacy (legality) among **students, the rural and urban masses** through the slogans known as “**Ethiopia Tiqdem**”(Ethiopia first). To implement its objectives, the Darg used **threats** and of **extreme force**.

Unit Nine

The decolonization of Africa

Factors Led to Decolonization

The decolonization process and the emergence of independent Africans was the result of many developments. Some of the developments had been started even before the outbreak of the Second World War whereas the others had fermented within the war and events accompanied it. The 1940s was an era of growing anti-colonial nationalism. Since then, colonial regimes across Africa were under intense pressure from organized nationalist movements for independence. These movements were led by an emergent class of educated African elites who formed political parties, and saw the war as an opportunity to put pressure and to obtain the independence from colonial rule. The other contributing factor for the spread of Africans struggle for independence was the role of media. Added to the above, the position of the American President Franklin Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill in Atlantic Charter in 1941 was another contributing factor.

The Role of Educated Elites

Nationalism in Africa had been established through western education who led to the rise and growth of African nationalism. Few African who went to school had acquired colonial language like French or English that made communication easy between different tribes. The educated Africans were the product of the social 'revolution' initiated by the Christian missions in the 19th century. The missionaries introduced European ideas of nation-building and they also educated the Africans who adopted these ideas. Missionary education produced new elite. Some of educated Africans became agent of the administration but the majority of the student became teachers, translators, doctors, agent of the private sectors in the European companies or other became self-employers like lawyers. The education system was not only the fabric of the colonial administration, but had been also the product of the African who really knew the importance of education to construct an identity. The students who had finished their education in the colonial schools came involve in the political force and began to contest the colonial order in the perspective of the independence of the African colonies.

The educated African elites used political, economic and social skills to influence new generation of Africans into political agitation and actions. The result was the emergence of nationalist movements through political parties. These educated African who contributed a lot in the growth African nationalism that in turn led independence were:

- Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast,
- Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya,
- Julius Nyerere of Tanzania,
- Sékou Touré of (French) Guinea,
- Felix Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast,
- Nnamdi Azikiwe in Nigeria,
- Milton Margai in Sierra Leone,
- Dawda Jawara in Gambia, and
- Sylvanus Olympio in Togo.

The Second World War

The Second World War was another factor which encourages African nationalism. Lots of Africans were enrolled in French and British armies as soldiers and they knew the use of guns, the military weakness of white people, and also they were influenced by American soldiers about democracy and freedom. War propaganda provided an opportunity for Britain to rally her West African subjects against Nazi system but this war also permitted the African elites to articulate their nationalist demands about freedom and self-determination.

The war and its effects directed the minds of Africans more on liberation and independence and it had strengthened the sense of nationalism and hastened the emergence of African political voices in several ways. After the Second World War, nationalist movements in Africa quickly gained momentum. This was largely due to the war itself, and its effects. Many thousands of Africans had fought in the Allied armies, expanding their outlook and their knowledge of international affairs; and the war had been to some extent an anti-racist war against the racist governments of the Axis powers. The disintegration of colonialism in Asia, in the Far East and the Middle East set up a good example for the African liberation movements. The disintegration of colonialism in the Far East and in the Middle East became a good example for the African liberation movements.

The WWII and its aftermath contributed greatly to the emergent nationalist upsurge in Africa. The War acted as a catalyst, producing two processes. These were:

- The emergence of a new radical leadership; and
- The creation of a large group of supporters for the new African leadership.

The Allied defeats in the early stages of the war at the hands of Germany and Japan and the German occupation of France indicated clearly that the colonial powers were not as formidable as was previously believed in Africa. The Africans appreciated now, more than ever, how much the Europeans depended on African troops and material aid. Furthermore, Africans, during the war, learned new technical skills, gained a wider perspective of world affairs, and met and exchanged ideas with Asians then engaged in the struggle to remove the European yoke. With this experience, the basis of European justification for continued domination of Africa was further undermined.

