HISTORY

STUDENT TEXTBOOK

GRADE 10

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FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA
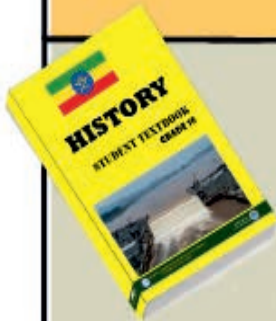MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

HAWASSA UNIVERSITY

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FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

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GRADE 10

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FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

HAWASSA UNIVERSITY

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CONTENTS

Unit 1

CAPITALISM

DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM AND NATIONALISM
1815 to 1914

Unit introduction

The unit covers the development of capitalism and nationalism in the west from 1815 to the beginning of the First World War. It focuses, among others, on the characteristics of capitalism, the effects of industrial capitalism, nationalist movements, and the process of unification in Italy and Germany. The major lessons included in the unit are features of capitalism; nationalism and formation of nation states; unification of Italy; unification of Germany; the American civil war; nationalism and the "Eastern question".

Unit learning outcomes

At the end of this unit, the students will be able to:

- distinguish the major characteristics of capitalism;
- explore how nationalism led to wars and empire expansion;
- analyse how Italian and German unification changed the political landscape of Europe; and
- explain the root causes and consequences of the American Civil War.
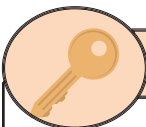
Key Terms

- Capitalism
- Nationalism
- Colonization
- Industrial Revolution

1.1 Features of Capitalism

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- define the features of capitalism;
- explain the role of the Industrial Revolution in the establishment of the capitalist system; and
- recognise why capitalism first emerged in Western Europe.

Brainstorming

- Explain the meaning of capitalism and how it evolved;
- Describe the salient features, owners of the means of production in the capitalist system;
- What do you know about the free market economy?

Capitalism has been the dominant economic system in the Western world since the collapse of feudalism. In the capitalist system, most means of production are privately owned. The growth of capitalism was influenced significantly by the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution first started in England in the 18th century. The great Industrial Revolution was mainly responsible for the tremendous economic transformation in Western Europe and the United States of America in the nineteenth century. After England, Belgium, France, and the German states were European countries that became industrialized.

Following the Industrial Revolution, new sources of energy and power, particularly coal and steam, replaced wind and water powers. The Factory system was created to replace the domestic system (in which individual workers used hand tools or simple machinery to fabricate goods in their own homes or workshops attached to their homes). Industrialization promoted the development of new socio-economic classes, especially the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

During the early modern period, Europeans built a transatlantic economy in which the slave trade and slavery played a key role. Modern industrial capitalism arose from eighteenth-century transatlantic commerce. Europeans made a large amount of money through their network of colonies and sugar, cotton, and tobacco plantations. These riches sometimes referred to as 'capital', were used to fund Europe's industrialization. As a result, the transatlantic slave trade and plantation riches were important factors in the development of capitalism in Europe. For example, the slave trade delivered tremendous

riches to British port towns such as Liverpool. Textile mills subsequently played a key part in the rise of the city of Manchester.

The means of production in the capitalist system are owned by a small group of wealthy individuals known as capitalists or bourgeoisie. The proletariat receive wages for their labour. The creation of products and services in a capitalist economy is based on demand and supply, or free commerce and competition, as in a market economy. The government imposes fewer restriction and interferes less. The capitalist economy differs from the socialist economy's central planning structure, which is also known as a command economy. A command economy is one in which the government is in charge of the economy. It is also an economy in which the government controls the volume of production, their distribution and prices.

Chart 1.1 Features of Capitalism

In countries like Germany and Italy, industrialization was linked to the mass militarization and nationalism, which ultimately led to World War I. Then these countries felt that they had to build up colonial empires in order to compete with the longtime colonial powers such as Great Britain and France.

Exercise

Exercise 1.1

Part I: Choose the best answer from the given alternatives.

1. Which one of the following is the first European country to be industrialized?

    A. France

    B. Belgium

    C. Germany

    D. England

2. The two social classes formed as a result of the Industrial Revolution were:

    A. The peasantry and the feudal lord

    B. The capitalist and the bourgeoisie

    C. The proletariat and the capitalist

    D. The feudal lord and the bourgeoisie

3. Which of the following is not a characteristic of capitalism?

    A. Profit maximization

    B. Public property

    C. Market economy

    D. Competition

4. Which of the following is correct about capitalism? It is

    A. a system in which the government controls the entire business.

    B. an economic system in which factories are owned by the working class.

    C. a system guided by a command economy and controlled by a government.

    D. a system where productions are privately owned and operated for profit.

Activity 1.1: Group work

Part II: Discuss the following issues in groups.

1. Advantages and disadvantages of free market and command economy.
2. The social, economic, and political changes brought by the Industrial Revolution.

1.2 Features of Nationalism and Formation of Nation States

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- appreciate the positive role nationalist movements played in nation building;
- describe the factors that had contributed to the 19th century nationalist movements.

Brainstorming

- Do you think that nation is an important part of our identity? Give reasons for your answer.

Several great movements that occurred before the 19th century helped the growth of nationalist sentiment. These include: the Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution, and the expansion of commerce.

The Renaissance with its developments of national language and its literature, helped to bring about a national self-consciousness; the Protestant Revolution broke out religious unity of Europe and ended the supremacy of the pope. Trade and colonies brought in wealth and helped to build a strong state.

> *Nationalism is a feeling of belonging and loyalty that causes people to think of themselves as a Nation. It is the sense of belonging or feeling proud of your own country. It comes with a feeling that makes people support their nation and government in every activity that she/he chooses to engage in.*

The first few years after the Napoleonic era were called a time of "reaction" when those in power wanted to return to old orders. These were conservatives who opposed change. Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria drew the "Treaty of Vienna" in 1815, with the objectives to reverse all the changes that were brought about in Europe during the reign of Napoleon wars and restore the monarchies. On the other hand, there were revolutionaries who spread the ideas of nationalism and opposed conservatism.

Factors contributing to nationalist sentiment

Economic—concern for standard of living	**Historical—attachment to longstanding conditions and practices**	**Geographic— affiliation with particular territory**

Social—concern for group values, culture, customs, language traditions	**Political-Desire for political power or autonomy**

Activity 1.2

Pair work:

1. What was the main objective of the Treaty of Vienna?

2. Identify the major characteristics of nationalism.

Additional reading assignment: Refer to the following website and identify positive and negative aspects of nationalism: **http://studylecturenotes.com/ merits-and-demerits-of-nationalism-critical-evaluation-of-nationalism/**.

1.2.1 Unification Of Italy

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- describe the causes for unification of Italy;
- outline events leading to the Italian unification;
- explain the effects of the Italian unification.

Brainstorming

- What does unification mean in history? Show the location of Italy on the World Map?

Italy was left completely fragmented by the settlements reached at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Italy in 1815 faced three obstacles to unity.

- The first was the Austrian occupation of Lombardy (Lombardia) and Venice in the north and northeast of the Italian peninsula.

- The second was the Papal States, the principality under the sovereignty of the pope; the Papal States straddled the centre of the peninsula, cutting the north off from the south. Often foreign powers, as for instance France in 1849, intervened to protect Papal independence.

- The third obstacle was formed by the existence of several independent states. On the French border was the Kingdom of Sardinia, also called Piedmont-Sardinia, which had slowly expanded since the Middle Ages and was the most advanced state in Italy. The Kingdom of Sardinia consisted of the region called Piedmont in northwestern Italy and the island of Sardinia. The Kingdom of the two Sicilies occupied the southern half of the peninsula and the island of Sicily. Other small states were the duchies of Tuscany (Toscana), Parma, and Modena, all governed by relatives of the Habsburgs, the family that ruled Austria. In each of these states, the monarch exercised absolute powers of government.

Map 1.1 Italy before unification, (source: slideplayer.com)

Activity 1.3

1. Which European nations were obstacles for Italian unification? Why?
2. What was the stand of the Pope towards Italian unification?

Leaders and the process of the unification movement of Italy

Giuseppe Mazzini: He had a vision for a united Italy. Mazzini viewed "Nation States" to be a necessary and opposed monarchy. He was a member of the Carbonari, a secret society of Italian unification formed to abolish foreign rules in Italy. In 1831, Mazzini founded a movement called "Young Italy" which attracted tens of thousands of Italians. He wanted a liberal democratic republic to govern a united Italy. Mazzini played a leading role in the 1848 Revolution. For a short period, he was a leader of a Roman republic proclaimed in the Papal States. But the French forces overthrew the republic established by Mazzini.
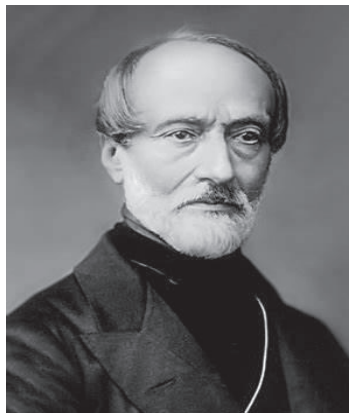
Figure 1.1 Giuseppe Mazzini

Count Camillo di Cavour: In 1852, Cavour became prime minister of the independent Kingdom of Sardinia. He was an aristocrat and well-educated. He took part in the 1848 revolutions. He strengthened Piedmont by promoting industry, encouraging railroad building, improving agriculture, fostering education and enlarging the army. Cavour disliked absolutism and favoured the British type of parliamentary government. He wanted Italy to be both industrialized and united. He tried to reduce the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in politics. Since Austria was the greatest obstacle to Italian unity, Cavour searched for allies against Austria. In 1858, Cavour and Napoleon III made a secret agreement. Napoleon agreed to send troops to drive the Austrians out of Lombardy and Venetia if Austria declared war on Sardinia.

For this favour, Cavour promised to give the regions of Nice and Savoy to France.

Figure 1.2   Count Camillo di Cavour

Cavour manoeuvred Austria into declaring war on Piedmont. The combined Sardinia-French forces defeated the Austrians. Sardinia got Lombardy and Venetia from this war. France was to keep Nice and Savoy. Parma, Modena and Tuscany drove out their pro-Austrian rulers, and by plebiscites, they voted to be annexed to Sardinia.

Giuseppe Garibaldi: In southern Italy, Italian nationalists were led by Giuseppe Garibaldi. He led the **Red Shirts,** an army that wore bright red shirts into battle. They captured the island of Sicily and then crossed into the Italian mainland. They conquered Southern areas and agreed to unite with Piedmont-Sardinia in the north. He agreed to hand over power to Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia.

In 1861, the kingdom of Italy was established, and King Victor Emmanuel II became its king. The new kingdom included every part of Italy except Venetia and the Papal States. The Unification of Italy was completed when these two regions became part of Italy.

In 1866, following the defeat of Austria in the Seven Weeks War (war between Austria and Prussia), Italy got Venetia. When the Franco-Prussian war broke out in 1870, all of the French armies withdrew from Italy. Then, the Italians entered Rome and this finalized the unification of Italy in the same year; Rome was proclaimed the capital of the Kingdom of Italy. The Pope, however, continued to govern a section of Rome known as Vatican City.

Figure 1.3 Giuseppe Garibaldi

Although Italy was politically united, many problems continued. These include:

- *Regional Division: Lack of stability as few thee Italians were experienced in self-government.*
- *The tension between the industrialized North and the agrarian South.*
- *Hostility between the Roman Catholic Church and the government. The government granted the papacy limited rights, and control over church properties.*
- *The formation of a secret society known as the Mafia, a kind of state within state, which the central government was powerless to control.*

There were some developments after unification:

- *A standard form of the Italian language was introduced to help unify the people.*
- *Growth of industrialization and urbanization mainly in north Italy.*
- *Expansion of modern education.*
- *Creation of a strong national army.*

Exercise 1.2

Part I: True or false Items. Write "True" for correct statements and "False" for incorrect ones.

1. Northern Italy was agrarian while southern Italy was industrialized.
2. The power of the Pope was strengthened after unification.
3. The Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed in 1861 to be a socialist government.

Part II: Choose the best answer for each of the following questions.

1. Cavour was considered the architect of a united Italy because of:
    A. his march to Rome
    B. his strong military victories against France and Austria
    C. his dispute with Germany
    D. his strong involvement in the eventual unification processes

2. Which of the following was among the main challenges of the Italian government after unification?
    A. Religious civil war
    B. Tension between the North and the South
    C. Opposition from Austria
    D. Boundary problems with neighboring states

Part III: Discuss in pairs and write short answers to the following questions

1. State the different approaches that Italian patriots followed during unification process.
2. What were the events that happened in Italy in 1866 and 1871?

1.2.2. Unification of Germany

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- relate political and strategic causes to subsequent effects in German unification;
- show in a visual timeline events related to German unification.

Brainstorming

- What is unification?
- Show the location of Germany on the World map.

In the mid nineteenth century, many Germans were driven by nationalistic feelings to support a unified Germany. In 1815, the Congress of Vienna created the German Confederation, which consisted of 39 separate autonomous states. While the Austrian Empire usually dominated the German Confederation, the state of Prussia took the lead in unifying them into Germany. The 1848 revolution failed to establish a unified German state.

Map 1.2   Germany before unification, (source: map-germany-unification/Mrunal. org/Flickr)

Various forces that opposed to the unification of Germany before 1870 were:

- foreign powers namely Austria, Russia, and France;
- small German states who feared Prussian domination; and
- the Catholic states, which feared domination by Protestants.

Steps toward Unification

Under the dominance of the Napoleonic French Empire (1804–1814), the Germans developed a sense of common cause to remove the French invaders and reassert control over their lands. The development of the German railway was the first indicator of a unified state. As travel became easier, faster, and less expensive, Germans started to see unity.

During the Revolution of 1848, the German liberals initiated a movement for a unified Germany. The movement emphasized the importance of tradition, education, and linguistic unity of people in a geographic region. However, the Revolution of 1848 failed in its attempt to unify the German-speaking states because of division of the German ruling classes on the type of government they wanted to establish.

The *Zollverein*- in 1834, Germans created the *Zollverein,* an economic alliance between the German states, which promoted trade and a strong economy. This custom union allowed for the removal of tariffs on products traded between German states.

Figure 1.4 Otto Von Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor

Bismarck's Plan for Germany

Otto von Bismarck was a conservative politician and a leading force behind German unification. He came from the Junker class, or the landed nobility, in Prussia. He was a prominent figure in Prussian politics. In 1862, the new Prussian king, Wilhelm I, chose Bismarck as prime minister. Bismarck favoured German unification under Prussian leadership. Prussia was a very wealthy German state. It had large coal deposits in the Ruhr Valley, and a flourishing iron and steel industry. Prussia had a strong army and the military was glorified. Otto von Bismarck led Germany towards unification using his political philosophy of realpolitik, or "the politics of reality" and the "Blood and Iron" policy (Military power).

> **!** **Realpolitik**: *pursue goals by any means necessary (go to war, lie, break treaties)*
> *"Blood and Iron" policy- using military power to achieve unification of Germany.*

German unification was achieved by the force of Prussia. The unification movement was enforced from the top-down, a product of Prussian royal policies. Otto von Bismarck led German unification by appealing to national feelings and through the following three wars:

- Danish War 1864 (against Denmark),
- Seven Weeks War 1866 (against Austria), and
- Franco-Prussian War -1870/71 (against France).

Activity 1.4

1. What was the "Blood and Iron" Policy.
2. Discuss in pairs about the similarities and differences between the Italian and German unification.

The Danish War: The first war of German unification was the 1864 Danish War, which began over the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. As a result of the war, Schleswig was given to Prussia, while Austria kept Holstein.

The Austro-Prussian War of 1866: The Seven Weeks War, which was a war between Prussia and Austria was not simply to control the territory of Schleswig and Holstein. More importantly, it was about the leadership of Germany. Prussia was supported by Italy in its move. The small German states that feared Prussian domination were on the side of Austria. At the Battle of Königgrätz (or Sadowa) on 3 July 1866, the Prussian army quickly defeated the Austrian forces.

> *Results of the Seven weeks war:*
> - *Holstein was annexed by Prussia*
> - *Austria was excluded from German affairs*
> - *Venetia was given to Italy*
> - *The North German Confederation was formed under the leadership of Prussia. It consisted of all German states except states in the south, where the people, were liberal and Catholic.*

The Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71

This was a conflict between France and Prussia in 1870–1871. To provoke France to declare war on Prussia, Bismarck published the Ems Telegram, a carefully edited version of a conversation between King Wilhelm and the French ambassador to Prussia. The Ems Telegram was significant because it encouraged France to declare war on Prussia in 1870. This conversation inflamed popular sentiment on both sides in favor of war.

Napoleon soon declared war on Prussia. Then, the Southern German states of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and Hesse Darmstadt entered the war on the side of Prussia opposing French invasion. On September 2, 1870, French forces were defeated at the battle of Sedan. The defeat brought the French Second Empire to an end. The proclamation

of the new German Empire at Versailles was the pinnacle of Bismarck's efforts to unite Germany.

In the Treaty of Frankfurt signed on 10 May 1871:

A) France agreed to cede to Germany the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, rich areas in coal and iron;

B) France agreed to pay huge war indemnities to Germany.

In 1871, the German Empire was proclaimed at the Palace of Versailles, outside Paris, with King William of Prussia as German Emperor (Kaiser).

Exercise 1.3

Part I: Multiple choice questions

1. Which of the following did Otto Von Bismarck use to unify Germany?

    A. Revolutionary movements

    B. The decision of the parliament

    C. Peaceful strategy

    D. "Blood and Iron "policy

2. The two main rivals who competed to dominate a united Germany were:

    A. Austria and Prussia

    B. Prussia and Bohemia

    C. Bavaria and Austria

    D. Prussia and Bavaria

Part II: Give brief answers for the following.

1. Identify: Zollverein, the battle of Sadowa, Alsace and Lorrain.

2. Prussia fought three wars to unite Germany. Name them and list what territory was acquired by each.

1.2.3. The American Civil War

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- discuss the causes and process of the American civil war;
- analyse the consequences of the American civil war.

Brainstorming

- What is a civil war?
- What are the effects of a civil war?

The American Civil War was fought from 1861 to 1865 between the Northern States of America, known as the Union, and the Southern States of America, known as the Confederates. The Union wanted to abolish slavery in the USA, whereas the Confederates wanted to keep slavery as it formed the basis of their economy. Most of the fighting took place in the south, leaving the southern states devastated. The seceding southern states did not aim to take over the United States government. Rather, they wanted to declare themselves independent.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH

North	South
A region of growing cities and industry	A semi-modern plantation system dominated by a few powerful slave holders
A mixed economy: farming, small businesses and factories	Mostly agriculture dominated by large plantations; little industry
Believed slavery was unfair competition for business and factory owners because slaves did not have to be paid.	Believed slavery was natural and that modern factories and capitalist businesses made white workers into 'wage slaves'

For nearly a century, the people and politicians of the northern and southern states had been clashing over economic interests, cultural values, the power of the federal government to control the states, and, most importantly, slavery. These issues eventually led to the civil war.

The southern economy depended mainly on cotton. The white plantation owners in the southern states viewed slavery as essential for their survival. As the economy of the northerners was based more on the industry than agriculture, they hired people as factory workers at low wages, thus reducing the need for enslaved people in the north.

This economic disparity led to opposing differences in societal and political views. In

the north, the influx of immigrants contributed to a society in which people of different cultures and classes lived and worked together. The South, however, continued to hold onto a social order based on white supremacy in both private and political life. Many in the north came to view slavery as not just socially unjust, but morally wrong.

In the north, there was a strong anti-slavery movement known as Abolitionism. The term abolitionist generally refers to dedicated opponents of slavery in the early 19th century America. In the 1830s, the movement gathered some momentum. Some famous leaders of this movement were William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass.

Abraham Lincoln won the presidential election in the year 1860. He amended the constitution. Lincoln and the Republicans promised to prevent the spread of slavery into newly incorporated territories. Shortly after the election of Abraham Lincoln, eleven southern states formed the Confederacy led by Jefferson Davis, a rich plantation owner, and declared secession. This resulted in the 1861 outbreak of civil war which ended in 1865.

Exercise 1.4
Part I: Write a short answer for the following question.
1. What were the major causes of the American civil war?

In January 1863, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamations and Homestead Law, freeing slaves in those parts of the country that rebelled against the United States. Later, amendments were made to the constitution that strengthened the principles of equality. This was a turning point in the American civil war. Many slaves from southern states flocked to the north and join the Federal army. The last Confederate surrender occurred on November 6, 1865. President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth, a Confederate sympathizer, on April 14, 1865.

Results of the civil war
- On December 6, 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment was adopted, which officially outlawed slavery.
- The collapse of the plantation economy in the southern part.
- The rise of industrialization, larger city centres, and the development of infrastructures such as railroads, banks, and factories in the southern part of the USA. However, progress was slow.
- The constitutional changes acted as a point of departure in the struggle for equal civil and human rights.
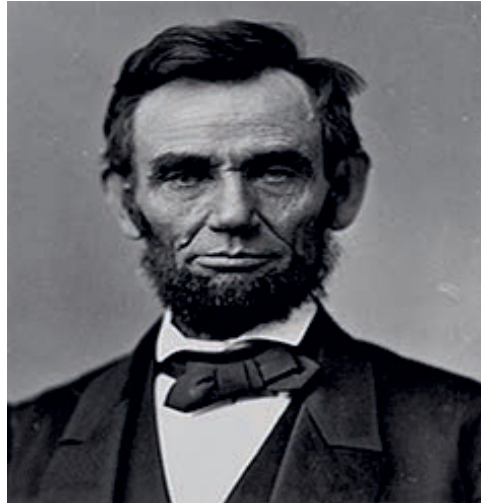
Figure 1.5 Abraham Lincoln

Activity 1.5

 Discuss in groups and present your findings on
1. The consequences of the American civil war; and
2. Prepare a timeline which indicates major events of the American Civil War.

1.2.4. Nationalism and the "Eastern Question"

Learning outcome of the lesson
At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:
- identify the causes of the Balkan's nationalism;
- evaluate the interest of Great powers concerning "Eastern question".

Brainstorming

- What are the Balkan states?
- How did foreign interventions affect the internal affairs of a country?

The Eastern Question was a diplomatic problem posed in the 19th and early 20th centuries. It arose as a result of the rise of nationalist feelings among the Balkan peoples, the declining Turkish (Ottoman) empire and the divergent interests of Great powers in the near east.

The Balkans were part of the decaying Ottoman Empire. This region was home to peoples with multi-ethnic backgrounds, such as Serbs, Bulgarians, Rumanians, and Greeks. In the early 1800s, discontent in the Balkan region was increased by the rise of the nationalism. Following the decline of the Ottoman Turkish rule in this region, different countries competed to dominate the Balkans. By 1830, Greece became an independent state and Serbia achieved some self-rule. In the 1850s and 60s, independence and nationalist movements among the people of the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire grew bigger and stronger.

Map 1.3   the Balkans, (source: upscfever.com)

Russia, Great Britain, France, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Germany followed their own national interests in the Balkan region. The foreign powers intervened for their own ends in the struggles between the Turks and the nationalist groups.

Russia: Russia supported the Balkan nationalists for several reasons: The Russians were Slavs, like the Bulgarians and the Serbs. They were Orthodox Christians as were many of the discontented Balkan groups. Moreover, Russia wanted to gain access to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea.

Britain: Britain's main concern was to protect its interests in India and did not want the Russians in the Mediterranean, where they might challenge their sea power. They supported the Turks to suppress the nationalist movements.

Austria: Austria supported the Ottomans because they did not want Russian expansion in the region.

Map 1.4 The Balkan states, (source: slideplayer.com)

Revolts broke out in several parts of the Balkan region in 1875. Romania, Montenegro and Serbia got their independence in 1878. Between 1878 and 1913, the Ottoman Empire was reduced in size because Great Britain, Austria, France and Italy shared its territories. As a result, tension and hostility were rising to a dangerous level.

Activity 1.6

Discuss in pair:

Why did Russia support the independence movement of the Balkan people?

Unit Summary 📖

During the early modern period, Europeans developed the transatlantic economy, in which the slave trade and slavery had a significant role. Beginning in the late eighteenth century industrialization became a major part of the capitalistic enterprise in Britain. Similar economic transformations occurred in Belgium, France, and the northern part of the United States.

In the mid-1800's, Italy and Germany were the major European states which were not united. Both were broken up into many smaller states that sometimes shared connections but other times fought for autonomy.

However, the people in these states mostly shared the same language, culture, history, and religion; all the things that make up nationalist feelings. These helped them to unify their respective countries in the second half of the nineteenth century.

From 1861 to 1865, the American Civil War was fought between the United States of America and the Confederate States of America, a collection of eleven southern states that left the Union in 1860 and 1861.

The conflict began as a result of a long-standing disagreement over the institution of slavery. When Lincoln became president 11 southern states seceded. Lincoln and the North opposed the South's secession. The war ended with the defeat of the confederates and resulted in the abolition of slavery in the USA.

Economic and social changes, international rivalry and unsolved problems combined to unsettle the Balkans. Both local states and Great Powers could not control the situation. The result was a succession of Balkan crises, some of which had serious consequences for Europe as a whole.

Exercise 1.5: Unit Review Questions

Part I: True or false questions. Write true for correct statements and False for incorrect ones.

1. The capitalist enterprises were mainly run by a command economic system.
2. The drive for German unification was primarily achieved by the Junker (nobility).
3. Nationalism weakened the power and unity of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century.
4. The American civil war began as a result of disagreement over the institution of slavery.

Part II: Choose the best answer from the given alternatives

1. Which one of the following is not a feature of capitalism?
   A. Free market
   B. Profit motive
   C. Market price determined by government
   D. Private property

2. During the struggle between the Ottoman Turks and the nationalists, Britain
   A. supported independence of the Balkan states
   B. favoured Russia to the Balkans
   C. supported the Turks to suppress the nationalist movements
   D. had a neutral position

3. Prussia's defeat of Austria in the 1866 Austro-Prussian war resulted in the creation of
   A. Zollverein
   B. The North German Confederation
   C. The Reichstag
   D. The German Empire

4. The American civil war resulted in
   A. Equality between white and Black Americans
   B. End of slavery in the USA
   C. Expansion of plantation economy in the southern part of the USA
   D. Increase of political domination of the confederates

Part III: Short answer items. Give short answers to the following.

1. Describe the main features of nationalism.
2. Explain how the difference on the question of slavery became the root cause for the American civil war.

Unit 2

AFRICA & THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE (1880S -1960S)

Unit Introduction

This unit deals with the partition of Africa and early resistance movements to colonial rule. It will help you to discover the consequences of colonialism and the reaction of Africans to alien rule ·The unit covers the following major lessons: general background to colonialism and the motives of European colonialism; scramble for Africa and the Berlin Conference; colonial policies and administration; early African resistance movements against colonial expansion; and impacts of colonial rule on Africa.

Unit learning outcomes

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- outline the motives of colonizers in Africa;
- recognise the African resistance movements; and
- assess the political, economic and social transformations brought by colonial rule in Africa.
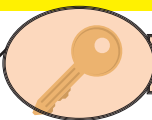
Key Terms

- Colonialism
- Scramble for Africa
- Berlin Conference
- Direct Rule
- Indirect Rule
- Settlers Rule

2.1　General Background to Colonialism

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- define the meaning of colonialism;
- describe the motives of European colonial rule in Africa; and
- point out the major events leading to European colonization in Africa.

Brainstorming

- What does colonialism mean?

Colonialism is defined as the direct and total dominance of one country by another based on the possession of state authority by a foreign power. It occurs when one country subjugates another, conquering and exploiting its people. The notion of colonialism is inextricably tied to that of imperialism, which is defined as the policy or belief of using power and influence to rule another nation or people.

Colonialism has been practised since ancient times. The ancient Greeks, Romans, Ottomans, and others established colonies overseas. Colonialism grew in scope since the 16th century, after the Age of Discovery. This was owing to advancements in navigational technology that allowed Europeans to travel to all corners of the earth.

Following the end of the Atlantic Slave trade, Europeans began trading with Africa in what became known as "legitimate trade." The term "legitimate commerce" refers to the commodity trade between Africans and European merchants after the slave trade was abolished. During this time raw products from Africa, particularly cash crops, were exchanged for goods from Europe.

The era of "legitimate" trade shifted the relationship between Africa and Europe from commerce based on human merchandise to merchandise of tropical crops. This heightened competitiveness, resulting in a race for Africa. Between the final quarter of the eighteenth century and the 1870s, a large number of European explorers travelled out into the heart of Africa to conduct "exploration".

Based on the timing and purpose, European 'explorers' may be loosely divided into two groups. First, the European explorers who arrived before the 1850s are believed to have been inspired by a spirit of pure and objective scientific inquiry. Second a considerable number of explorers who arrived after the 1850s were European government agents.

Meanwhile, although the European missionaries came with the good intention to evangelize Africa; the timing was bad. Missionaries came into Africa along with colonial administrators and traders with the plan to introduce Christianity, commerce and civilization. They cooperated and united as vital element in the attainment of their set goals. Missionaries in critical times of need, depended on traders for funds, and relied completely on administrators for physical security and protection.

However, European missionaries preaching Christianity in Africa in the last two decades of the nineteenth century converted only less than 1% of non-Muslim Africans (outside Ethiopia) to Christianity. Because of their lack of success, the missionaries began to appeal to their respective European governments for help.

Exercise 2.1

Part I: True/False Items. Write True if the statement is correct and False if the statement is incorrect.

1. European missionaries who preached Christianity in Africa were successful in converting most of the Africans.
2. A considerable number of European explorers who arrived in Africa after the 1850s were agents of European governments.

Part II: Choose the best answer from the given alternatives

1. The concept of colonialism is inseparably tied to that of
   A. Communism
   B. Socialism
   C. Feudalism
   D. Imperialism

2. One of the following factors facilitated the expansion of colonialism in the 16th century.
   A. Advances in navigational technology
   B. Reformation
   C. Bartering
   D. Industrial Revolution

3. The " legitimate Trade" in the 19th century was a trade
   A. based on an equal exchange of goods among Africans
   B. made between the Americans and European businessmen
   C. in which African raw materials were exchanged for European goods
   D. a business that supported the slave trade

Part III: Take a couple of minutes to write a few sentences on the following:

1. By looking at the map below, identify the African countries where the following European languages were imposed (Two countries for each)

   English
   French
   Portuguese
   Ialian

2. List African countries which were colonized at some point in their history?
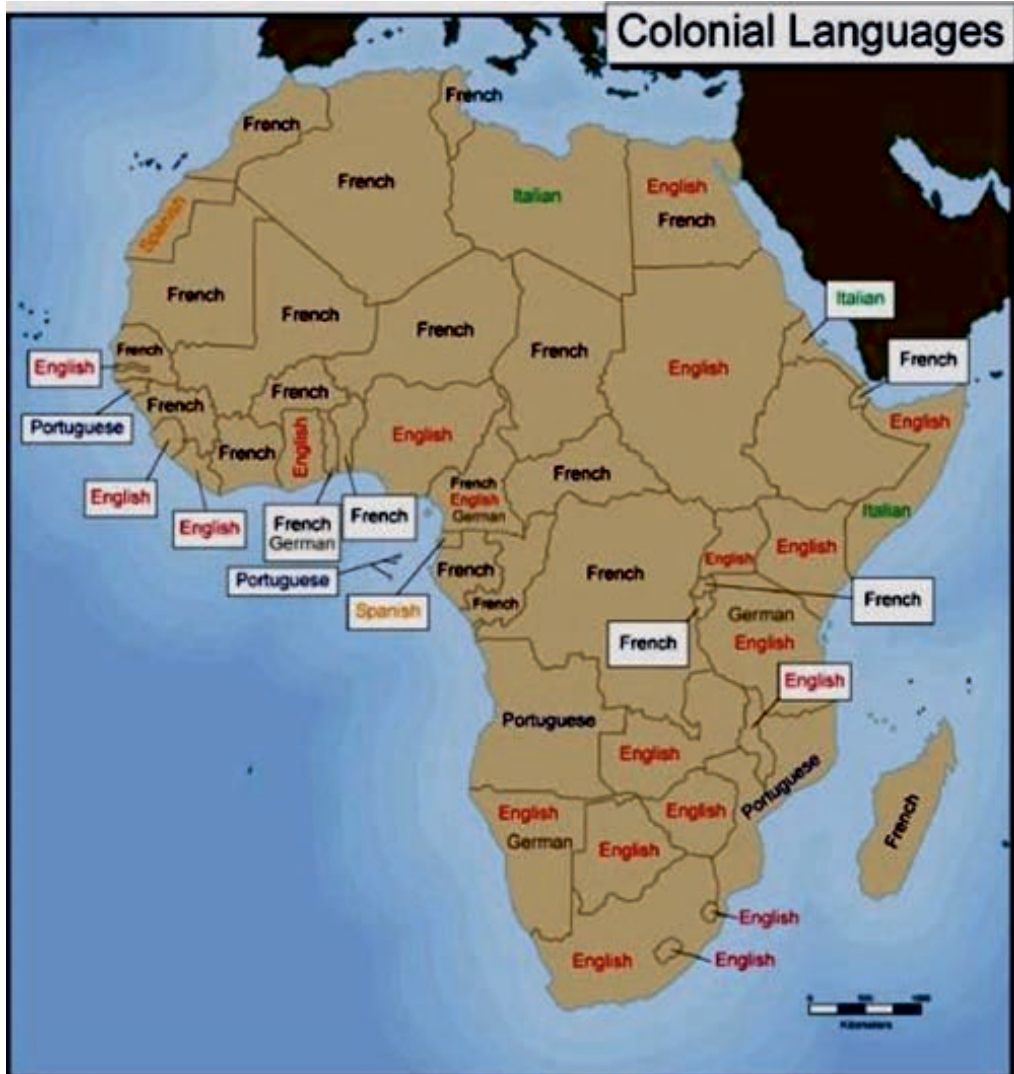
Map 2.1 Colonial languages,(source: exploringafrica.matrix.msu.edu)

2.2 The Motives of European Colonialism

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- explain the motives for European colonization of Africa; and
- assess the role of missionaries on the eve of European colonization of Africa.

Brainstorming

- Explain the economic factors behind the European colonization of Africa.

The main reasons for European colonization of Africa were:

A. Economic:

Demand for raw materials and the need for new market centres were the most visible ones. The 1800s was a time of great industrialization in Europe. Factories required raw materials that could be manufactured into marketable products. When Europeans returned to Africa for more resources they brought back the manufactured goods and sold them to Africans. Africa was believed to have a great amount of untapped raw material resources (agricultural products like groundnuts, palm oil, wood, cotton and gum; and mining like rubber, gold, and diamonds).

B. Political/ Strategic interest:

Major world powers like Great Britain, France, and Spain were competing for power and prestige. European powers were more interested in dominating strategic territories and favourable locations for military and naval bases.

C. The Civilizing Mission and the White Man's Burden:

The civilizing mission is a rationale for intervention or colonization of other non-western peoples like Africa. The Europeans presented themselves as having a mission of spreading civilization, commerce and Christianity across the globe. The clear implication of this was that Africans were inferior and uncivilized and Europeans were superior and civilized. Another concept which is closely related to the civilizing mission is the so called 'the white man's burden.' Originally, the white man's burden was a poem written by an English poet, Rudyard Kipling in 1899. This poem proposes that white people should rule over non-white people until they can take their place in the world by fully adopting western ways.

D. Religious factor:

Some missionaries supported the colonization of African countries believing that European control would provide a political environment that would facilitate their missionary activities in Africa.

Exercise 2.2

?

Read the following poem entitled "The White Man's Burden" written by Rudyard Kipling and answer the question below:

1. How does Kipling describe the subjects of colonial rule?

Take up the White Man's Burden

Send forth the best ye breed

Go bind your sons to exile

To serve your captive's need;

To wait in heavy harness,

On fluttered folk and wild

Your new-caught, sullen peoples,

Half-devil and half child.

(source: http://historymatters.mu. edu/d/5478/)

2.3   Scramble for Africa and the Berlin Conference

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- state how colonial rivalries and conflicts led to the partition of Africa;
- explain the process of colonial occupation and its consequences on Africa;
- draw a sketch map of colonial Africa.

Brainstorming

- Mention any African country colonized by the British, the French, and the Italians.
- Do you think colonialism retarded development? If yes or no, why?

Before the 1880s, only 10% of Africa was ruled by foreign powers. Most of North Africa was under nominal Turkish rule. Others include Omani rule in Zanzibar Island, the British in Sierra Leone, the French in Algeria, the Boers and the British in South Africa, the Portuguese in Mozambique and Angola coastal areas. These foreign rules were limited only to the coastal part of Africa. The rest of 90% of Africa was free from foreign rule and was independent. Later, European interest in Africa was radically changed. A fierce rivalry, massive and rapid colonial expansion of Europeans in Africa from the 1880s to the first decade of the 20th century is called the Scramble for Africa.

2.3.1. Berlin Conference: 1884-1885

The Berlin Conference was held from 1884 to 1885 in Berlin, Germany. The German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck was the leader of the conference. The fourteen countries represented at the time were Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden-Norway, Turkey, and the United States of America. Of these fourteen nations, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Portugal were the major players in the conference, controlling most of colonial Africa at the time. Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, and Spain were competing for power within European power politics. However, Africa was not invited nor involved in the conference. The main goal of the conference was to talk of dividing up Africa among the European Colonial powers.

The competition between European powers intensified when King Leopold II of Belgium and Germany entered the competition for African colonies. King Leopold II of Belgium wanted to make Congo his personal colony and for this reason, he employed H.M. Stanley to explore the Congo River. Before the Berlin conference, in 1884, Germany had proclaimed Togo, Cameroon, and South-West Africa (Namibia), and in 1885, Tanganyika, as its protectorate.

At the Conference, the participants decided on the "General Act of the Conference," which laid international guidelines for colonization has 38 articles. The Berlin Conference marked the real beginning of colonization in Africa.

1. ***Principle of effective occupation:*** According to Article 35 of the Final Act, Colonial powers could acquire rights over colonial lands only if they possessed them: if they had treaties with local leaders, if they flew their flag there and if they established an administration in the territory with a police force to keep order.

2. ***Doctrine of the Sphere of Influence***- According to article 34 of the General Act of the Berlin Conference, any fresh act of taking possession of any portion of the African coast would have to be notified by the power taking possession to the other signatory powers. The conference resolved to end slavery in Africa.

3. ***The Congo Free State (today's Democratic Republic of the Congo)*** was confirmed as the private property of King Leopold II of Belgium.

4. ***Free navigation of the Niger and the Congo.***

Activity 2.1

Pair work:

1. Locate the two independent parts of Africa in 1914.
2. Discuss in pairs the impact of the Berlin Conference on Africa.
3. Why did the Europeans want to colonize Africa?
4. What were the methods used by Europeans to colonize Africa?

Map 2.2 Colonial map of Africa, (source: slideplayer.com)

The colonial powers followed different means to colonize Africa. These were fake treaties and force. A good example of such a fake or trickery treaties was the Wuchale treaty signed between Ethiopia and Italy. (This will be discussed in another unit later).

Europeans were successful in rapidly partitioning Africa during the scramble, because of the following reasons:

1. The major factor for European victory over Africa was the military superiority that they enjoyed over Africa. European powers were using professional and well trained armies.

2. Lack of cooperation and solidarity among Africans. Those weaknesses were made use of by Europeans to their advantage.

Activity 2.2

Pair work:

1. What were the effects of European explorers' and missionaries' activities on Africa?

2.4. Colonial Policies and Administration

The European colonial governments used different methods of administration to administer colonies in Africa. These methods of administering varied from territory to territory and also among imperial powers. These methods include company rule, direct rule and assimilation, indirect rule as well as settler ruler.

2.4.1 Company Rule

In the early days of colonialism, European nations allowed the establishment of private companies that were granted large African territories to administer. These companies were formed by businessmen who were interested in exploiting the natural resources of the African territories. The company rule was exercised from the 1880s to 1924. The British South Africa Company (B.S.A.C), is an example of company rule, it was formed in 1887 and lasted longer than the British East African Company. The B.S.A.C., under the control of John Cecil Rhodes, used force and coercion to administer three territories Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia. The Company governed these colonies until 1924.The companies' rule failed due to a shortage of finance and opposition from Africans and missionaries over their harsh company rule.

Figure 2.1 The Rhodes Colossus cartoon (source: www.newworldencyclopedia.org)

> **!** *Cecil Rhodes*
> - *Went to South Africa in 1871 and by 1889; he controlled 90% of the world's diamond production and also dominated the gold market*
> - *Served as prime minister of the British Cape Colony from 1890-1896*
> - *Extended British control to other parts of Africa*

Activity 2.3

What do you understand from the Rhodes Colossus cartoon?

2.4.2 Direct Rule and Assimilation

The French, Belgians, Germans, and Portuguese are considered to have used this model to govern their African colonies. In the direct rule system, African indigenous rulers and local governments were removed and replaced by European personnel. African chiefs were assigned at the lower levels of the administrative structure to collect taxes, recruit labour and suppress rural African opposition. Under the direct rule, the French government considered its African colonies as part of France.

The French colonial policy of direct rule and assimilation was designed by **Albert Sarrout.** The French colonial policy also incorporated association. According to the assimilation policy, an African, after receiving French education, stood a chance of becoming a French. Assimilation accepted the inherent superiority of French culture over all others. So, in practice, the assimilation policy in the colonies meant the extension of

the French language, institutions, laws, and customs.

The other colonial approach France used in Africa was known as an association. It was the opposite idea of the assimilation policy. It implied that the relationship between the conqueror and the conquered should be one of "association ', not of identity and merging; it emphasized cooperation between the rulers and the ruled.

2.4.3 Indirect Rule

The architect of the British Indirect rule policy was Frederick Lugard. Lugard exercised this policy when he was a governor of Nigeria and British East Africa. This system of governance used indigenous African rulers within the colonial administration. Frederick Lugard, in his book the Dual Mandate in British tropical Africa, published in 1922, explained the importance of the indirect rule. According to him, indirect rule was preferable to administer colonies in Africa because it was the cheapest and most effective way. It also reduced African resistance. Unlike the French, the British made greater use of African customary law. The British indirect rule aggravated ethnic differences that emphasized differences in the dialect of language, dress, and religion.

2.4.4 Settlers Rule

Europeans came and settled in Africa, in many cases, displacing indigenous Africans. Settler colonies were found in southern Africa including the colonies of South Africa, Southern and Northern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe and Zambia), Angola, Mozambique, and South West Africa (Namibia). In addition, settler rule was practiced in Kenya, a British colony in East Africa, and Algeria, a French colony in North Africa. Here the fertile lands of the African peasants were taken and given to minority white settlers.

 The administration was very harsh on Africans and racist. Due to settler rule, Africans became labourers and landless tenants. In Kenya, for example, the Kikuyu, who lost their ancestral territory in the so-called white highlands to European settlers, migrated in mass to growing urban centres like Nairobi in search of employment.

In general, colonial administrative policies implemented by European colonial rulers varied from country to country. Despite these differences, all colonial governments shared certain common features, such as:-

- All colonial systems were undemocratic,
- Colonial rule was most often imposed without consent from the African people, and
- All forms of colonial rule engaged in "divide and rule".

Activity 2.4

Group Work:

1. Identify the similarities and differences of the British and French colonial policies.
2. Sketch the colonial map of Africa and locate white settlement areas in Africa.

2.5 Early African Resistance Movements Against Colonialism

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- appreciate African's resistance against colonialism ;
- outline African resistance movements against colonialism ;
- value the contribution of the anti-colonial struggle ;
- demonstrate major areas of African resistance against colonial expansion using the map of Africa.

Brainstorming

- Why did Africans resist and oppose colonial rule?
- Which African country did manage the only successful resistance against Colonialism? How?

Africans' response to colonial rule varied from place to place. Several forms of armed and nonviolent resistance to colonialism occurred. Nonviolent forms of anti-colonialism included the use of the indigenous press, trade unionism, organised religion, associations, literary and art forms, and mass migrations.

There was armed resistance in different parts of Africa. The first or early African responses to the colonial conquest occurred from about 1880 to 1914. The second stage covered from 1914 to1945. The third stage conducted from the 1950s to1980s was a period of decolonization of Africa. It was characterized by the emergence of national liberation movements that aimed at achieving independence.

Some examples of Early Resistance:

2.5.1 Resistance in West Africa

A. Ahmadu Seku:

Ahmadu Seku was one of the prominent leaders of the Tukulor Empire in West Africa. From 1830s to 1845, he resisted French rule in western Africa using various methods. In the beginning, he preferred to use diplomacy over armed resistance. But when the French violated their promise and started territorial expansion, Ahmadu forces clashed with the French-Senegalese troops. The French had recruited soldiers from the local people for their colonial goal. Finally, Ahmadu's forces were defeated and his empire broke up. He was exiled to Sokoto, where he died. Then after, the French allied with Ahmadu's brother to control the region.

B. Samori Ture

Samori Toure (ca. 1830–1900): He was a Muslim leader in the Mandinka Empire, who engaged the French in protracted armed resistance from 1882 to 1898. Samouri was successful in uniting under his administration most of the people in the vast area between the source of Niger and the Upper Volta basin. He led a strong army of 30,000 men. Samori Ture, who governed an area in what is today Guinea, Mali, and Cote D'Ivoire strongly resisted French colonial expansion.

Figure 2.2 Samori

It was not until 1900 that the French finally captured Samori. The French exiled Samori to Gabon in Central Africa.

C. The Asante

In West Africa, the British did not acquire large territories like the French. The British acquired the coastal areas of Nigeria and Ghana (Gold Coast) before the start of

the scramble. In Ghana, British colonial expansion faced opposition from the Asante kingdom led by Asantehene(King) Prempe. After the bloody war, the British defeated the local resistance and were able to establish their colony of the Gold Coast over all of Ghana in 1900.

The British used the strategy of divide and rule and their superior weapons as well as recruited African troops, to conquer the whole of Nigeria in 1910.

2.5.2 Resistances in East Africa

The Maji-Maji Uprising

The *Maji Maji* Uprising in Tanganyika was the most significant African challenge to German colonial rule from 1905 to 1907. The four German colonies in Africa were Tanganyika (modern-day Tanzania), Togo, Cameroon, and Namibia. The German rulers imposed high taxation and a system of forced labour on their colonial subjects. They were forced to grow cotton and build roads for their European occupiers. As a result, a movement against the Germans led by a prophet Kinjikitle Ngwale erupted in Tanganyika. Ngwale taught the people to sprinkle their bodies with sacred water known as *Maji Maji* which "would turn bullets of their enemies into water."

The rebellion spread throughout the colony, eventually involving 20 different ethnic groups who wished to dispel the German colonizers. The *Maji Maji* movement was a spontaneous rising with no previous planning and central leadership. The Germans followed a 'scorched earth' policy, destroying villages and crushing the uprising.

2.5.3 Resistances in South Africa

The Germans' rule in Africa was harsh and characterized by land alienation. In South West Africa, for instance, land was taken from Africans and given to German settlers. The indigenous Herero and Nama peasants were forced to reduce their grazing land. Following the cattle epidemic of 1896-97, white settlers and traders moved to the African grazing land and provided loans to the poor African peasants to take native lands.

In 1904, the Herero people, led by Samuel Maharero, and in 1905 the Nama people, led by Hendrik Witbooi, rebelled against German colonial rule. However,both uprisings were crushed by the Germans.

2.5.4 Resistances in North Africa

After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, Britain and France were engaged in a fierce struggle to influence Egypt. At the time, Egypt had a weak government, led by Khedive Ismael Pasha. In 1879, both Britain and France agreed to implement dual control over Egypt. In 1881, the Egyptian people revolted opposing the imperialist domination of

Britain and France. The revolt was led by Colonel Urabi Pasha. In 1882, under the banner of controlling the revolt, the British colonial forces entered Cairo and defeated the revolt. At the same time, Egypt became a British colony.

Exercise 2.3

Part I: Match names under column "A" with their correct matches under Column "B".

<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>
1. Kinjikitle Ngwale	A. resisted the French rule in the Mandika Empire
2. Urabi Pasha	B. Rebelled against German colonial rule in South West Africa
3. Asantehene Prempe	C. led the Egyptian resistance against the Anglo Egyptian rule
4. Samouri Toure	D. led an armed rebellion of Africans against German colonial rule in German East Africa
5. Ahmadu Seku	E. a prominent leader of the Tukulor Empire in West Africa
	F. leader of the anti-British struggle in the Gold Coast

Activity 2.5: Group Work

☞Debate on the advantages (Positive outcomes) and disadvantages (Negative impacts) of colonialism in Africa.

2.6 Impacts of Colonial Rule on Africa

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- explain the consequences of European colonialism on the political, economic and social life of the African people.

2.6.1 Political impacts

Africans lost independence and freedom. The African indigenous administrations were destroyed. Europeans created artificial boundaries without the approval of the local community. This became a colonial legacy and caused boundary conflicts among many African nations after independence. Sometimes they grouped together people who had

never been united under the same government before. Sometimes they divided existing groups of people.

2.6.2 Economic impacts

Colonialism in Africa brought about the under-development of African territories in many different ways. Africa remained a supplier of raw materials for Europe. Africans were not allowed nor encouraged to go into manufacturing. The Europeans had introduced modern education but the introduction of colonial education made Africans abandon their indigenous technological skills and education. African natural resources were exploited by European colonizers. For instance, forests were cleared to get timber, to provide firewood that was needed to power the steam engine trains and to construct rail tracks.

2.6.3 Social impacts

Colonialism also disrupted the development and way of living of local communities. During the colonization process communities had to be moved and relocated to create white settlement areas for large scale farming.

Colonization also brought about different types of diseases. An example of such a disease that was introduced by the settlers is Rinderpest disease which affected the livestock of the Shona people of present day Zimbabwe and Botswana, and North Ethiopia during the *Kefu Qen* .

Generally, colonialism shaped both the economic and political structure of African colonies to serve the interest of European powers. There were some positive outcomes of colonialism, such as tribal warfares ended following the introduction of colonial administration, introduction of different modern ideas construction of railways, roads to transport raw materials to ports.

Activity 2.6

Group Work:

Write an essay on one of the following African countries: Kenya, Ghana, Algeria, Angola, South Africa, Rwanda, Senegal, and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and make a short presentation in the class focusing on the following points.

- Location, Capital, Population, Language, Ethnic group, Religion
- When did this country become under Europeans rule?
- What social, economic and political changes were seen in this country after colonization?

Unit Summary

Africa's commercial transition was inseparably connected to the rising demand for industrial inputs from industrialized Western Europe. Due to the industrial revolution, the search of Europeans for African raw materials and new markets increased.

The volume of African exports of vegetable oils, palm oil, groundnuts, gum, ivory, gold, hides and skins rubber, cotton, and copper, as well as cash crops such as cocoa, coffee, tea and tobacco broadened.

During a period lasting from 1884 to 1914 in what was known as the Scramble for Africa, several European nations took control over areas of the African continent. The European colonizers partitioned the largely unexplored African continent into protectorates, colonies and 'free-trade areas.

Colonial powers exert control and domination of Africa. They justified their act as a civilizing mission. The project was furthered through a structure of ideas by which European practices were asserted to be civilized and universal, and non-European societies were uncivilized and inferior.

Colonialism had a huge impact on the lives of Africans. Economic policies were adopted by Europeans who destroyed the colonies, rather than help them. Africa was weakened economically, politically, and culturally. Africa's indigenous lifestyles and culture were destroyed.

Exercise 2.4: Unit Review Questions

?

Part I: True or false questions. Write true for correct statements and False for incorrect ones.

1. The map of Africa of 1884 was nearly similar to that of the 1914 map.
2. Searching for new markets was one of the motives of European colonial powers in Africa.
3. The Africans' early resistance movements were spontaneous and lacked organization.
4. The British colonial policy favored direct rule rather than indirect one.
5. Colonization also brought about different types of new diseases in Africa.

Part II: Choose the best answer from given alternatives

1. What was the main reason for European countries to colonize Africa?
   A. The desire to establish democratic regimes in Africa
   B. maintain power promote mutual trade relationship
   C. To exploit rich African resources
   D. To stop the slave trade

2. One of the following cannot be a cause for the failure of early African resistance movements against European colonial administration?
   A. The Africans' inclination to colonial administration than their indigenous system
   B. Absence of effective organization
   C. Lack of unity among Africans
   D. Africans' were poorly armed

3. All forms of colonial rule share commonly
   A. Assimilation policy
   B. Divide and Rule policy
   C. Association policy
   D. Democracy

4. Rudyard Kipling's poem, "The White Man's Burden" reflected the idea that
   A. The white race had become a burden on other races
   B. The white man had a responsibility to civilize other races
   C. Colonialism was a burden brought by a white man on others
   D. The white man should not carry the burden of colonialism

5. Civilizing mission as a justification for European colonization of other lands
   A. Considers other peoples as agents of historical change
   B. Considers Europe as less civilized compared to other peoples
   C. Considers colonialism as the enslavement of other peoples

D. Considers that colonialism is good for the colonized

6. Which of the following was not agreed upon at the Berlin conference?

    A. Free trade along major African rivers

    B. Ground rules for future appropriation of the African continent

    C. The recognition of the Congo Free State

    D. None of the above

Part III: Short answer questions

1. Why were African early resistance movements not successful?

2. Explain briefly the economic consequences of Colonialism in Africa.

Unit 3

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ETHIOPIA FROM MID-19ᵗʰ C. TO 1941

Unit Introduction

The unit deals with the history of Ethiopia from the mid-19ᵗʰ century to 1941. The first lesson of the unit sheds light on the nineteenth century long distance trade and the roles cottage industry played in the socio-economic development of the country. The second lesson focuses on the process of the making of Modern Ethiopia State and explores the administrative reforms, modernization attempts, religious reforms, the centralization policy and territorial expansions. The third lesson is about external aggressions and the heroic resistance of the people of Ethiopia to preserve their country's territorial integrity. Here you will study about the Napier Expedition, the Egyptian aggression, the Mahdists invasion and the Italian encroachment into Ethiopian territory which was sanctioned by the glorious battle of Adwa in 1896. The fourth lesson deals with power struggle among the ruling elites from 1906 up to 1930. The final section is about Fascist Italy's aggression and Ethiopian patriots' resistance.

Unit learning outcomes

At the end of this unit, the students will be able to:

- examine the interactions among people and states in Ethiopia in relation to the long distance trade;
- identify major socio-economic and political reforms of the period;
- describe the causes of external aggression and its consequences;
- recognise the unity of Ethiopian people against foreign aggression.
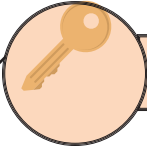
Key Terms

- Long distance Trade
- Cottage industry
- Administrative reforms
- The battle of Adwa
- Territorial expansion
- Diarchy
- Fascist aggression

3.1 Long Distance Trade in 19ᵗʰ Century and the Cottage Industry

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- illustrate the salient features of the long distance trade in Ethiopia;
- appreciate the roles the cottage industry played in the socio-economic life of the Ethiopian people;
- pinpoint the major market centres in nineteenth century Ethiopia.

3.1.1 The Trade Routes, People's Interaction, Major Market Centres, the Medium of Exchange, and Trade Items

Brainstorming

- What is the importance of trade?

In the 19ᵗʰ century, the peoples and polities that existed in the southern, northern and eastern parts of Ethiopia and the Horn were connected by two major trade routes that started from Bonga, the capital of the Kafa Kingdom. The main market centres along these lines were Bonga, Hirmata, Saqa, Asandabo, Basso, and Gondar.

At Gondar it branched into two: the first went westward through Chilga to Matamma (Gallabat) and the other route passed through Adwa, Asmara and terminated at Massawa on the Red Sea coast.

The second major trade route also started from Bonga and passed through the famous market centres of the century like Hirmata in Jimma, Soddo in southern Shewa, Rogge at the foot of Yarar Mountain, Aliyu Amba or Abdul Rasul in northern Shewa and Harar in eastern Ethiopia. At Harar the route branched into two the first route went to Zeyila and the second to Berbera, both on the Somalia Coast of the Indian Ocean.
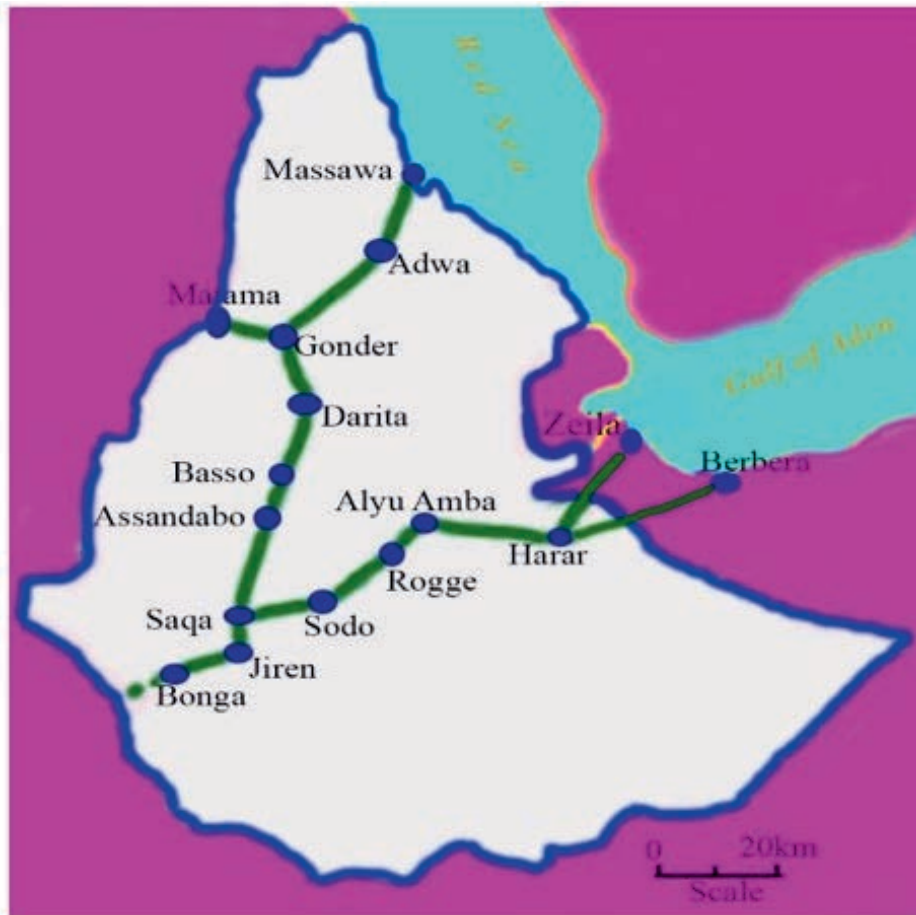
Map 3.1   Trade routes of 19th C. Ethiopia

The principal commodities that dominated the long-distance trade in the century were ivory, civet musk, salt bars (*amole*) and slaves. The salt bars (amole) served as a medium of exchange and were used side by side with Maria Theresa Thalers (MTT). MTT was a coin introduced from Austria to the Horn of African region by Arab traders at the end of the eighteenth century.

The long-distance traders had diverse backgrounds. At each market centre, local peoples were active traders. However, Muslim merchants were the most dominant group that travelled from the interior to the coast. Among these were the northern Muslim merchants known as Jabarti and Southwestern Muslim Oromo merchants known as Afqala. Moreover, the Argoba from the Kingdom of Shewa were also active merchants in the trade between Harar and the northern Somali coast.

Activity 3.1

1. Identify the traders who dominated the long-distance trade in Ethiopia and the Horn in the nineteenth century.

2. How did trade become the most important catalyst in the relations between peoples and polities in Ethiopia and the Horn?

3.1.2. The Role of Cottage Industries

Brainstorming

*   What is a cottage industry?

The Cottage industry and handicraft technology existed in Ethiopia since time immemorial. The most common cottage industries were metalworking, pottery, tannery, carpentry, masonry, weaving, jewellery and basket making.

The general public's attitude towards artisans was not at all encouraging as they were mostly disdained and marginalized. Consequently, the locally produced agricultural implements and household furniture did not show any significant improvement and sophistication.

Among the cottage industries, blacksmiths were responsible for the manufacture of a wide variety of articles of considerable economic and military importance in many parts of the country. These included ploughshares and the iron parts of pick-axes, sickles and other agricultural implements, as well as knives and razors, spearheads, daggers, swords, bullets and spare parts for the rifles.

Moreover, tent-pegs, hammers, pincers, drills, nails, hatchets, saws and files, steels for striking fire, pans on which to cook bread, bits and stirrups for horses and mules, chains and rings were also manufactured by smiths. Any examination of the history of Ethiopian crafts reveals the creative genius of the Ethiopian people, as well as their importance in the country's economy and civilization.

Figure 3.1 Local professional's different handicraft product

Activity 3.2

1. Be in a group and report to the class the raw materials used for making the above handicrafts products (Pots, Cloth and *Lemat*)
2. Mention the economic importance of the cottage industry
3. **Additional Activity:** By visiting the local cottage industry in your locality report how the industries are a basis for development, and how the local community treated the craftworkers.

3.2 The Making of Modern Ethiopian State 1855-1913

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- identify the reforms made by Tewodros II;
- explain the causes, process and impacts of unification and territorial expansion;
- compare and contrast the roles played by Tewodros II, Yohannes IV and Menilek II in the making of modern Ethiopia.

Brainstorming

- What was the *Zemene Mesafint*? Mention some of its features.

The making of modern Ethiopia involved the unification of regions and principalities found in northern and north-central parts and territorial expansion into the southern half of the country. The first emperor who attempted to unify the country was Kassa Hailu of Quara, who took the throne name Tewodros II (1855-1868).

Kassa became prominent when he was serving his half−brother, *Dejjazmach* Kenfu of Dambya and helped him in defeating the Egyptians at Wad Kaltabu in 1837. Later, in 1848, Kassa also fought against the Egyptians at a place called Dabarqi, where he was defeated because of the Egyptians' superior military organization, discipline, and better armaments.

Meanwhile, Kassa became popular and this attracted the attention of *Yejju* (*Warra-Sheh*) lords. Therefore, they decided to have Kassa on their side through a marriage arrangement and thus they gave him Tewabech, the daughter of *Ras* Ali II. He was also appointed as the governor of *Quara*. However, Kassa felt that he was not treated well by *Ras* Ali and his mother, *Etege* Menen. Hence he gradually fought against the *Yejju* nobles and other regional lords.

The major regional lords defeated by Kassa Hailu before his coronation were: *Dejjach* Goshu Zewde of Gojjam at Gur Amba on November 27, 1852; Birru Aligaz and the four other *Dejjazmachs* at Gorgora Bichegn on April 12, 1853; *Ras* Ali of *Yejju* Dynasty at Ayshal on 29 June 1853; and *Dejjazmach* Wube of Semen and Tigray at Deresge on 8 February 1855.

Of the above battles, the battle of Ayshal where the last ruler of the *Yejju* dynasty was defeated symbolized the end of *Zemene Mesafint*. Kassa Haylu was anointed by Abuna Salama at Deresge Mariam on 9 February 1855 and became Tewodros II, King of Kings

of Ethiopia.

Emperor Tewodros was a man with a mission. He understood the precarious condition his country was in. He knew that his country would not remain independent unless some fundamental measures were taken. So, he envisioned establishing a country that was territorially united and militarily self-dependent and stronger. Immediately after his coronation, he set out to unify the country.

The Wallo campaign, where he encountered fierce resistance, started in March 1855. The capture of Maqdala on 12 September 1855 marked the end of Tewodros's campaign to Wallo for the time being. His campaign to Shewa also lasted some five months. It was concluded after the Shewan force was defeated at the Battle of Bereket in November 1855. Tewodros left Shewa by appointing Haile-Mikael, the brother of Haile-Melekot, the king of Shewa who died in the middle of the campaign. But Seifu, another brother of Haile Melekot, continued to challenge Tewodros's authority. Similarly, in areas like Gojjam and Semen, rebellion against Tewodros had already started. Hence, the conclusion of the Shewan campaign marked the peak of Tewodros's power and also the beginning of the end of his reign.

The other aspect of his reign was his attempt to modernize the country by introducing drastic reforms in the areas of military, administration and socio-economy. In the military sphere, he introduced military titles like *Yasr Aleqa* (commander of ten), *Yamsa Aleka* (commander of the hundred), and Y*eshi Aleqa* (commander of the thousand). He tried to organise and replace the regional armies of the *Zemene-Mesafint* ('Era of Princes') with a salaried national army. He established an arms manufacture at Gafat (near Debre Tabor) with the help of European missionaries and artisans. As a result, about 35 cannons were produced at Gafat including his famous mortar known as "Sebastopol."

Figure 3.2   Tewodros's mortar, Sebastopol

To get some extra land to distribute among the landless and increase the productive section of the population, he confiscated church land and reduced the number of priests and deacons in each church to five. However, Tewodros's reforms and modernization attempts faced serious challenges and opposition from both inside and outside the country.

Internally, his administrative and social reforms were opposed by the forces of regionalism, who wanted to maintain their indigenous power in their respective provinces. The clergy saw his involvement in the affairs of the church as dangerous to the church's authority as an institution.

Externally, the lack of support from foreign powers with that assistance he planned to modernize the country brought him into conflict with the British. The combination of these two forces of opposition contributed to his eventual downfall.

The British sent a very large army to Ethiopia to deal with the matter military after they failed to negotiate the release of the diplomatic mission and missionaries with Tewodros. The storming of Meqdela on April 30, 1868, by the British and the subsequent suicide of Tewodros brought an end to his reign.

Figure 3.3 Emperor Tewodros II

Activity 3.3

Individual work:

1. Mention the reforms made by Tewodros II.

2. Mention the two provinces where Tewodros made campaigns immediately after his coronation.

3. Compare and contrast Tewodros's campaigns to Wallo and Shewa.

Following the death of Emperor Tewodros, three contenders to the throne emerged; namely, Wagshum Gobeze of Lasta, Kassa Mircha of Tigray, and Menilek of Shewa. Gobeze came to power immediately after Tewodros as Emperor Tekle-Giorgis II (1868−71). Although attempts were made to create a smooth relationship between the Emperor and Kassa Mircha, the quest for state power put them in enmity and it was brought to an end following a battle at Assem (near Adwa) in July 1871 in which the latter became victorious.

Yohannes IV (1872-1889) attempted to introduce a decentralized system of administration permitting regional rulers to exercise a great deal of autonomy. A typical example of this was his recognition of Menilek as *Nigus* of Shewa in 1878 by the Liche agreement. Similarly, Yohannes designated *Ras* Adal Tesema of Gojjam as *Nigus* Tekle-Haymanot of Gojjam and Kafa in 1881. He succeeded in achieving the unity of the predominantly Christian provinces, including Wag and Lasta, Simen, Begemidr, Amhara Saynt, Gojjam, Wallo, Shewa, and the Mereb Milash for quite some time.

Emperor Yohannes IV sought to end the religious controversy within the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahdo