CHAPTER EIGHT
ETHIOPIA FROM AUTOCRACY TO REVOLUTION (1941 - 1991)

8.1. Restoration of the Monarchy

- Emperor Haile Silassie: -re-entered Addis Ababa on 5 May 1941. Received acceptance from the Orthodox Church, patriots and Nobles.
- Italian collaborators were pardoned and accommodated in the reinstated government.

British Domination

- Italian East Africa including Ethiopia was regarded as Occupied Enemy Territory Administration **(OETA**) of Britain.
- In Ethiopia, British practically shared power with the Emperor. British kept power in the area of finance, army and foreign affairs.
- This limited the power of the Emperor as result negotiations were began to regain complete and independent power of the monarch.

1. The First Anglo- Ethiopian Agreement in 1942

According to this treaty: -

- British recognized Ethiopia as a sovereign state.
- Under the Pretext of the ongoing WWII and Djibouti under pro-Nazi Vichy France government, Britain was allowed to have a final authority in Ethiopia in the area of foreign affairs, administration, finance and military.
- British helped the Emperor to bring peace and normalization in the countryside.
- But their domination and the passive acceptance of Haile Silassie in the Treaty allowed British officials to have extraordinary right in Ethiopian territorial integrity (Ogaden) and the Djibouti - Addis Ababa railway.

"Great Somalia"

- This was British plan to create united Somalia by combining five Somalia inhabited territories including Ogaden from Ethiopia.
- British plot in Ogaden forced the Emperor for another round of negotiation.

2. The Second Anglo- Ethiopian Agreement 1944

According to this agreement: -

- British recognized Ogaden and the "Reserved Area" (the railway line along the Djibouti border) as an integral part of Ethiopia.
- British agreed to train the Ethiopian military force to replace British army.
- Haile Silassie was allowed to recruit non - British foreign personnel and to use the railway line as an outlet.
- British proposal to create "Great Somalia" was failed because of UN Trusteeship Council that placed Italian Somaliland under Italian mandate.
- In 1948 Ogaden was restored to Ethiopia, in 1955 the "Reserved Area" and the Haud grazing land were returned to Ethiopia.

The Period of American Influence

- In the post WWII Ethiopia took the initiate to get closer to America.
- In 1943 Yilma Deresa led Ethiopian delegation to America and asked for military aid and other technical and legal advisors.
- In1945 Haile Sillasie met President Roosvelt in Egypt and asked to help Ethiopia to regain Ogaden and Eritrea.

- Americans felt the strategic importance of Red Sea, and the Radio Marina in Asmara. America replaced British as a dominant power in Ethiopia.
- The communist threat made Eritrea important asset to preserve so, America preferred Eritrea to be part of Ethiopia.
- The Americans were convinced by the Ethiopians and in the Korean War that identified its interest with the West. **Radio Marina** was renamed **"*Qagnew*** Station" after Ethiopian battalion that fought at the Korean War and made an America base by the Agreement signed in 1952 and lasted up to 1978.

Treaties with America

"Point Four Agreements" 1952

- Laid the foundation for American assistance in the field of education and public health.
- Involved in agriculture, public health, education, tourist and public administration training and awarding of scholarship

Military Agreement in 1953

- Signed in 1953 for US military assistance.
- Military Assistance and Advisory Group (MAAG) was assigned to all branches of the military units and training institutions of the Ethiopian armed forces.
- USA military aid to Ethiopia increased after 1960 when Somalia entered into conflict with Ethiopia.
- By 1970, 60 per cent of USA military aid to Africa went to Ethiopia. Somalia also got military aid from USSR as Cold war games.

Effects of American military and other assistance to Ethiopia: -

- Ethiopian army was enabled to play the role of international peace keeping force in Congo in1960.
- Ethiopian Air Line (EAL) was set up with the help of Trans- Continental and Western Air Line (TWA).
- TWA provided administrative and supervisor personnel to EAL.
- Imperial Highway Authority was established in 1957 with the help of the American.
- Loans for repair and road construction were obtained from International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD).
- Funded mainly by the USA.
- Education was conducted along Americans lines.
- American Peace Corps volunteer teachers, who came in 1960s, accepted teaching at high schools, even in the remote countryside.

Causes for the crumple of Ethio- America Friendly relationships

- ***Anti - American Sentiment***
- Left - Wing university students developed anti- America sentiments.
- These students viewed the US as an imperialist state that support reactionary regime in Ethiopia.

The Value of Ethiopia for the US was diminished in 1970s. Because of: -

- Egypt under Anwar Sadat abandoned the USSR and become the new ally of America since 1973.
- The satellite technology greatly reduces the strategic importance of **"Qagnew Station".**
- The 1974 Popular revolution made Ethiopia Socialist State.

8.2. Consolidation of Autocratic Power

Building Autocratic Control in Central Administration

Centralization in Administration

- Political, economic and administrative power was concentrated at the central government by the decrees passed in 1942 and 1943.

Policy of Centralization includes: -

- Promoting education young men of humble origins to higher authority
- The educated young men with humble origin were favored for some reasons such as: -
- Their modern education help to effect the modernization plan of the Emperor.
- Their humble origin means they lacked traditional power base and they were expected to be loyal to the emperor Criteria for the recruit and promotion of Official for the centralization administration:
- Loyalty to the person of the Emperor was among the chief criteria to be promoted as officials.
- The traditional marriage alliance with the royal family was means of ensuring loyalty and important criteria of promotion.

Generally the Emperor's preference of higher officials was as follow: -

- The sons of loyal persons were more preferred than the nobility of birth.
- Exiles that were loyal to the Emperor were more preferred than patriots.
- The preferences of the emperor was to make officials subservient to his will and blindly obey him

Governing Elites

- In 1943 two imperial orders set up eleven ministries and the office of the Prime Minister. Most of the ministers visited the Emperor for directive and decisions at his Palace.

Ras Bitwaded Mekonnen Endalkachew

- Prime Minister from 1943 - 1957, he was a mere ceremonial figure.
- He also served as president of the Senate.
- He was one of the commanders of the Ethiopian force on the Ogaden front.
- He went into exile during the Italian occupation period.

Tsehafe Tezaz Wolde-Giorgis wolde-Yohannes

- He was man of humble origin and the most powerful man next to the emperor in his office years as Tsehafe Tezaz from 1941 - 1955.
- He spent his exile time during the five years Italian Occupation with the Emperor and won the trust of the Emperor there.
- The order of the Emperor was made effective through the ministry of Pen. **Tsehafe Tezaz** was the traditional name for the ministry of Pen.
- He used his power for political intrigues against the other ministers.
- His removal from power was caused by Mekonnen Habtewold, Minister of Finance.

Prime Minister and Tsehafe Tezaz Akililu HabteWolde

- He was appointed Minister of Pen in 1958 and Prime Minister in 1961.
- He lacked much power as his predecessor.
- This helped the Emperor to exercise his power without limit.
- Emperor Haile Silassie I removed aristocrats from the center of power. They were seen as source of danger.

For instance: -

- **Asrate Kasa** - son of the renowned patriot Ras Kasa, was made governor of Eritrea.
- **Endalchew Mekonnen** and Michael Imiru were assigned to ambassadorial posts.
- **Abiy Abebe** was exceptional he was left at Addis Ababa and appointed Minister of War.
- **Yilma Deresa-** was the other aristocratic origin that was appointed as Minister of Finance.

The Crown Council consisted many of the aristocrats

- Ras Kasa Hailu,
- Ras Seyoum Mengesha,
- Ras Mesfin Silashe and
- Ras Imiru Haile Silassie

- Were made members of the Crown Council.
- Haile Silassie played the nobility of birth against the nobility of service.
- The Emperor had a full control over the fiscal system and used budget in the manner of a benevolent father.

Provincial Administration

- Regional tendency was eliminated by the following means;
- Depriving the nobilities from their traditional political rights.
- Governed provinces by royal families, loyal official of no aristocratic background or close friends of the royal family.
- Eritrea and Tigray were left to be governed by aristocrats.
- Governor Generals of the Provinces. As a rule were person with traditional education with no modern qualification.
- Their duties were to be loyal and to maintain peace and security. They had supreme power over all the civil servants.

The 1955 Revised Constitution

- The 1931 constitution was revised for creating positive image of the country and to stand with the progressive Eritrean constitution.

The main emphases of the 1955 constitution were*: -*

- Special right of the crown, issues of Imperial succession and the power of the Emperor.

Objective of the constitution;

- Consolidating absolutism of the Emperor.

Emperor's power according to the constitution:

- Right to postponed, extend and suspend sessions of the Parliament up to dissolving it.
- Appointing president of the Senate
- Approving laws passed by the Parliament.

Provision of Rights and Freedom includes:

- Freedom of speech and press.
- Election for the chamber of Deputies on the base of universal suffrage.

Weakness of the Constitution of 1955: -

- Undemocratic.
- Rights and freedoms were made ineffective.
- Property qualification to be candidate for the Chamber of Deputies.
- The Ministers were accountable to the Emperor until the 1960 coup.
- The absolute powers of the Emperor remain intact up to 1974 Revolution.

Modern Military Forces and Security

Holeta Genet Military School

- Trained officers for Imperial army with British teaching staff after 1942
- Recruited student with elementary education.

- It also trained non- commissioned officers with long years of service and graduated as Commissioned lieutenants.

Imperial Bodyguard

- Its training was started in Addis Ababa with Swedish mission.
- It was the most trusted unit of the armed force by the Emperor and its officials were the most privileged.
- The Commanders of the Imperial Bodyguard acted as military advisors of the Emperor.

Haile Silassie Military Acaadamy

- This was the higher institution opened in Harar in 1957.
- The instructors were Indians.
- Recruited promising student from secondary school and freshmen of the University College.
- The Graduates were the first trained officers appointed to leadership in the military unit, including the Imperial Bodyguard.

Modern Police Force

- The police force was organized along the British lines in 1942. Later on, German and Israel assisted it.
- In 1950s, America took responsibility to train and equip the Ethiopian armed force and also finance the military.

Other Branches of the Armed Forces: -

- In 1947 the Imperial Air Force was set up.
- The Imperial Navy was organized after the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia.
- Norwegians supported it
- ***Netch Lebash*** : - this unit spread out thinly the countryside. This unit constituted from volunteers with no regular salary for their service.

Territorial Army:

- This was an auxiliary military force that established in 1959 to replace the Netch Lebash under the ministry of Interior.
- This unit mainly used by the provincial governors.
- The duty of this unit was to maintain peace in

Collaboration with the regular police force
It was used to check any political opposition by peasants.

Socio - Economic Conditions of Ethiopia from 1941 - 1974

Ethiopia in 1960s*: -*

- 90 per cent of the population lived in the countryside on agriculture.
- Agriculture accounted 60 per cent of GDP.
- Peasant employed traditional farming techniques, which resulted in low level of production.
- Health, education and other facilities were scarce in the countryside.

Different Reforms in the post liberation period: -

- **In 1941 *Salary for Officials were declared*** - this ended official's right to collect dues in lieu of salary.
- In 1942 ***Uniform Rate of Taxation with Official currency was declared***: - for this end land was classified into cultivated, semi- cultivated and uncultivated. Land tax was to be paid on receipt to the tax payers.
- ***In 1944 Assrat payment in kind was abolished***: - land tax was to be paid in money. - Assrat in Kind was abolished and the amount of land tax was raised.

-Theoretically fees and labour services were abolished but it was continued to be collected.

- **In 1947** Education tax and in 1959 health tax were introduced.

Land Privatization

Land privatization was remarkably increased in the post liberation period.

The Three land Privatization Processes: -

I. ***Tributary Right*** was transferred to private land - Non- local government officials and descendents of northern settlers who acquired tributary right over southern peasants turned the land into private property.

II. ***Madarya Land*** was made Private property - Madarya land was a temporary grant of land in lieu of salary was converted to private property particularly in the post liberation period.

III. ***Grant of "Government Land"*** - this was the most common way of land privatization. Government granted land to patriots, soldiers and civilians with the indigenous peasant on the land.

Land privatization resulted: -

- Spread of tenancy in southern Ethiopia.
- Economic inequality and reduced productivity
- Absence of legal agreement of tenancy cause insecurity for tenants
- When the land was privatized there was no formal agreement conducted with tenants. **Tenancy agreement was verbal** such as
  - **Erbo** (1/4)
  - **Siso** (1/3) and
  - **equl arash** (1/2).
- The 1960 failed coup d'etat forced the government to take quick agrarian reforms.

The reform includes:

- In 1961 Committee of Land Reforms were established.
- In 1965 Land Reform and Development Authority was established.
- This becomes the Ministry of Land Reform and Administration in 1966.

Trade and Industry

Ethiopia's export items in 1960s:

- Were Coffee accounted for up to 60 per cent of foreign earnings, then hides and skins, pulse and oil seeds were the least.
- USA was the major market of Ethiopian coffee export.
- Italy and Japan provide most of the import items.
- **Arada** was the market of import and export, Italian moved the import and export market to **Mercato** and eliminated foreign merchants.

Industry

Ethiopian Government policy toward industry during the post liberation period includes; -

- Establishing import substitution factories
- providing security for foreign investors

The Industries were*: -*

- Unable to create capitalist manufacturing production at higher level
- Focused on light industries producing basic consumables.
- Employed obsolete technology
- Abandoned Italian firms were used as a base for the industries.
- Among the leading industries were the two sugar production centers first at **Wanji** in 1954 and then at **Metahara**. Dutch Company (HVA) established both factories.

- Industry contributed little to government revenue. The main source of government revenue was land tax, custom duties and Adola gold mine (1/5 of the total revenue).

Education

- The ministry of Education and Fine Art was created in 1941. Secondary schools and institutions of higher education were opened.

Problems of Ethiopian education in the post Liberation period: -

- Imbalance of access between urban and rural area - towns and provincial capitals had a better coverage of education.
- Regional differences - the provinces of Showa and Eritrea had higher concentration of schools especially in Addis Ababa and Asmara.
- Gender imbalance and serious shortage of trained Ethiopian teachers
- Indian and American Peace Corps teachers used to fill the gap.
- Ethiopian university students also used as teachers for one year before graduation.

Higher Education

- University College of Addis Ababa was established in 1950 and grew into Haile Silassie I University 1961.
- The Catholic University in Asmara was taken by the government in 1972.
- Inaccessibility of tertiary education deprived the country from trained human power. Financial problem was the other constraints in the expansion of education.

The Ethio-Eritrean Federation and Union

- British took Control of Eritrea in 1941 and administered as Occupied Enemy Territory Administration **(OETA**). British OETA in Eritrea witnessed:
- The development of the right of freedom of speech and press.
- Formation of political parties was allowed.
- Most of the political parties were formed on religious and ethnic bases. British deliberately encourage differences among political parties in Eritrea. The British intension by doing so was to create a new state in the horn region.

British planned to create a new state in Northern Ethiopia by:

- Joining the western lowland region of Eritrea with their colony of Sudan.
- Uniting the highland Christian Tigrigna speaking groups of Eritrea and Tigray to form separate state
- For these ends the British encouraged separatist political parties.

The Major political parties in Eritrea

1. **The Unionist party**
   - On 5 May 1941 this party made demonstration in Asmara, announced the formation of the party and called the union of Eritrea and Ethiopia.
2. ***The Liberal progressive Party***
   - It was established in 1943 under Ras Tessema Asmerom and sponsored by British.
   - Intended to establish separate Tigregna speaking state by joining Eritrea and Tigray.
3. ***The Muslim League***

- Organized in 1946 and encouraged by British.
- Demand independent for the Muslim inhabited lowland area of Eritrea or union with Sudan
- In 1947 the pro-Italian party was registered demanded the return of Italian rule under UN trusteeship.
- The Four powers Commission of Inquiry from Britain, France, USA and USSR were

sent to Eritrea to determine the future of Eritrea. During the arrival of this commission, the Unionist and the Muslim League were the dominant parties. The Commission refers the issue of Eritrea to UN.

In 1948 UN commission of five men proposed the following on the Eritrean question*:*

- Guatemala and Pakistan opted for independent
- South Africa and Burma recommended federation with Ethiopia
- Sweden favored union with Ethiopia.
- UN voted for the federation with Ethiopia that effected in 1952.
- The Chief executive of Eritrea and the leader of the Unionist party, **Tadla Baru** was resigned under the pressure of the Emperor in 1955.
- He was replaced by Asrate Kasa from Addis Ababa. Amharic replaced Tigregna and Arabic as official language in Eritrea.
- In 1962 Eritrea was united with Ethiopia.

The Major Armed Rebel Forces in Eritrea

1. **Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM)**

- Founded in 1958 by Eritrean exiles in Cairo. ELM was neutralized by ELF.
- Intended to achieve its objective by Diplomatic, political and intervention of UN.

2. **Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF)**

- Eritrean exiles in the Middle East organized ELF in 1961.
- Syria and Iraq were the principal supporters of this front.
- In September 1961 ELF started armed attack under the former ***shifta*** **Idiris Awate**.
- Its sectarian concept of struggle split it into three groups.
- One of these groups was the ***Salfi Nesenat*** **Eritrea** (Front for Eritrean Independent) was led by **Isayas Afeworki**.

3. ***Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF)***

- Organized by merging different forces in 1973
- ELF or **Jabha** (front in Arabic) and EPLF or **Sha'abiya** (popular in Arabic) were the two rivals.
- Sha'abiya won the contest and got international recognition as a considerable force in Eritrea after 1974.

Oppositions against Emperor Haile Silassie's Regime

The Early Oppositions*: -*

Causes:

- The Emperor's desertion of the country in 1936 and his restoration was opposed by renowned patriots.
- Emperor's preference of exiles and even collaborators (bands) in the post liberation period.
- Genuine patriots were ignored and marginalized.

Leading opposition Figures: -

A. Blatta Takla Walda Hawaryat

- He opposed both the Emperors exile and restoration.
- His repeated plots were uncovered and he was imprisoned until 1954.
- After released, he was appointed as the First vice Minister of the Interior and **Afe Nigus**.
- In 1969 his plot to assassinate the Emperor unfolded and coasted him his life in shot out with police.

B. Belay Zeleke

- Hoping to remove this renowned patriot from his power base at **Bechena**, the Emperor offered him to be Ras and Governor Generals of one of the Southern provinces, or Governorship of Bechhena.
- Belay rejected the first choice and accepted the governorship of Bechena Awuraja with Dejjazimach title.
- Belay was discontented with his rank and the loss of **Mota** and parts of Debre Marqos territories once under his control.
- He disobeyed orders, after three month of fighting Belay was imprisoned, his attempted to escape was failed caught and hanged in Addis Ababa.

C. Bitwaded Negash Bezabih

- He was the grandson of King Tekle Haymanot of Gojjam.
- He plotted to assassinate the Emperor and to proclaim Republic.
- He was caught while carrying a secret meeting and sent to prison.

Wayane Rebellion 1942 - 1943

- Maladministration, abuses..Etc. were the cause of the rebellion.
- The leader of this rebellion was Blatta **Hailemariam Redda**. Government force under Abebe Argay with British Air Force crushed the movement in 1943.

8.3. Challenges to the Regime

The Failed Coup de'tat of 1960

- The 1960 attempted coup was the most serious challenge against the Emperor between 1941 and 1974.
- Attempted jointly by educated officers and civilian intelligentsia.
- The leader of the coup was General Mengistu Neway, commander of the Imperial Bodyguard.
- The Master mind behind the coup was his brother Girmame Neway.

As to the Coup maker their reasons to make the coup were:

- Realized that any peaceful ways of changes and reforms were impossible.
- The backwardness of Ethiopia in contrast to the newly independent African States.
- Tsega Debu, Commander of Addis Ababa Police force provides support for the coup makers.
- Public buildings was seized, the coup makers held hostage from members of the royal family and important figures.
- On 14 December 1960 the coup makers declared the formation of new government.

According to the announcement: -

- The Head of the Government would be Ras Imiru Haile Silassie.
- Chief of Staff of the armed force would be Mulugeta Bulli. Asfawosen, Emperor's heir, was made the mouth piece of the rebels and he was to be the future salaried constitutional monarch.
- Salary increment was promised for soldiers.

Army Generals, nobles and leading officials (Loyalist) launched a joint attack of the army and the Air Force against the coup makers. After two days of fighting the coup was failed.

Consequences of the failed coup of 1960:

- The rebel killed the 18 hostages they held at Genet Leul palace.
- Germame died in the fighting in the outskirts of the capital.
- Mengestu was wounded, captured and publically hanged.
- The fatal mistake of the coup maker was that they neglected the other units of the armed forces.

- University student staged demonstration in support of the coup.
- Then after it was student specially university student that inherited opposition against the Emperor.

Peasant Rebellion

1. Bale Rebellion

Causes of bale Rebellion were; -

- Maladministration and heavy taxation
- Religious bias and national oppression
- Land alienation - between 1942 -1970 30 percent of government land grant was located in Bale.

Immediate cause - was the 1963 land re-measurement policy.

- Landlords transferred burden of tax arrears on their extra land to peasants.
- The pastoralist paid regular tax on their livestock, they were asked to pay additional tax for grazing on state land this discontented the pastoralist.
- The other factor was the Somalia Republic agitations of nationalist revolt in the province. Somali considered Bale as its *terra irredentism* (Claimed territory).
- The rebellion started in the Village of **Afker**, in **El Kere** district under the leadership of **Kahni Abdi** in September 1963.
- Among the leaders of Bale rebellion were Cherri Gutu, **Waqo Gutu**, **Waqo Lugo** and **Haji Ishah** got military support in Mogadishu and returned back to Bale.
- General Waqo Gutu started an organized resistance. The Rebels killed two district administrators, many polices and territorial soldiers.
- In December government put Negale-Borena and Bale (except Fasil District) under martial law.
- Government force cut the line of supply of the rebels from Somali and seize the rare base of the rebels this ended the revolt in Negale -Borena (Sidamo) in the early 1967 and revolt in Bale was over by 1970.

Aftermath of the Bale Rebellion: -

- Government cancelled all land tax arrears until 1967.
- The rebel leaders were rewarded.

Gojjam Rebellion

Causes:

- Corrupt rule of Dej. Tsehayu Enqua Silassie
- Appointment of non- local officials,
- Collection of tax arrears and
- Registration of gun on payment

The immediate cause - The 1967 income tax proclamation.

- Damot and Mota districts were the forefront of the rebellion.
- First the rebels refused tax assessors, they present petition, when their petition was rejected they turned to violent.

The Action of the Rebels:

- Made a solemn oath of unity and action and elected their leaders.
- Agreed to expel all state officials and boycott government courts.
- Agreed to destroy property of traitors.

Revolt spread to Bechena, Marqos and Bahir Dar. In March 1968 the rebels fought the combined force of the Territorial Army and the police. The arrival of the regular army crushed the rebels. It was ***Dega damot*** that submitted after attacked by Government force.

In May 1968 the Emperor took the following measures: -

- Most of unpopular bureaucrats were removed.
- Tax assessors were recalled and 19 years tax arrears were cancelled.

Ethiopian Student Movement

The condition of Higher education after 1950:
-

- Teachers and curricula were imported from the western world.
- Materials on existing social problems were unavailable due to official censorship.
- The goal of the education system was to produce loyal techno crafts, not a potential challenge.

Student's consciousness about their societal problems was awakening by*:*

- Students were exposed to western values and political system.
- Student's newspapers and association exposed the reactionary nature of the regime.
- Students in general and university student in particular played the role of political opposition.

The reasons for this were: -

- Absence of political parties and absence of indigenous class of traders
- Higher social respect given to student made them to develop responsibility to their country.
- The campus life gave student leaders to discuss national issues and to influence other students.
- Students were aware of the lack of democratic right and freedoms as well as the backwardness of their society.
- Political Awareness of student and radicalization of their ideas were the result of scholar student from English speaking different African countries.

Who Criticized: -

- The strict censorship,
- Lack of political freedom and
- They believe of Ethiopia as a place of freedom and could be model for Africa.

"News and Views" and "University Student Union"

- Were the first student newspaper and association respectively
- For the first time student criticism of the regime was surfaced in the form of traditional poetry, which passed the message by means of understatement and word play.

Student's political struggle against the regime was encouraged by: -

- The 1960 aborted coup
- Formation of Haile Silassie I University since 1961 created opportunities for cohesion and radicalism.
- The hard life of the peasantry and the urban mass provided objective base for student radicalism.
- The public demonstrations of students and Ethiopian university Student Service **(EUSS)** created opportunity to spread challenge and political radicalization to high school student.
- In 1965 student staged public demonstration with their famous slogan **"Land to the Tiller"** in front of the Parliament. This was a turning point; it marked student recognition of the parliament as the holder of state sovereignty, not the Emperor.
- The formation of University Student Union of Addis Ababa (USUAA) and its newspaper "Struggle" in 1967 consolidated student radicalism.
- In November1969 issue of "Struggle", an article was published on the nationalities problem in Ethiopia by **Walelign Mekonnen**.
- The article called for equality of cultures and languages in Ethiopia.
- This was a very sensitive issue to the government.
- Student were seen as a serious political threat to the regime, and responded with brutal measures.

- In 1969 the President of USUAA, **Tilahun Gizaw** was assassinated by government agents.
- The foreign wing of Ethiopian student movement in Europe and North America with their newspapers **"Tatek"** (Gird yourself) and "Challenge" respectively linked the home based student movement with the international movement of students.
- The Ethiopian student movement exposed the irresponsibility of the Monarch regime by exposing the Wollo famine of 1972-1974 to the international community.

The Ethio- Somali conflict

- Somalia got its independent in 1960. It adopted flag with five-pointed star symbolizing the five Somali inhabited territory in the neighboring states and intended to build **"Great Somalia".**

Somali government employed different measure to achieve the idea of "Great Somalia" such as: -

- Rejected all treaties of boundary with Ethiopia.
- Attempted to get international sympathy for "Great Somalia".
- Broke diplomatic relation with Britain and Kenya.
- In 1964 it initiated boundary clash with Ethiopia to internationalize the border issue and to redirect inter-clan conflict into national unity.
- Appealed to the UN was failed to brought anything important, and then the Somali leaders turned to OAU.
- The first OAU summit held in Cairo in July 1964, passed resolution on African borders. Stated that "All member states pledged themselves to respect the border existing on their achievement of national independence". Somali leaders rejected the resolution.
- Somali leaders got any success with the Islamic conference that passed several anti-Ethiopia resolutions.

- In 1967 the government of Somali under the Prime Minister **Ibrahim Egal's**, normalized relation with Ethiopia and Kenya.
- The Dream of "Great Somalia" was left aside. In 1969 the new government of **General Siyad Barre** revived the policy of unifying all Somali. "Great Somali" was replaced by "Western Somali" that was part of the territory of Eastern Ethiopia.

8.4. Popular Revolution and the Fall of the Monarchy

The 1974 Popular Revolution of Ethiopia

Causes of the Revolution: -

- Failure of the government of Emperor Haile Silassie to introduce reforms to achieve

Socio -economic and political progress

- Rampant poverty, corruption and undemocratic state.

Immediate Causes: - The Famine of Wollo 1973 - 1974 -The Wollo famine claimed the life of thousands peasants the government tried to hide it. Ethiopian Student movement and foreign media exposed it to the international community. The opponents of the Monarch used the famine to discredit the government.

Road to the Revolution of 1974

1. Negale - Borena Soldiers mutinied -
   - In January in 1974 soldiers in **Negale-Borena mutinied** against their bad living conditions.

2. The Rise in Petroleum Price –
- In February in 1974 taxi drivers in Addis Ababa went on strike. This ignited unrest in the Capital.

3. Teachers went on Strike -
- In February 1974 teachers went on strike in the country -wide opposing **"Educational Sector Review".**
- University and high school student organized violent demonstration in Addis Ababa.

4. Soldiers mutinied -
- In late February soldiers in different army unit mutinied such as The Second Division in Asmera.
- The Fourth Division in Addis Ababa, the Air Force in Debre Zeit.

Government took measures to pacify the upraising: -
- Prime Minister Akililu Habtewolde and his cabinet were resigned on 28 February 1974.
- Lji Endalkachew Mekonnen was appointed as Prime Minister.
- The New Prime Minister promised to initiate reforms including constitutional reforms.

To check the unrest government announced:
- Educational Sector Review was withdrew,
- Petroleum price was reduced and
- Salary increment for soldiers.
- Students were the leading agitators against the government and continued to challenge authorities.

The move of the army to depose the Emperor

I. *Coordinating Committee of the Armed Force*
- This Committee was organized in February 1974.
- It consisted the armed force, the police and Territorial army.
- In April this committee took independent measures and arrested Akililu Habtewold, high ranking military officers and many government officials.
- In June 1974 this committee made a call for all military units to send their representatives – excluding officers above the rank of major to the capital.

Derg (Committee)
- On 28 June 1974 representatives of the different army units held a meeting at headquarter of the Fourth Division in Addis Ababa. This was the first meeting of the Derg.
- **Major Mengistu Haile Mariam** became the first vice chairman of the Derg from the Third Division in Harar.
- **Atinafu Abate** - already active and Chairman of the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Force became the second Vice Chairman of Derg from the Fourth Division in Addis Ababa.

The Dual Power
- Derg began to exercise its own power parallel to Endalkachew's govrnment. The dual power lasted from June 28 - 1 August 1974 when Derg arrested Endalkachew Mekonnen and replace him as Prime Minister by Lji Michael Imiru. Derg become the only power in the country.
- The fall of the Monarch - on 12 September 1974 Derg Deposed the Emperor.

8.5. The Military Dictatorship 1974 - 1991
- Derg proclaimed itself the Provisional Military Administrative Council **(PMAC)** in September 1974 and assumed a full power.

Derg'a Measures since its establishment in June 1974: -

- Arresting top military and civilian officials of the Monarch regime.
- Banning all anti government strikes and demonstration.
- Repression of all forms of protest
- The November 1974 execution of renowned officials and government functionaries of the monarch regime and his own chairman General **Aman Michael Andom** Zemecha - conduct of the Development through Cooperation Campaign. Aimed to for literacy and organizing the peasantry.
- **"Ethiopian Socialism"** was proclaimed and Provisional Government of Socialist Ethiopia was adopted.
- Nationalized land and private enterprises.
- Conducted purge from 1977 -1978 within and outside the Derg to eliminate opponents to the personal dictatorship of Mengistu Haile Mariam.

The "Red Terror"

- All political parties in the capital collaborated with Derg, except Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP).
- Derg and its alliance Meison (All Ethiopian Socialist Movement) led the campaign of "Red Terror" to eliminate EPRP. EPRP responded by **"White Terror"** as labeled by Derg.

The Somalia invasion

- Somali invaded Ethiopia in 1977. **Siyad Barre** seen the 1974 revolution and the turmoil that followed as opportunity to start invasion on Ethiopian territory.
- In August 1977 Somalia was in control of the large part of eastern Ethiopia. Derg assumed the role of patriotic leadership. Ethiopian army, militia and the support from Cuba, South Yemen and USSR were vital for Ethiopia victory over Somali invading force.

Three major issue of Derg after victory over Somali were:

1. "Disclosure Campaign" -

- Meaning total elimination of EPRP and Meison was the other target at this time.

2. Formation of the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) -

- Socialist party was organized in 1984. This marked the apex of Mengistu's dictatorship.

3. Suppression of Armed opposition -

- Most of the armed rebel group made their base in northern Ethiopia.

Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU)

- Under Ras Mengesha Seyoum aimed the restoration of the Monarch.

Eritrean People's Liberation Front (Sha'abiya)

- Derg attempted a peaceful solution for the Eritrea problem called **“Nine point program"** and the military campaign intended to eliminate EPLF **"Red Star Campaign"** was failed. Sha'abiya achieved the independent of Eritrea in 1993.

Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF)

- Organized by university students in 1975, successfully resisted Derg's campaign of **"Raza Campaign".** Later on in 1989 TPLF scored a victory over Derg at Enda Sillasie. This victory delivered Tigray for TPLF.

The Fall Of the Military Dictatorship
Major Causes that facilitated the fall of Derg were: -

- The famine that affected Tigray and Wollo in 1984 and Derg's measure was among the cause.
- Re-settlement of peasants from Tigray and Wollo from famine affected area into

southwestern Ethiopia and the forceful villagization program of Derg incented wide spread opposition from peasants.

- The Rise of Many armed liberation movements was the other problem for Derg.
- The Defeat of government army at ***Afabet*** and **Enda silassie** at the hands of EPLF and TPLF respectively devastated the fighting moral of the government army.
- On 16 May 1989 officers staged a coup in Addis Ababa. The coup was failed and Mengistu flew back to the capital from his state visit to East Germany. As punitive measure the best and experienced top officers of the army were executed or arrested. This ruined the Ethiopia army.
- The international situation went against Derg. The collapse of Soviet Union and Communist Regime in Eastern Europe results in the loss of its chief external supporters.
- In 1990 following the evacuation of government force from Tigray TPLF adopted tactical changes and formed a broad front that include other rebel groups.
- In 1990 Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) was formed. Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement renamed as Amhara Peoples Democratic Movement (EPDM) to join EPRDF. Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization (OPDO) , TPLF and APDM formed EPRDF.
- On 21st May, 1991 Mengistu fled to Harare, Zimbabwe, a week later EPRDF forces entered Addis Ababa.

The Provisional Government of Ethiopia

- EPRDF established the provisional government with Meles Zenawi as acting head of state.
- On 26th June, the Provisional Government (PG) of Ethiopia announced a call for national conference to set up transitional government.
- Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TG) was established on 1st July, 1991 after five days of national conference.
- Several political organizations attended the conference and the transitional charter was adopted at the conference.

Major Tasks of TGE

- restoring peace and security
- Rehabilitation of demobilized government soldiers
- forming local government
- Allow Eritrean to be independent in May 1993.
- drafting the 1995 constitution

CHAPTER NINE
AFRICAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND INDEPENDENCE SINCE 1945

9.1. Pan Africanism since 1945

The idea o Pan Africanism had two fundamental concepts **.T**hese are:

- Desire for African unity
- Creating brother hood among the black people of the world

The idea of pan-Africanism was started in:

- North American and Caribbean peoples of African descent.

The two prominent leaders of pan Africanism were:-

1. Marcus Garvey (1887-1940)–
   - He was a Jamaican who moved to and lived in USA, established universal Negro or black improvement association in 1914.

- His idea concerning the future of blacks living outside Africa was **''black back to Africa.''**

2. Dr. William .E. Burhardt Dubois(1886-1963)

- His idea concerning the future of blacks living outside Africa was black should struggle for the respect of their rights .in the countries they lived in.
- He came to be the father of pan Africanism

- **The First pan Africanisim conference** was held in London in 1900.
- The conference was organized by a Trinidad (West indies) lawyer H.Sylvester .
- William. Participants protested against the British racist rule in South Africa and Rhodesia.
- After this series of conference was held in different cities but African rulers and nationalists were not participated.
- **The fifth pan Africanisim conference** held in Manchester in 1945. This conference was significant in two respects:-

1. For the First time African rulers participated in the conference (DR .Kwame Nkurma of Ghana and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya)

2. For the first time the participants Demanded winning independence of Africa

- The Manchester conference marked the emergence of new tendencies in the pan African movement.
- The first tendency was proposed the creation of '' united state of Africa'' it was forwarded by Kewanee Nkrumah of Ghana,Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and the second tendency was nationalists began to concentrate mostly on their own countries .
- They advocate that before creating a united state of Africa first we have to solve our internal problems.

9.2. National liberation Movements

- The End of World War II became turning point in the decolonization process of Africa:
- After WWII, the old colonial powers mainly Britain and France were exhausted by the war and concentrate more on their own recovery.
- The rise of new super powers USA and USSR these super powers stood against colonialism.

Factors that affected the nature of national liberation movement

- The nature of colonies, in the case of white settlers the struggle for independence relatively bitter and took more years. On the other hand; in the case of no white settlers the struggle for independence was achieved fairly smoothly.
- The strengths of national liberation organization and the qualities of leadership were different among the African countries.

National liberation movement took mainly in two courses. These are **violent** and **non violent**.

- Accordingly; In West Africa, were both French and the British colonies achieved their independence relatively peacefully or in non violent way due to No white settlers
- In contrast to the French and the British west Africa colonies, there were colonies

where independence was achieved only after violent armed struggle .Example: in Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe.

British colonies

- Nationalist agitation in British West Africa (Ghana and Nigeria) and East (Kenya) and southern (Zimbabwe) was very strong.
- In 1957 Gold coast achieved its independence after the tireless effort of D/R Kwame Nkrumah and adopted a new name Ghana, Dr Kwame Nkrumah became the first president of Ghana.
- In 1960 Nigeria achieved its independence with strong determination of Nnmdi Azikwe
- In Kenya after WWII Mau Mau movement started against the British colonial rule, the **Mau Mau** had members in almost all tribe of Kenya, but its main center of activity was the Kikuyu inhabited districts.
- The movement used violence as a means to independence.
- The British government order brutal action against the Mau Mau rebels .after Mau Mau rebellion the Kenya African National Union (KANU) established as apolitical organization and demanded political independence ,in 1952 Jomo Kenyatta became the leader of KANU latter he was arrested by the British government and released in 1961 , and in 1963 Kenya achieved its independence .Jomo Kenyatta became its first president
- After a long war the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) achieved the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980. **Robert Mugabe** became the first prime minster of

Zimbabwe latter became president.

The French colonies

- 1958 the French president Charles De Gaulle proposed two ideas to grant independence for each colony West Africa. These are:-

1. **Voting 'yes'** and becoming autonomous republic within the French community
2. **Voting' NO'** and becoming immediately independent outside it

- According Charles De Gaulle, those who vote 'NO' would lose French economical and technical assistance.
- The only French colony that voted 'No' was Guinea (Conakry) and in 1958 achieved its independence. **Seko Toure** became its first president.

The year 1960 was considered as the year of Africa because seventeen African states achieved their independence. (Read grade 12 text book page 300).

- In Algeria the French faced a protracted and a bitter anti colonial struggle due to white settlers.
- The Algeria war of independence started in 1954 at this time French were at Indochina war and faced a humiliation defeat by Vietnam at the battle of Dien Bien Phu .
- This inspired Algerian for war of independence. The national liberation front of Alger National Liberation front of Algeria'' **(FNLA).**
- In 1962 France and FNL signed the Evian agreement, which ended the war and Algeria achieved its independence.

- **Ahmed Ben Bella** became the first president of Algeria**.(read grade 12 text book page 301 and 302)**

The Portuguese colonies

The Portuguese colonies achieved after prolonged and bitter war because:-

- white settlers
- Dictatorial government of Portuguese, Marcelo Caetano.
- Power struggle within the national liberation front.
- It was with the coming general Antonio de spin old in 1974 that Portuguese wanted to end colonial wars.
- In 1975 Anglo there are two political organization that struggle for power these are – national union for total independence led (UNIT) led by **Jonas savimbi** and Popular movement for the liberation of Angola **(MPLA)** led by **Agostino Neto**.
- 1975 Mozambique, revolutionary front for libration of Mozambique **(FRELIMO**) won independence under the leadership of **Samora Michel's**.
- 1975 the African independence party of Guinea and Cape Verde (PALGC) won their independence

9.3. The Organization of African Unity

- Pan Africanism movement contributed a lot for the establishment of organization of African unity because the first concept of pan Africanism was a desire for African unity.
- In 1958 eight African independent states held their first historic conference in Ghana, Accra These independent states are: **Ethiopia, Egypt, morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Guinea, Sudan and Ghana** .In the Accra conference the participants:
  - Agreed to struggle against imperialism on the continent
  - Called the independence of the entire continent
  - Agreed to hasten the process of independence in their own respective countries
  - Agreed to work together for the betterment of social, economic and security.
  - Agreed to establish organization of African unity but disagreed on the structure of the organization.

This disagreement led for the emergence of regional groups. These ***Regional Groups are:***

1. **Casablanca group**- member state: - Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, morocco, Algeria
   - They are anti western
   - proposed the creation of '' united state of Africa'' forwarded by Kewanee Nkrumah
2. **Monrovia group** –member state Ethiopia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Togo, Libya
   - Pro- western
   - Internal problem first should be solved, before interstate political union.
   - Wanted functional co operation than integration.
   - Eventually; they postponed their disagreement and established organization of African unity (OAU) in 1963 in A. A. and its head quarter also in A.A.

Goals of OAU

- To promote the unity and solidarity of African states.
- To eradicate all forms of colonialism from the continent
- To promote co operation for better life

What are the principal organs of OAU and their function?

1. **General assembly**: highest organ ,the assemble of head of state and government
2. **Council of ministers**: prepared agenda for general assembly, made up of foreign minister.
3. **General secretariat:** administrative organ, appointed by general assembly.
4. **The commission** of mediation ,arbitration and conciliation

9.4 Contemporary Africa

Contemporary Africa reefers after the establishment of OAU in 1963

Challenges in the Contemporary Africa: -

- Lack of political stability was the principal challenges in the continent.
- Undemocratic government, corruption, rampant poverty, coup d'états and revolutions...etc.

Reasons for the many Problems in Africa:

- Employed western political system and organ of government which are unworkable in Africa.
- Dictatorial rule and military coups and counter coups.
- Colonial legacies such as creation of nation -state from diversified ethnic groups.
- Lack of economic diversification.
- Lack of capital, technical skills and human power to exploit it natural resources.
- Backwardness, unemployment, crime.