WWII greatly assisted Africa to win its independence. In the first place the war heavily weakened the colonial powers, i.e. Britain, France, Belgium etc. As a result they could not forcefully maintain their large colonial empire any more.

Therefore, the Second World War had changed the attitude of European towards the colonies in Africa, and some of them were forced to introduce colonial administrative reforms. During the war, French was made acutely aware of its indebtedness to Africa. In order to ensure continuing African support, European had been obliged to promise that social, economic and political reforms would follow allied victory in the war. A Free French Conference held at Brazzaville in 1944 de Gualle had specifically promised a 'deal' for the subjects of the French African territories. However, there were no African delegates at the conference, and there was no suggestion yet of African political independence. The promise of Brazzaville was followed by the abolition of indigenat and corveelabour system.

In British West Africa, the war years saw educated Africans being brought increasingly into high administrative position and on to elected local councils. British colonial administrators began to contemplate a time in a distant future when African would be allowed some degree of self-government. Significantly, Portugal, which had remained neutral during WWII, felt no such obligation to introduce reforms in her African colonies.

The position of the American President Franklin Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill

Another factor involved in African nationalism was the position of the American President Franklin Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill in Atlantic Charter in 1941. The two leaders declared that

they respected the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they want to live. The statement of the two leaders gives hopes to African nationalists to affirm their right to self-determination and independence.

The Role of Newspapers

African nationalism had been also spread in the opinion through newspapers in urban and commercial centers like Lagos in Nigeria, Accra in Gold Coast, Lome in Togo, Freetown in Sierra Leone, and Banjul in Gambia. The contributions in the newspapers were the products of teachers and civil servants who used local newspapers as platforms for the expression of nationalism. From the end of the Second World War in 1945, the colonial system had changed and nationalist leaders in Africa took the opportunity to demonstrate their willing for freedom. The process of the decolonization was started and continued to the independence of many former colonies into new states in 1960.

The Role of United Nations Organization

The United Nations organization with its anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and anti-racist policies also helped to keep the desire for self-government constantly in the minds of the Africans. The newly emerged as global powers after the war, USA and USSR who had no colony in Africa supported decolonization.

The Wining of Independence

British West Africa

Gold Coast (Ghana)

In 1947, the political party called the **United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC)** was formed under **Kwame Nkrumah** to lead the struggle for independence. In 1948, Nkrumah left the **UGCC** and founded a mass political party called the **Convention of People's Party (CPP)** and followed peaceful means of struggle, and his party organized mass actions such as **demonstrations, boycotts and strikes** which was followed by the arresting of Nkrumah by British. As a result of successful negotiations with Britain, preparation for internal self-government was given to the Gold Coast in 1951. Further negotiations with the British brought about the complete independence of Ghana in 1957. Nkrumah became Ghana's first president. Thus, the first among the countries of West and Tropical Africa to gain its independence in March 1957 was the British Gold Coast Colony, Ghana.

Nigeri

The Nigerian political parties contributed to the process of independence were organized on regional basis. The Nigerian nationalist initiative was taken by the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC), founded in 1944. **NnamdiAzikwe** of Nigeria was one of its founders and the strongest nationalist in West Africa who was well experienced like Nkrumah of Gold Coast and led the Nigeria national independence movement. The main base of NCNC was in the Igbo country of southeast Nigeria. The other active party in Nigeria was the Yoruba Action Group (YAG) formed in 1947. The third regional based party was the Husa/Fulani Northern People's Congress (NPC). During the struggle for independence, religious, ethnic and regional differences among the various groups of Nigeria became obstacle to the formation of anti-colonial organization at a national level and delayed the independence. The disagreement was on setting suitable constitution. However, the existing differences were finally avoided to establish a federal state on

independence. The peaceful methods of struggle and the British readiness to decolonize Nigeria led to negotiation. Thus, Nigeria achieved independence in October 1960 and Sir **Abubakar Tafawa Balewa** became the first prime minister of independent Nigeria.

Sierra Leone,

The territory of Sierra Leone was very small and relatively poor and this was the major reason that delayed its independence. Thus, Sierra Leone won independence through peaceful negotiations in 1961.

Gambia

Gambia was one of the smallest countries in Africa and completely surrounded the French-speaking of Senegal. The granting of independence to the Gambia raised as the question as to whether a country of this size could be viable as sovereign state, but events proved the South-East Asia and elsewhere that mini-states could be extremely successful economically, and the Gambia, although not as well-off as some of these states, was to be benefited from its size and position. Even though, the Gambian independence was delayed during the discussion for its possible union with its more powerful Senegal, the Gambian nationalists resisted the territory became independence in 1965.

French West and Equatorial Africa

Administratively, the colonies of French were divided into French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. In French West Africa, the colonial administration was very strong and educational opportunities were limited. As a result, the liberation movement remained slow and started very recently.

Helped by the French communist party, the progressive national liberation leaders of the two regions formed the **African Democratic Union** at Bamako in 1946. It was the first political organization of the regions that was formed to coordinate the struggle for independence. Following this, political parties were formed by different nationalist leaders. The most known nationalist leaders were Felix Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast and Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal. Boigny was the leader of the African Democratic Union.

Some nationalist leaders of those colonies wanted to form two federations, at independence, rather than became several small independent states. Finally, the growing power of the national liberation forces and the external pressure compelled the French government to make concessions.

In 1954, a war of national liberation was started against France in Algeria. This pushed France to make reforms in her colonies of West and Equatorial Africa. Indeed, in 1956, France allowed internal self-government for each of the colonies.

In 1957, the African Democratic Union at Bamako called for the formation of federation states. The French government rejected the proposal, considering that it would be easier to deal with small and weak countries than with one or two largest states.

Faced with the disintegration of the colonial system and a serious political crisis at home as the result of the war in Algeria, France announced a referendum in all her colonies of West and Equatorial Africa. The people were to be asked whether they wished to remain within the French community or to be completely independent of France. This referendum was conducted on September 28, 1958. But only Guinea, under her nationalist leader Seku Toure and the role of the Democratic party of Guinea, Voted ‘yes’ for independence.

However, after two years, the rest of the 13 French West and Equatorial African colonies gained their independence. These countries which achieved independence in 1960 were: Mauritania, Senegal, Ivory Coast,

Dahomey, French Sudan, Niger, Upper Volta, Gabon, Middle Congo, Ubangi-Shari, Chad, Cameroon and Togo. The first seven including Guinea were grouped under French West Africa and the last six were grouped under French Equatorial Africa.

East Africa

The Independence of Kenya (British East Africa)

The liberation movement in East Africa, particularly in Kenya was very great. In 1947, the **Kenya African Union (KAU)** was emerged. Its famous leaders were **Jomo Kenyatta** and **Oginga Odinga**. In 1959, two main political parties were formed. They were Kenya Africa National Union (KANU) founded by **Oginga Odinga** and Tom Mboya, and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) founded by the future Kenyan president Daniel arap Moi. In 1961, Kenyatta was released from prison and became president of KANU, the leader of African majority in the Legislative Assembly.

On the other hand, the road to independence took the Kenyan Nationalists through a period of hard-fought and bitter struggle called the **Mau-Mau**. The **Mau-Mau** was a peasant guerrilla war against British colonialism. Attacks and assassinations on white settlers and their African Collaborators were carried out. The struggle of the **Mau-Mau** was carried on from 1946 to 1962. Its campaign of violence and terrorism reached its peak in 1962. The Movement totally became costly in terms of loss of human life, imprisonment, financial expenditures and damages to property. Nevertheless, after further constitutional negotiation, the British were forced to give the country's national independence and Kenya became independent in December 1963. **Jomo Kenyatta** became the first president of independent Kenya.

Tanganyika

In British East Africa, Tanganyika took lead in the road to independence. In Tanganyika, the national liberation movement became very strong. The event that spurred Tanganyika nationalists into mass political activity was the eviction in 1951 of thousands of **Meru** farmers to settle whites. After the eviction was protested by the Tanganyikan African Association (TAA), **Julius Nyerere** led the Tanganyikan nationalists in forming the Tanganyikan African National Union (TANU) in 1954. **Julius Nyerere** was supported by the extent of rural dissatisfaction with heavy-handed governments attempts to 'change and improve' the agricultural practices of peasant farmers. The government's schemes to enforce the terracing of mountain-slopes provoked violent rioting in 1954. The rapid spread of TANU membership was helped by the widespread use of the Kiswahili language which Nyerere used to create a sense of national unity among many African people in Tanganyika region.

Although the British established the so called "multi-racial" constitution, it was racist in practice and guaranteed more power to the minority whites of Asians and Europeans in Tanganyika. But by 1958 election, Nyerere's party, TANU won majority seat in the parliament because it got the support of influential white-politicians under the term of multi-racial constitution.

The people of Tanganyika demanded independence and formed a political party called the **Tanganyika Africa National Union (TANU)** under teacher **Julius Nyerere**. TANU was a popular mass political party. Therefore, the British decided to decolonize Tanganyika, and Tanganyika became independent in 1961 under a totality of non-racial constitution.

Zanzibar

The radical Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP), which grew out of old Arab Association, had links with Egyptian nationalist and communist China. The **Afro-Shirazi** Party (ASP), an amalgamation of the former African Association and the Shirazi was formed by the British administration. Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP) and ZNP formed a coalition government. In December 1963, the British also gave independence to Zanzibar and **MuhammedShamate** became the prime minister of independent Zanzibar. In 1964, Tanganyika and Zanzibar were amalgamated or united and formed the Republic of Tanzania and **Julius Nyerere** became its first president.

Uganda

Uganda's nationalist movement was parts of Nyerere's Tanganyika (Tanzania) leadership which inspired the nationalist movement in the rest British east and central Africa. In the process of struggle for independence of Uganda, the kingdom of Buganda ruled by **Kabaka** (a king) namely **KabakaMutesa II** was determined to retain Buganda's special status in any future independent of Uganda state. It was due to this fact that by the term of independence constitution of 1961, Buganda was allowed to exercise its own internal self-government, separate from central government and under the direct control of **Kabaka**.

In Uganda nationalists began to demand independence from British rule. However, cultural differences in the country became obstacle to form a strong national liberation front and to start the struggle in the country in the early period. As a result, the regional parties of Uganda focused mainly on their own respected areas. The government that took Uganda to independence in October 1962 was a political alliance between Milton Obote's northern-based Uganda People's Congress and Buganda royalist party, the kabaka Yeka ('King Alone') Movement. At last, Uganda achieved her independence in 1963 with the leadership of **Milton Abote** as a prime Minister and **KabakaMutesa II** as a ceremonial president. After independence, Obote's party dispense its political alliance with the **Buganda** royalists, and 1966 Obote declared new constitution in which he himself became executive president. This violently ended special status of Buganda, and the government troops led by Colonel Idi Amin attacked **Kbaka** palace but Mutesa II managed to escape into exile. Later, Obote himself was ousted by military coup led by Idi Amin in 1971.

Rwanda and Burundi

With the coordination role of the UNO, Rwanda and Burundi also won independence in 1962.

Northeast Africa Egypt

In 1944, British ended her wartime occupation of Egypt and transformed the 1922 Egyptian nominal independence into better state of independence. In 1952, the corrupt and oppressive regime of **Farouk** and the old **Ottoman landed aristocracy** were overthrown by the **military coup** led by military officers commanded by Colonel **GaamalAbd al-Nasir** who took the ruling military council as a president of Egypt in 1954. In 1956, Nasir's government seized the Suez Canal from French company. In the same year, Nasir **nationalized the Suez Canal from British and French** influence. British and French reacted against Nasir by invading Egypt in the same year but they withdrew following Egyptian resistance and the pressure from UNO which was resulted in the nationalizations of the remaining British and French companies in Egypt that heralded the final declaration of Egyptian independence in 1956.

Sudan

In Sudan, the British colonialists had been exploiting the country's resources since the end of the 19th c by Virtue of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium convention. Following the Egyptian independence, different

political organizations were formed of which the **Al Ashiga** and the **Al Umma** parties had been coming to play an increasingly active part in the country's liberation movement. Parliamentary election held in Sudan in November 1953 and brought a national government to power. On February 12, 1953, the Anglo-Egyptian agreement on the Sudan abrogated the condominium regime and recognized the right of the Sudanese people to self-determination at the end of a transitional period of three years. In 1954, Egypt gave up its claim to authority in the Sudan. The last British troops were out of Sudan by the end of 1955. Then, Britain negotiated an independence constitution for the Sudan which came into effect in 1956 and on January 1, 1956, Sudan proclaimed an independent republic.

Somalia

Following the end of WWII, Italian Somaliland was put under United Nations Trust Territory to be administered by Italy. When British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland achieved independence in 1960, the Italian Somaliland and British Somaliland joined together to form the republic of Somalia at its capital Mogadishu. In addition to this, Italian-Somaliland and British Somaliland united to achieve independence in 1960.

Eritrea

Eritrea, the former colony of Italy since 1890 came under British occupation following the withdrawal of Italy from Eritrea in 1941. During the rise of Arab Muslim power in Egypt, the British established strong alliance with Ethiopia and denied the Eritrean independence. In 1962, Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia.

Independence Movement in the Maghrib

Morocco

In Morocco, the people had to win their independence through hard and bitter struggle. Morocco was ruled by the two European colonial states of Spain and France. The French ruled French Morocco by "indirect rule." The Moroccan Sultan, Mohammed V was given some powers under the French colonial government and he sided with the Muslim Nationalist movement, demanded independence. The Muslim nationalist movement known as the **Moroccan National Front** was established in 1928 and the **Istiqlal party** was formed in 1947, which were fighting for the country's independence. When these organizations demanded independence, Sultan Mohammed V joined the movement to fight against the French.

Sultan Mohammed V became the central figure of the nationalist movement. The French hoped to be able to crush the movement by force. In 1953, they deposed Sultan Mohammed V and exiled him to **Corsica** and then to **Madagascar**. In his place, they put **Said Tami Al Glawi** as a Sultan. This measure made Mohammed V the popular hero of the country and the symbol of hope for Morocco more than ever before.

In October 1955, the armed struggle reached climax that was supported by the tribes of the **Rif** and **Atlas highlands**. As a result, the French colonial army was defeated by the liberation army and agreed to give independence.

Forced to come to terms, the French recalled Mohammed V from exile and put him back on the throne. On March 2, 1956, a Franco-Moroccan declaration on Moroccan independence was signed. On April 5, 1956, the country's independence was recognized by Spain. And, thus former French and Spanish zones reunited to form the state of Morocco. Sultan Mohammed V became the first independent king of Morocco.

Tunisia

Like Morocco, Tunisia also started armed struggle. The bourgeois nationalist political party called the **Neo-Dastur party** under **Habib Burgiba** and the **Communist party** under **Mohammed Enafaa** led the struggle for independence. In 1950, peaceful negotiations with France for independence failed. In the next two years, strikes and demonstrations followed. The French government responded by imprisoning the leaders of the struggle for

national independence, including HabibBurgiba and Mohammed Enafaa in 1952. However, HabibBurgiba was released from prison in 1956 and Tunisia became independent in March of the same year under HabibBurgiba as its first leader.

Between 1952 and 1954, the people led an armed struggle against the colonial government. At last, the French were forced to negotiate, which brought about the national independence of Tunisia in 1956. On independence, the country became a republic with **HabibBurgiba** as the first president.

Independence Movement in Western Sahara

Algeria

It was a French colony with a substantial number of French settlers. The French settlers controlled the economy of that country. The **Communistparty** of Algeria, which was founded before World War II, was in the forefront of the Algerian struggle for independence. By the end of 1945, the **first outbreak of violence** occurred in the country.

Supported by the people, Algerian patriots formed the **Front de Liberation National** (National Liberation Front) and started a bitter war of liberation struggle against the French in 1954. The leader of the National Liberation Front (FLN) was **Ahmed Ben Bella**.

The war of liberation was fought from 1954 to 1962. It was an acute liberation struggle more than in any one of the other countries. By the time the war came to an end, out of the total population of 9,000,000 around 2 million were killed. While still in conflict, the French government began talks with the **FLN** in 1958. But extremists and colonially minded troops in the French army of Algeria were opposed to any negotiations. In the meantime, the Algeria freedom fighters formed an **Algeria provisional Government in exile in Cairo**. It was followed by the French government's negotiations with **FLN** leaders in 1960 and 1961. In 1962, the French were forced to agree to the independence of Algeria, after the Algeria people voted "yes" in a **referendum** for independence. The **FLN** leader, **Ahmed Ben Bella** became the first president of the country.

Libya

Originally, the country was a colony of Italy. However, the Italians lost Libya as a result of World War Second and it was occupied by British since 1943. It became a UN trust territory under British administration until 1951. In 1949, the UN sent its commissioner to work out a constitution acceptable to the country. In 1951, a constituent Assembly of Libya declared **IdrisMuhammed** king of the country. IdrisMuhammed was the leader of SanusiyyaMuslim brotherhood. However, in 1969, IdrisMuhammed was overthrown from power through the military coup led by Colonel Muammer al-Qadhadhafi (Gadafy).

The Independence Movement of the Belgian Ruled Central Africa Belgian Congo

The independence movement in Belgian Congo had different feature because in the immediate post WWII, Belgian government was determined to suspend on its major African colony. The possibility of transfer to the African self-government was not even discussed in the official Belgian crisis in 1956. The Belgian authorities deliberately tried to keep the Congolese people isolated from the radical political ideas sweeping the rest of the other parts of Africa. In 1956, however, the tiny educated minority composed of clerks, teachers, and shopkeepers in the main urban centers were raising demands for the abolition of the racial discrimination. The Belgian government believed that it could satisfy this group by permitting them to take part in the open elections for local government in the principal towns of Leopoldville (Kinshasa), Stanleyville (Kisangani), Elizabethville (Lubumbashi), and Luluabourg (Kanaga). The election was held in the late 1957 and early 1958, and opened the gate for a flood of African political activity and most political parties subsequently formed based on single regional ethnic group support. Bakongo cultural organization ABAKO under the leadership of

Joseph Kasavubu was the most prominent political party. CONAKAT was the principal party in the Katangan copper-producing region, which was founded by Moïse Tshombe and based mainly on Lunda support. Patrice Lumumba also founded the party came to known as *Movement National Congolais* (MNC) based on a nation-wide political party but largely supported by the people around Lumumba's home town of Kisangani. In 1959, in Kinshasa (Leopoldville), widespread and uncontrolled rioting quickly occurred. In January 1960, Belgium summoned the colony's main political leaders to a 'Round Table Conference' in Belgium. At the conference, African politicians admitted that they had been prepared to negotiate anything up to five years transition period toward internal self-government. However, to the surprise of the Congolese political parties, Belgium agreed to full political independence within less than six months, which marked the unprepared political parties for independence mushroomed throughout Congo.

The problem of regional-based parties quickly came to the fore in the negotiations to form a coalition government for independence in June 1960. Only Lumumba's MNC favored a single centralized government. The other regional parties wanted a federal constitution which would guarantee them domination of their own local self-government. With the style of constitution still undecided; Lumumba headed a very shaky coalition as Prime minister with Kasavubu formal president. But within days, the newly-independent state began to fall apart. The army mutinied against the continued presence of the Belgian officers and Katanga declared itself a separate state.

Soon after independence, Lumumba's government was paralyzed. It had lost both its main source of income, taxes from Katanga copper-mines and control of the army to enforce the law. Thus, the unconditional withdrawal of Belgium from Congo was preceded by breaking of law and bloody civil war. To maintain peace and order, Lumumba requested for the UN peacekeeping force to arrive in Congo and to stop the Katanga secession. Nevertheless, the arriving UN's peacekeeping force in 1960, refused to intervene against the Katanga secession. Lumumba was murdered in Katanga in 1960, and the army commander, General Mobutu with strong backing of United States emerged as the main power in Kinshasa. Towards the end of 1962, UN's force intervened in Katanga and ended Tshombe's secession in Katanga in 1963, and Tshombe became the prime Minister of the newly-unified Congo government in 1965 but his rule was soon discredited due to corruption, the use of white mercenaries and American and Belgians paratroops during the suppression of major rebellions in the Lumumbist heartland of Kisangani. In November 1965, Mobutu seized power in a bloodless coup.

South Africa South West Africa

The independence question of South Africa became very complex due to the formation of Apartheid rule by the white racists. As a result, the issue of South Africa was not only considered as a problem of colonial rule but also a problem based on the white racist settlers. To fight against the white oppressive system, the **African National Congress (ANC)**, which was formed in 1912, became a voice of protest in the region. The ANC followed peaceful form of struggle under its leader, **Albert Lutuli**. The peaceful struggle, however, did not bring independence for the people of South Africa. Therefore, the ANC decided to struggle by forming a military wing. After the death of **Lutuli**, **Nelson Mandela** became the president of the ANC.

Because of the intensification of the armed struggle, the ANC leaders, such as **Mandela**, **Tabo Embeki** and others were detained in 1967, and sentenced to life imprisonment at the **Robben Island**. The situation forced the leader of the racist government, **Deklerick** to start negotiation with the ANC leaders. In 1990 ANC leaders were released from Robben Island. **Nelson Mandela** became the first Black president of South Africa that marked the final down fall of the Apartheid regime.

South West Africa (Namibia)

South West Africa was a mandated territory of South Africa. **South West African Peoples' Organization (SWAPO)**, led by **Sam Nujuma**, escalated its guerrilla campaign to oust the South African white racist rule. South Africa continued to resist the struggle of **SWAPO** until December 1988 although she allowed Namibia to become independent state in 1989. **Nujuma** was elected to serve as the country's first president.

Independence in the Portuguese Colonies

Angola and Mozambique were the Portuguese colonies which had white settlers. To achieve their independence, they engaged in violent liberation struggle. The war of liberation in Angola and Mozambique were very severe. The freedom fighters in Angola organized Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) led by Agostino Neto and Mozambique Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) was led by Eduardo Mondlane. Mondlane died of bomb explosion in 1968 and succeeded by Samora Machel.

MPLA was supported by Guinea, and FRELIMO by Tanzania and Zambia. The new government of Portuguese, led by Spínola wanted to end the colonial empire because the war with liberation fighters became too costly for Portugal. Again the Portuguese army voiced for peace. With this favorable condition, Guinea became independent with the new name Guinea-Bissau in 1975. Mozambique also achieved independence in June 1975 under the presidency of Samora Machel, the leader of FRELIMO. São Tomé and Cape Verde also became independent in the same year.

Angola was liberated in November 1975. However, due to the Portuguese disorganized withdrawal, power struggle between MPLA and its opponents FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) and UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) emerged. At the end, MPLA led by Agostino Neto took power in 1976 and established a socialist government in Angola. Jonas Savimbi, leader of UNITA, supported by the Republic of South Africa and USA continued guerrilla warfare against MPLA.

Critical Advice of the Teacher:

- From your textbook and other references read the following historical developments:
 1. The Russian Revolution
 2. The Military Dictatorship under Darg in Ethiopia
 3. The Ogaden War between Ethiopia and Somali in 1970s
 4. Pan-Africanism
 5. Apartheid in South Africa

