Unit Seven

Internal Developments and External Relations, 1941–1994

Post-1941 Imperial Period

Ethiopia and Britain

- In the post 1941 period, Britain recognized Ethiopia‟s status as a sovereign state with mutual diplomatic accreditation, but it continued to exercise the upper hand because of the role it played in the liberation of Ethiopia from fascist rule.
- Another reason for the preponderant influence of Britain in Ethiopia‟s domestic and international affairs was the continuation of WWII (c. 1939-45) which required adequate provision for the Allied defense to win the war. Accordingly, despite protests, the British considered Ethiopia Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (OETA).
- The 1942 and 1944 agreements that Emperor Haile-Selassie I was forced to sign with the British show the ascendancy of the latter.
- The 1942 agreement gave Britain a final authority over Ethiopia‟s foreign affairs, territorial integrity, administration, finances, the military and the police.
- British citizens held key posts in Ethiopian administration as advisors and judges while at the same time they maintained total control over the country‟s police force which was set up in February 1942.
- British aircraft had exclusive aviation rights and the emperor had to obtain approval from the Commander in Chief of the British Forces in East Africa, Sir Philip Mitchell, to implement sovereign matters such as declaration of war or state of emergency.
- Britain also decided details on disposal of Italian prisoners of war and civilians and the administration of Italian properties in the country.
- the British assumed control over currency and foreign exchange as well as imports and exports.
- With this and the help of the USA and friends of Ethiopia such as Sylvia Pankhurst, Britain relaxed the restrictions imposed upon the Ethiopian government.
- The second Anglo-Ethiopian agreement, signed in 1944, shows some of the concessions the emperor won from Britain. British minster over all other foreign diplomats in Ethiopia was lifted. and it regained control over a section of the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway
- Control over this route assured Ethiopia free access to foreign goods and services including arms and ammunitions.]
- The British also agreed to evacuate their army from the region once they equip Ethiopia‟s military force- a task mandated to the British Military Mission to Ethiopia (BMME).
- The BMME assisted the government of Ethiopia in organizing, training, and administration of its army until 1951. Haile-Selassie I Harar Military Academy was modeled after a British Military Academy called Sandhurst.
- Britain did not, however, yield to Ethiopia‟s territorial demands during the negotiation for the 1944 Agreement. Both Eritrea and Ogaden were part of the Ethiopian empire before they fell into Italian hands in 1890 and 1936 respectively.

- Britain insisted that Ogaden should be merged with the former Italian Somaliland and British Somaliland to form what they called “Greater Somalia”. the western and northern lowlands of Eritrea were intended by the British to be part of Sudan.
- As a consequence, in September 1945 at the London conference of Allied powers Ethiopia‟s claims to Eritrea and Ogaden were rejected. The territorial issues were resolved only after a decade.
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- In Eritrea people were divided; those who wanted a union with Ethiopia rallied behind the **Unionists.** The Liberal Progressive Party and later the Muslim League rallied people who sought for separation and independence.
- In 1948, the question of Eritrea was referred to the UN by Britain, France, U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. The UN appointed a commission of five men from Burma, Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan and South Africa to find out actual wishes of Eritreans.
- After a period of investigation, Guatemala and Pakistan recommended granting independence to Eritrea. While Norway recommended union with Ethiopia, South Africa and Burma recommended Federation.
- On December 2, 1950 UN Resolution 390V granted the Federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia which came into effect in 1952.
- On November 14 1962, the Ethiopian government abrogated the federation formula and placed Eritrea under the imperial umbrella.

Ethiopia and the U.S.A

- The first official contacts between Ethiopia and the United States of America dates back to 1903 when the two countries signed a treaty of friendship and commerce.
- Following the Second World War, two super-powers, the Soviet Union and the United States emerged. In Ethiopia and the Horn, British pre-dominance in 1940s was replaced by the dominance of the United States in 1950s.
- American interest in Ethiopia began to grow especially after they acquired a communication base in Asmara known as Radio Marina from the Italians.
- The radio station was later renamed Qagnew after the Ethiopian force that fought on the side of the Americans in the Korean War.
- In 1943 the Ethiopian vice finance minister, Yilma Deressa, visited the US to request expertise especially in law, military, finance. In response, USA extended the Lend-Lease agreement with Ethiopia and sent a technical mission led by Perry Fellows in May 1944.
- Emperor Haile-Selassie I and the American President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, met in Egypt and discussed recognition of an American Sinclair Company to prospect for oil in Ogaden at the beginning of 1945. The renewed contact between the two countries was concretized with the signing of two agreements in the 1950s.
- The first Point Four Agreement that enabled subsequent American assistance in education and public health was signed in 1952.
- The second Ethio-US Treaty that granted a continued American use of the Qagnew base in return for military assistance was signed in 1953.this agreement defined the Ethio-American partnership in the following decades.
- Following the 1953 treaty, the US launched a military aid program named the American Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) to equip Ethiopia‟s armed forces. The MAAG

was to train 60,000 Ethiopian soldiers in 3 separate squadrons namely the air force, the infantry and the cavalry.

- In the year between 1953 and 1968, over 2,500 Ethiopians received various forms of military training in the US. By 1970, 60% of US military aid to Africa went to Ethiopia.
- Civil aviation, road transport, and education were other spheres that the Americans took active part. From September 8 to December 15 1945, the founding conference of the UN was held at San Francisco.
- an agreement was concluded with Transcontinental and Western World Airline (TWA) that established Ethiopian Air Lines (EAL) in 1946 with five C-47 warplanes that served during WWII and of which three were converted to passenger version DC-3.
- In 1962 EAL entered the jet age. Meanwhile the shortage of trained Ethiopian personnel slowed the progress towards the Ethiopianization of the EAL.
- EAL got its first indigenous pilot, Alemayehu Abebe, in 1957 and Colonel Simeret Medhne became the first Ethiopian General Manager of EAL in 1971.
- The Imperial Board of Telecommunication was established with the help of International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) organization between 1950 and 1952.
- in January 1951, with financial loan from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the Imperial High Way Authority (IHA) was set up based on the model of the US Bureau of Roads. It continued to be run by Americans until 1962.
- American presence was particularly evident in the university and high schools. A variety of American scholarship programs under USAID, African American Institute and African Graduate Fellowship Program (AFGRAD) with Peace Corps, offered opportunities for many Ethiopians to go to the United States for their second and third degrees.
- Other foreign countries with significant presence in Imperial Ethiopia include Sweden and Norway whose advisors were entrusted to the Air force and navy successively.
- Germany and Israel trained and equipped the Police Force while the Swedes Imperial Bodyguard was supported by the Harar Military Academy was entrusted to British trained Indians.
- Italians built Qoqa Dam in 1956 and returned the Statue of Judah in 1972.
- Russians established good relations with Ethiopia through their exhibition, library around city hall, post office, mathematics and literature.

Socio-economic Developments

- Ethiopia and the Horn is one of the regions in the world where early domestication of plants and animals took place.
- In the mid-twentieth century, low industrialization meant that Agriculture was the leading economic sector in providing employment for about 90% of the population, generating about 70% of the national GDP and supplying almost 100% of the country‟s income from export trade.
- Generally, peasants in the northern and central highland parts of Ethiopia held land in the form of rist. Rist was a communal use of a land which a peasant (gebbar) could claim by virtue of birth from a real or imaginary founding father
- In the 1970s, more than 66 percent of the peasant farmers cultivated less than 0.5 hectares each. **Refer page 166**

- In addition to formal tributes, there were sundry payments that smallholder and landless farmers had to make, such as “voluntary” contributions to self-help funds for projects from which they rarely benefitted.
- From 1953 to 1974, the annual growth rate of agricultural production was 2.4% which was lower than the 2.5% population growth rate. As a consequence, Ethiopia ranked among the countries with very low per capita income.
- The deteriorating condition of the country‟s economy posed a threat to the social and political stability of the country and thus, the regime‟s power. This coupled with external pressure from donors, induced the government to establish a land reform committee in 1961.
- This later became the Land Reform and Development Authority that grew to become the Ministry of Land Reform and Administration.
- In 1960s and 1970s commercial agriculture was expanding especially in southern Shawa, the Setit-Humera region on the Sudan border, and in the Awash valley.
- The mechanization of farming in these areas led to eviction of tenants. Profitability of agriculture led some landlords to work the land by themselves.
- furthermore the government attempted to enhance the productivity of small farmers through launching comprehensive agricultural package programs. The most notable in this regard were the Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit (CADU) and Wolamo [sic] Agricultural Development Unit (WADU).
- CADU was launched in 1967 through the initiative of the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) while the World Bank supported WADU.
- CADU aggravated tenant eviction and was finally diverted to serve the interest of big landlords. The Wolamo [sic] Agricultural Development Unit (WADU), initiated by the World Bank, was more successful in promoting re-settlement instead.
- Since the 1950s the government formulated strategic plans for economic development and this came in a series of five-year plans.
- The First Five Year Plan (1957-1961) targeted the development of infrastructure. The Second (1962-1967) turned towards mining, manufacturing and electricity. The Third (1968- 1972) gave priority to agricultural development and higher living standard.
- following these plans, the Ethiopian economy witnessed some progress particularly after 1950. Overall domestic output increased nearly three and a half times and even better progress was registered in manufacturing. Moreover, public revenue and expenditure both grew nine times and tenfold, respectively.
- Banking facilities expanded and the State Bank of Ethiopia was formed in 1942. Also a private bank, Addis Ababa Bank was established in 1963.
- The capital Addis Ababa became a continental capital when the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) were established in 1958 and 1963 respectively.

Consolidation of Autocracy

- After he was restored to the throne in May 1941, Emperor Haile-Selassie embarked on consolidating his power.

- First of all, in order to fill-in the expanding bureaucracy, education was promoted at both school and college levels.
- While primary schools had already been established prior to 1935, secondary schools were opened in the post 1941 period.
- The Haile-Selassie I Secondary School, founded in 1943, and the General Wingate School, established in 1946, became the two most popular and prestigious secondary schools.4
- In 1950, the University College of Addis Ababa (UCAA) was inaugurated.
- These various colleges were brought together to form the Haile-Selassie I University in 1961 which again was re-named Addis Ababa University after the outbreak of the Revolution in 1974.
- Yet another major pre-occupation of the imperial regime was the strengthening of the military and security apparatus. The ministries of Defense and Interior, in charge of maintaining public security, consistently received the highest budgetary allocations.
- Ironically although the emperor anticipated that the military that was composed mainly of the army, the police force and the Imperial Bodyguard would suppress opposition to the regime, they themselves rebelled more than once. It failed in 1960. It was more successful in 1974.
- In 1943, the emperor appointed eleven ministers to draft laws and appoint junior officials but their subservience to the monarch was stated in explicit terms.
- Ras Bitweded Mekonnen Endalkachew served as prime minister from 1943-57. Next to Mekonnen Habte-Wold (1949-58), whose brother, Aklilu, became the last prime minister of the imperial regime (1961-74). Yilma Deressa left the strongest mark on the Ministry of Finance.
- But the most powerful of the ministers in the post-1941 political order was Tsehafe-Tizaz Wolde-Giorgis Wolde-Yohannis who headed the strategic Ministry of Pen in the period 1941-55. Wolde-Giorgis‟access to the emperor and the latter‟s trust in him made him so powerful.
- In 1955, Haile-Selassie promulgated a new constitution, revising the first constitution issued in 1931. American advisers like John Spencer as well as Tsehafe-Tizaz WoldeGiorgis Wolde-Yohannis and Tsehafe-Tizaz Aklilu Habte-Wold were in the drafting committee of the 1955 revised constitution
- More than its predecessor, the 1955 revised constitution provided the basis for the consolidation of absolutism in Ethiopia. The constitution clearly states the Emperor‟s personality as sacred, his dignity inviolable and his power indisputable. He was the head of the three branches of government: the executive, the legislative and the judiciary.Some Human rights provisions like those of speech and press were accompanied by nullifying phrases like within law limits.
- However this constitution introduced universal adult suffrage and elected chamber of deputies for four years term and that of the senate six years with certain property qualification.
- As the years progressed, the emperor started to dedicate his attention to foreign affairs. He played a significant role in the Non-Aligned Movement and the drive for African unity which finally resulted in the birth of the Organization of African Unity at the summit of heads of African states held in Addis Ababa in 1963.

Opposition: Conspiracies, Revolts and the Downfall of the Monarchical Regime

- Before the 1960s opposition to the regime took in the form of plots and conspiracies. After the 1960 Coup d"état, however, oppositions gained wider mass support and came out more open.
- Some leaders of the resistance movement against fascist rule were opposed to the restoration of the emperor to the throne for he fled the country when it needed him most whereas others wished for a republican government.
- One notable patriot who opposed the restoration of the emperor to the throne after his exile was Dejazmach Belay Zeleqe.
- The emperor made Belay governor of a southern province with the rank of Ras because he wanted to remove him from his base in Bichena in eastern Gojjam.
- Belay rejected the offer and was even more dissatisfied at dignified positions of Ras Haylu Belaw (governor general of Gojjam) and Bitweded Mengesha Jembere (deputy governor general of Gojjam).
- In February 1943, forces from Debra-Marqos and Addis Ababa invaded Belay"s district. After fighting for three months, Belay surrendered, was detained in Fiche from where he tried to escape and return to Gojjam a few months later, but was captured with his brother Ejigu. Taken back to the capital, Belay was finally hanged in public.
- Bitweded Negash Bezabih was a vice minister and senate president in the emperor"s administration after liberation. He plotted to assassinate the emperor and proclaim a republic in 1951.
- In the process, some military officers like Beqele Anasimos were attracted to the plot, but Dejach Geresu Duki exposed them.
- The most fierce and sustained opposition to the emperor came from Blatta Takle WoldeHawaryat couched a plot in constitutionalist terms using Yohannis Iyasu as front and with the support of some contingents of the army. But the plot was uncovered and he was detained.
- In 1945, Blatta Takle Wolde-Hawaryat was released and appointed as deputy Afe nigus. Yet, he was involved in another plot in 1946 and was detained up to 1954.
- Upon his release, he once again became Vice Interior Minister and Afe nigus. He tried to assassinate the emperor on November 17 1969, but his final plot failed and he barricaded himself in his house and engaged in a shoot-out with the police in which he was killed.
- The most serious challenge to the emperor"s authority came in 1960 in the form of a coup attempt. The abortive Coup d'etat of 1960 was led by the Neway brothers, Brigadier General Mengistu and Girmame.
- As governor of Wolayta, Girmame"s activities were alarming to the regime. his actions were not liked by the regime which convinced Girmame of the need for change. Together with his brother Mengistu Neway, the head of the Imperial Bodyguard and others, the two brothers started detaining ministers and other members of the nobility
- The crown prince Asfawosen was said to be a salaried constitutional monarch.
- On December 14 1960, a new government was declared that was to be headed by Ras Emiru Haile-Selassie. Major General Mulugeta Buli was chosen as chief of staff of the armed forces

while Brigadier-General Tsige Debu was to lead the Imperial Bodyguard and the Police Force, and Colonel Workneh Gebeyehu was security chief.

- However, the army and the air force refused to side with the rebels and with the support of the Americans and the blessing of the patriarch, the loyalists led by General Merid Mengesha, Ras Asrate Kassa etc attacked.
- Girmame died fighting in the outskirts of the capital and Mengistu was captured and hanged after trial.
- The regime made some concessions after the failed coup attempt, but failed to address the root causes that triggered the coup itself.

A. Peasant Rebellions

- ✓ Peasant revolts, although on a small scale, were especially numerous in the southern territories, where the imperial government had traditionally rewarded its supporters with land grants thereby reducing the indigenous peasantry into tenancy.

1. The Woyane Rebellion

- ✓ The first peasant resistance against imperial rule took place in Tigray, known in history as the Woyane rebellion
- ✓ Peasants felt victimized by corruption and greed of the territorial army unit stationed in the region and general administrative inefficiency led to banditry of peasants who possessed armament left by Italians.
- ✓ strong resistance against government forces thanks to the able leadership of Blatta Haile-Mariam Reda.
- ✓ the government‟s retribution against the Raya-Azebo on allegation of cattle raids on Afar territory sparked the general rebellion
- ✓ As such, the Woyane rebellion was as a continuation of the government‟s punitive campaign against the region‟s peasants in the late 1920s.
- ✓ he dress rehearsal for the major confrontation took place on January 11 1942 where the imperial force was crushed and humiliated by Raya-Azebo peasants.
- ✓ On May 22 1943, the rebels scored an astounding victory fighting an even larger and well-equipped government army in Addi-Abun. Soon small towns around Meqelle like Qwiha and Enda-Iyyasus, and Meqelle itself on October 14, 1943 fell in rebel hands.
- ✓ Such initial advances of the rebel forces, however, did not last long. In October 1943, the imperial army under the command of Abebe Aregay with the support of the British Royal Air Force crushed the rebellion. The government exiled or imprisoned the leaders of the revolt.

2. The Yejju Rebellion

- ✓ Overt dissidence of Yejju peasants in Wallo during Haile-Selassie‟s rule occurred three times.
- ✓ In 1948, peasants rose against the system after their appeal against land alienation was ignored by the government. With Qegnazmach Melaku Taye and Unda Muhammed in the forefront, peasants stormed and freed inmates held in Woldya prison.
- ✓ The nech lebash were called into quell the unrest and eventually the leaders were publicly flogged on market day.
- ✓ Throughout the 1950s, localized skirmishes between government forces and peasants took place in Qobo, Hormat, Tumuga, Karra-Qore etc led by prominent figures like Ali Dullatti (Aba Jabbi).

- ✓ In 1970 peasants revolted against the introduction of mechanized agriculture that encroached on pastureland and killed Qegnazmach Abate Haylu who was a member of the local nobility and direct beneficiary of the new development.
- ✓ the rising was suppressed by the local militia.

3. The Gojjam Peasant Rebellion

- ✓ In 1968, another violent peasant uprising set off in Gojjam caused by the government‟s attempt to implement new tax on agricultural produce which the parliament adopted in November 1967.
- ✓ Against this background, the then governor of Gojjam, Dejach Kebede Tesema, initiated land assessment and classification to determine taxation. He then raised tax rate from what it had been in pre-1935 period.
- ✓ In 1950, a revolt broke out in Mota, Qolla-Daga Damot and Mecha districts led by people like Dejach Abere Yimam.
- ✓ As a result tax rate was reduced by 1/3, Kebede was removed and replaced by Haylu Belew, a hereditary ruler of Gojjam. Later, Haylu‟s Shawan successor named Tsehayu Enqu-Selassie forced handouts to build the emperor‟s statue in Debra Marqos. Besides, peasants were ordered to pay tax arrears and register their arms with fees.
- ✓ With all the above unfolding, an attempt was made to introduce the new agricultural tax and this finally sparked the 1968 uprising led by veterans of the resistance period, who had taken titles for themselves such as leul and fitawrari.
- ✓ The government was forced to transfer Tsehayu to Kafa, declare amnesty, abandon the new tax, and cancel all tax arrears of taxation going back to 1950. Despite these concessions, the rebellion spread throughout Gojjam except Agaw-Midir and Metekel
- ✓ rebellion was subdued by the combined forces of the army, police and nech lebash by the end of 1968.

4. The Gedeo Peasant Uprising

- ✓ As in many parts of rural Ethiopia, the major source of peasant discontent in Gedeo was land alienation.
- ✓ The dispossession of land from the indigenous peasantry was unabated particularly following the introduction of land measurement in the 1920s.
- ✓ In the 1960s, the Gedeo witnessed an unprecedented level of land expropriation by members of the northern nobility who were vying for coffee farms. The major contender in this regard was the emperor‟s daughter Princess Tenagneworq
- ✓ Then peasants refused to pay erbo (1/4 of agricultural produce payable to landlords), armed themselveswith traditional weapons like spears, swords and arrows and clashed with the imperial army at Michille in 1960.
- ✓ Finally, Afe Nigus Eshete Geda, fined the elders locally called the hayicha accused of supporting the rebellion.

5. The Bale Peasant Rebellion

- ✓ The Bale peasant uprising, which lasted from 1963 to 1970, presented the most serious challenge to the Ethiopian government.
- ✓ The causes of the uprising were multifaceted. The indigenous peasants largely became tenants on their own land after the introduction of the qalad that initiated land measurement in 1951.

- ✓ Peasants also suffered from high taxation, religious and ethnic antagonism which reached to unprecedented level after the appointment of Warqu Enquselassie as governor of the territory in 1963.
- ✓ the Somali government extended material and moral support to the rebels as part of its strategy of reestablishing a “Greater Somalia”.
- ✓ The revolt broke out in El Kerre led by people like Kahin Abdi. Initially, rebel groups conducted hit-and-run raids against military garrisons and police stations separately.
- ✓ they tried to coordinate their military activities under an umbrella organization named the Liberation Front Western Somali
- ✓ Haile Selassie tried to win loyalty of the people by developing alliances with notable Oromo leaders. Although this strategy enabled the emperor to recruit some members of local ruling houses in the service of the imperial system, it failed to contain the popular revolt.
- ✓ it quickly spread to Wabe, Dallo and Ganale under the able leadership of Waqo Gutu and others.
- ✓ In Gola-Abbadi forest, rebels went to the extent of attacking two government airplanes which campaigned against them with support from the Americans and Israeli. the rebels killed Girazmach Beqele Haragu of Adaba and Fitawrari Wolde-Mika‟el Bu‟ii of Dodola in 1965 and 1966.
- ✓ In December 1966, the government put Bale under the martial rule of Wolde-Selassie Baraka, the head of the army‟s Fourth Division. In 1967, the army, police, territorials (beherawi tor), settler militia (nech lebash) and volunteers (wedo zemach) launched massive operations against the province.
- ✓ Meanwhile, the rebels lost Somali support after Mahammad Siad Barre took over the Somali government in 1969
- ✓ The rebellion ended in 1970s after some of its popular leaders including Waqo Gutu surrendered to government forces due to the mediation role played by General Jagama Kello

B. Movements of Nations and Nationalities

- ✓ On January 24 1963, the Mecha-Tulama Welfare Association (MTWA) was formed with the objective of improving the welfare of the Oromo through the expansion of educational, communication and health facilities in Oromo land.
- ✓ Founding members of the association included Colonels Alemu Qitessa and Colonel Qedida Guremessa, Lieutenant Mamo Mezemir, Beqele Nedhi, and Haile Mariam Gemeda.
- ✓ it soon transformed into a pan-Oromo movement coordinating countrywide peaceful resistance against the regime.
- ✓ The association raised contentious issues such as land and expressed its dissatisfaction with the condition of the Oromo in the society during mass rallies as well as in private meetings.
- ✓ he association styled as an umbrella organization of southern nationalities to end the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie I.
- ✓ Meanwhile, leaders of the association plotted to assassinate the emperor on the anniversary of his coronation in November 1966.
- ✓ This coupled with a bombing incident in one of the cinemas at the capital in which the association was implicated led the government to move swiftly and violently to ban the association‟s activities.

- ✓ Mecha-Tulama was dissolved in 1970 following the imprisonment and killing of its prominent leaders such as Mamo Mezemir and Hailemariam Gemmeda by the regime‟s forces.
- ✓ Brigadier General Taddasa Birru was captured while retreating to the bush and eventually sentenced to death. Later the death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and he was exiled to Gelemso where he stayed until the outbreak of the 1974 revolution. n 1975 the Derg executed Tadesse on allegation of instigating armed struggle.
- ✓ In 1971 an underground movement called the Ethiopian National Liberation Front (ENLF) was formed by Oromo elites. The aim was to coordinate local resistance towards a common goal of liberation
- ✓ In 1973, some members of the ENLF together with Oromo nationalists from Ethiopian Oppressed Peoples‟ Revolutionary Struggle (ECH‟AT), Marxist Leninist Revolutionary Organization (MALERID) formed the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) with the aim of establishing an independent Democratic Republic of Oromia.
- ✓ After the revolution, OLF increased its military activities because the Derg would not allow the Oromo to elect their rulers and use their language in schools and newspapers. the armed struggle which set off in the eastern part of Ethiopia extended to other Oromo inhabited areas such as Arssi and Wollaga.
- ✓ But the biggest military challenge to the imperial regime came from Eritrea.
- ✓ The measure consolidated internal and external opposition to the union and led to the formation of liberation movements based in Eritrea and abroad. In 1958, a number of Eritrean exiles had founded the Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM) in Cairo.
- ✓ In 1961, Hamid Idris Awate established Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) or Jabaha in Arabic. By 1966 the ELF challenged imperial forces throughout Eritrea.
- ✓ In June 1970 another liberation movement named the Popular Liberation Forces (PLF) was formed in the Red Sea area led by Osman Salah Sabbe. At the same time, Salfi Natsenet Eritrea (Front for Eritrean Independence) emerged under the leadership of Isayas Afeworqi.
- ✓ In early 1972, a new coalition of forces composed of Eritrean Liberation Front-Popular Liberation Front (ELF-PLF) led to the founding of the Eritrean People‟s Liberation Front (EPLF) or Sha'abiya in Arabic.
- ✓ the EPLF was able to establish its hegemony over the independence movement. And it was the EPLF that succeeded in achieving independence in 1991.

C. The Ethiopian Student Movement (ESM)

- ✓ the movement started within the university, students had turned into a radical opposition and were already marching on the streets from 1965 onwards and by 1968, it was spreading to high schools. “Land to the Tiller”.
- ✓ Factors that contributed to sharpening the students‟ ideology include the 1960 coup, students‟ increased awareness of the country‟s socio-economic and political conditionsvis a vis other African countries which they learned from scholarship students from different parts of Africa, and the Ethiopian University Service (EUS).
- ✓ In 1964 the emergence of a radical group of students with MarxistLeninist leanings known as “the Crocodiles” marked the increased militancy of the students
- ✓ Side by side with the radicalization of the movement, students formed the University College Union (UCU) to coordinate their activities in 1962 and then the National Union of Ethiopian University Students (NUEUS) 1963.

- ✓ In February 1965, the Main Campus Student Union (MCSU), and the University Student Union of Addis Ababa (USUAA) with its paper Tagel (Struggle) were established.
- ✓ Outside the country, students were organized under the Ethiopian Students Union in North America (ESUNA) with its paper called Challenge and the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe (ESUE) with its paper Tateq (Gird yourself) in the USA and Europe. ESUNA and gave ideological support to MCSU and USUAA.
- ✓ the government was alarmed and started taking measures against leaders of the movement ranging from press campaigns to detentions and killings. Furthermore, the regime deported large number of students to the torrid Gibe river valley in 1972.

The Derg Regime (1974-1991)

- ➢ The mass uprising that finally put an end to the old regime came in February 1974. From January 8 to 15 1974, soldiers and non-commissioned officers stationed at a frontier post Negele-Borana mutinied protesting their bad living conditions.
- ➢ soldiers of the Second Division in Asmara, the Fourth Division in Addis Ababa and the Air Force in Debre-Zeyt mutinied demanding salary increment and political and economic reforms.
- ➢ Teachers throughout the country protested against the implementation of an education reform program known as Sector Review, which they deemed was disadvantageous for the poor and biased against them.
- ➢ Although the Ethiopian Teachers Association (ETA) had coordinated demonstrations against the program already in December 1973, it called for a general strike demanding a number of other social reforms on February 18, 1974.
- ➢ On the same day, taxi drivers went on strike demanding increase in transport fees due to rise of petrol prices that followed the Arab-Israeli Yom Kippur war of 1973.
- ➢ on February 28 the cabinet of Prime Minister Aklilu Habte-Wold resigned. He was replaced by Endalkachew Mekonnin who was an Oxford-educated member of the aristocracy.
- ➢ On March 8 the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions (CELU) staged a successful general strike.
- ➢ A major popular demonstration was made on April 20 by about 100,000 Muslim residents of the capital and their Christian sympathizers who came out demanding religious equality.
- ➢ The coordinating committee of soldiers and NCOs set up in February had been joined by officers, such as Colonel Alem Zewd Tessema of the Airborne Brigade, who then became its leader.
- ➢ In April, the Committee, perhaps with an involvement of Endalkachew, arrested Aklilu and hundreds of other high-ranking officials of the regime. The Minister of Defense, Lt. General Abiy Abebe, who had noticed the growing power of the Committee as well as series of demonstrations and strikes, set up what was called the National Security Commission to restore order and respect for the authority of the government.
- ➢ The Derg was officially formed on June 28 1974 when it held its first meeting at the headquarters of the Fourth Division. “Derg” a Ge‟ez word for “Committee” from various military units: the Armed Forces, the Police and the Territorial Army.
- ➢ Major Mengistu Haile-Mariam of the Third Division of Hararghe, and the vice-chairman, Major Atnafu Abate of the Fourth Division, came to be key figures.

- For some time the Derg exercised power parallel with the Endalkachew‟s cabinet and the emperor tied up in a dual state, trying to keep a balance between the two. However, on August 1, Endalkachew was imprisoned and replaced by Lej Mikael Emiru as prime minister.
- Derg motto, “Yaleminim Dam” (“Without any bloodshed”) “Ethiopia Tiqdam” (“Ethiopia First”).
- Two enterprises, Anbessa Bus Company and the St. George Brewery in which the emperor and the imperial family had more 50% stake were nationalized.
- a British documentary film disclosing the hidden horrors of the Wallo famine precisely served the awaited interest of the Derg. Finally, on September 12, Emperor Haile-Selassie I was deposed and detained at the Fourth Division headquarters.
- The Derg then proclaimed itself the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) and assumed full powers.
- All strikes and demonstrations were immediately banned. Very soon, civilian revolutionaries, who had started calling for the establishment of a provisional people‟s government, started gathering around the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions (CELU), the University teachers‟ group known as Forum, and the students.
- Derg imprisoned the leaders of CELU and a leader of the Forum group. On October7, the militant Engineers were violently crushed.
- On November 23, an even more violent phase commenced. Lieutenant General Aman Mikael Andom, chairman of the PMAC was shot dead after a disagreement within the Derg over the Issue of Eritrea. He was the First Vice-Chairman Mengistu Haile-Mariam, who advocated for a military solution.

Attempts at Socio-Economic Reform

- In December 1975, what was called the Development Through Co-operation Campaign (Edget Behibiret Yetimihirt Ena Yesira Zemecha) was inaugurated. the campaign was opposed by most of the civilian left as a system that the Derg designed to remove its main opponents from the center.
- To appease the oppositions, the Derg changed its slogan of “Ethiopia First” to “Ethiopian Socialism”.
- In 1975 banks and insurance companies were nationalized following a series of proclamations.
- in March 1975 the Derg made a radical land reform proclamation which abolished all private land ownership and set the upper limit on family holdings at ten hectares. The proclamation also provided the establishment of peasant associations which were to be implemented with the cooperation of the zemach.
- In April 1976, PMAC proclaimed National Democratic Revolution Program and set up the Provisional Office for Mass Organization and Affairs (POMOA) with the objective of organizing and raising the political consciousness of the masses.
- the “Green Campaign” of 1978 aimed at bringing about rapid economic development, the literacy campaign aimed at irradiating illiteracy, and the “Red Star Campaign” of 1982 that aimed at solving the Eritrean problem. Of these campaigns, only the literacy campaign registered some degree of success.
- The land reform proclamation did put an end to landlord exploitation but it has failed to make the peasant master of his land because now the state took over as ultimate owner, with the peasant associations serving as its agents.

- The cooperatives only led to monopolistic government enterprises such as Agricultural Marketing Corporation (Ersha Sebil Gebeya Dirijit), resettlements and villagization.
- On the other hand, nationalization killed private initiative and introduced a highly bureaucratized management of resources.
- The Derg used peasant associations to control the countryside and the urban dwellers‟ associations (qebele) to control the towns.
- The qebele became battleground when the struggle between the Derg and the Ethiopian People‟s Revolutionary Party (EPRP) reached its bloodiest phase in 1976/7.
- The EPRP targeted qebele leaders and assassinated them while they in turn led the government‟s campaign of terror against the EPRP called the “Red Terror”, as opposed to the “White Terror” of the EPRP.
- Initially, the leftist opposition to Derg came from two main underground political organizations called the EPRP and the All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement (in Amharic Meison) that was founded in Hamburg by Haile Fida, Dr. Nigist Adane, Dr. Kedir Mohammed, Tesfaye Gebre-Tsadiq, Daniel Taddesse and others.
- in October 1976 the Marxist Leninist Revolutionary Organization (OMLR) was formed with its first Secretariat being Tesfaye Makonin. Later, it was merged to form the Ethiopian Marxist Leninist Democratic Union (UMLO) but was purged by the military junta in June 1979.
- Meison ceased its opposition to the Derg by adopting what it called “critical support” and tactically formed an alliance with Derg which helped it gain more organizational strength.
- the Derg pushed by the dominant leftist political culture systematically abandoned “Ethiopian socialism” and embraced Marxism-Leninism.
- Derg proclaimed the National Democratic Revolution Program which was the Chinese model for socialist revolution and had identified feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism as the three main enemies of the people. In a few months, Derg‟s leftist political organization known as Revolutionary Flame (Abyotawi Seded) was launched.
- In 1977 an alliance called the Union of Ethiopian Marxist–Leninist Organizations (Emaledeh) was established as prelude to the formation of one vanguard party.
- Emaledeh was composed of Meison, Revolutionary Flame (Abyotawi Seded), (Workers League) Proletariat League (Wazlig) founded by a one-time president of the Ethiopian Students‟ Union in North America, Dr. Senay. the Emaledeh was beset by power struggle
- the struggle between the EPRP and the Derg and its allies had caused a civil war scenario since September 1976. EPRP had also attempted to assassinate Mengistu himself in mid-September.
- In late 1976, the Derg itself was ideologically divided and with the internal struggles, Mengistu had eliminated two powerful members of the Derg and potential rivals of his power and influence, Major Sisay Habte and Major Kiros Alemayehu.
- other members such as Lieutenant Alemayehu Hayle and Captain Moges WoldeMikael resented the growing dictatorial power of Mengistu and his alliance with Meison and other pro-Derg leftist organizations.
- With the help of the chairman, Brigadier General Teferi Benti, they then successfully re-organized the structure of the Derg in such a way that Mengistu was marginalized.
- On February 3 1977 though, Mengistu hit back with a coup against Teferi. Eventually, Teferi and other anti-Mengistu Derg members were executed.

- He then filled the top positions in the Derg with his loyal supporters. Within just a year, the only remaining outstanding Derg member, Lt. Colonel Atnafu Abate, was charged of impeding the revolutionary process was executed.
- EPRP had to take its only option of turning to rural guerrilla warfare as internal split within it hastened its collapse.
- In the summer of 1977, Somalian government of Said Barre invaded Afder, Deghabour, Fiq, Gode, Kebridehar, Shinnille, Warder etc from Mogadishu. Within a couple of months, the cities of Harar and Dire Dawa were endangered.
- Finally, with 17, 000 Cuban troop and the help from Southern Yemen Democratic Republic the invaders were defeated at **Kara Mara** in Jijiga on March 4 1978.
- In early 1977 the Derg had severed relations with the USA as the American cultural and military institutions ended their operation in the country. This was preceded by the termination of the Ethio-USA 1953 mutual defense agreement.
- In the north, Eritrean insurgents had encircled Asmara while a pro-monarchy organization, the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU), was marching inroads from the Sudan in the Satit-Humera region.
- Yet, by the end of 1978, the EPRP had been contained in the towns. And the Eritrean insurgents had been pushed back. Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) was crushed near the Ethio-Sudan borderland in places like Metema, Abder Raffi and Satit-Humera.
- The Union of Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Organizations fell apart once Meison defected the Derg and its leaders were consequently either killed or arrested as they tried to retreat to the countryside.
- The other three member organizations Ech'at, Wazlig, and Malerid were successively expelled from Emaledeh and their leaders and members executed or detained. It was only Mengistu‟s Seded that remained as the authentic Marxist-Leninist organization in the country.
- In December 1979, the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE) was established with this motive(recruitment of individuals loyal).
- In September 1984, the Workers‟ Party of Ethiopia was inaugurated during the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the coming of the Derg to power. It was given that Mengistu became the new party‟s secretary-general.
- on January 6 1977, the CELU was replaced by a government-controlled All Ethiopia Trade Union (AETU) which was later re-named Ethiopian Trade Union (ETU).
- This was followed by the formation of the All Ethiopia Peasants‟ Association (AEPA) which ensured the government‟s control over peasants. Later AETU was renamed Ethiopia Peasants‟ Association (EPA). Established in 1980, the Revolutionary Ethiopian Women‟s Association (REWA) and Revolutionary Ethiopian Youth Association (REYA)
- It was when PMAC National Assembly (Shengo) proclaimed the People‟s Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) in 1987 that such elaborate organizational set-up designed to ensure total control of society reached its peak. With the birth of the PDRE, the Derg officially ceased to exist.
- Comrade Mengistu had become President of PDRE, secretary general of WPE and Commander in chief of the national armed forces with Fiseha Desta as Vice President while Fiqre-Sellassie Wegderes headed the Council of Ministers as Prime Minister with five deputies

- The dictator, who had maneuvered the urban left and had gone ruthless in the process, fell under the attack of rural-based guerrilla movements.
- the urban-based multi-national movements like the EPRP and Meison intensified in the center. These included the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), active mainly in the Wollaga region, the Islamic Front for Liberation of Oromia, based in Hararghe, the Afar Liberation Front, the Sidama Liberation Front, the Beni Shangul Liberation Front and the Gambella Liberation Front.
- The two significant liberation fronts which could be considered to have jointly brought about the downfall of the Derg were the EPLF and the TPLF.
- In 1984/5 a more devastating famine than the one in 1973/4 indicated the failure of the Derg‟s economic policies especially in agricultural production and marketing.
- In the late 20th century, Ethiopia had experienced two major famines that had rose up national and international mobilization and created bad image on the country in international scene. These were the 1972-1974 and 1984-1985 famine the causes of which were shortage of rain.
- The state responded to the latter by resettling the affected people in less affected areas of western Ethiopia
- Mikhail Gorbachev‟s policy of perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost, (openness) in 1985 aimed at making Soviet communism more efficient and humane was a failure and the Soviet Union collapsed as a major world power.
- the United States who the Derg had never been friendly with, became the sole arbiter of international affairs.
- In March 1990, the Derg proclaimed a mixed economy policy which seemed to come just late.
- The government‟s military failure came when after crushing the Somali invaders, the Derg turned its forces to the north, with the rather too assured slogan that “The victory scored in the east will be repeated in the north.”
- EPLF crushed its left wing, Menka’e, from its stronghold Naqfa-Raza and scored major victory at Afabet, north of Asmara, in March 1988.
- When in 1990, EPLF forces captured the port town of Massawa, it became only a matter of time before the capital, Asmara, also fell to them.
- The final decisive blow to Mengistu‟s regime came to be administered by the TPLF. Tigray Peoples Liberation Front/TPLF, that had its origin in Mehibere Gesgest Bihere Tigrai set up in 1970, was founded in 1975 by a group of university students.
- the TPLF was engaged in a bloody struggle to drive the Ethiopian People‟s Revolutionary Army, EPRA, the armed wing of the EPRP and the EDU out of Tigray, where both had created bases for themselves
- TPLF scored its most decisive victory at Enda-Selassie, Western Tigray, after a series of other military successes. At the victory of Enda-Selassie, tens of thousands of government troops were captured and their commanders were either killed or captured.
- This resulted in the withdrawal of all government troops from Tigray.
- In May 1989, commanders of almost all military units, coordinated and led a coup against Mengistu when he left the country on a state visit to the German Democratic Republic, East Germany. the coup was poorly organized that loyal palace troops encircled the leaders

- TPLF, which after liberating Tigray, continued to move forward and made the necessary organizational adjustments forming a bigger front known as the Ethiopian Peoples‟ Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF).
- The member organizations were TPLF, the Ethiopian People‟s Democratic Movement (EPDM), a fragment group of the EPRP which had begun to play a significant role in many of the military campaigns, the Oromo People‟s Democratic Organization (OPDO) and the Ethiopian Democratic Officers‟ Revolutionary Movement (EDORM). Other Liberation Fronts including the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), Afar Liberation Front, Sidama Liberation Front, Gambella Liberation Front and Beni Shangul Liberation Front also became active.
- In 1990 and 1991 in consecutive and stunning campaigns, EPRDF forces drove the Derg out of Gondar, Gojjam, and Wallo and parts of Wollaga and Shawa and approached the capital from the north and west.
- In 1990 Oromo forces dismantled the Derg army of the 131st Brigade in battle that liberated Asosa and Bambasi in the then Wollaga province.
- On May 21, Mengistu fled the country first to Nairobi and then to Harare (Zimbabwe).
- The PDRE Vice President, Lt General Tesfaye Gebre-Kidan appealed for an end to the civil war on May 23 1991. Prime Minister Tesfaye Dinqa left for the London peace conference mediated by the U.S.A‟s Foreign Affair African Service head Mr. Herman Cohen on May 27 1991.
- In the early hours of May 28 EPRDF forces triumphantly entered Addis Ababa.

Historical Developments, 1991-4

- In July 1991, a National Conference of political and ethnic groupings created Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) for two-and-one-half years.
- The government consisted a president and a prime minister, a seventeen-member Council of Ministers, and an eightyseven-member Council of Representatives. The Council of Representatives elected Meles Zenawi, former head of EPRDF, and Negasso Gidada (PhD) president and prime minister respectively.
- EPLF set up Provisional Government of Eritrea. This was followed by a referendum to decide the future fate of Eritrea in which the majority of the population voted for independence from Ethiopia.
- In May 1993, the Government of Eritrea was formed with Isayas Afwerki becoming the first elected president of the country after independence.
- In December 1994, the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) was ratified taking effect following federal elections in mid-1995.
- After the election Meles Zenawi assumed the premiership while Negasso Gidada became head of state.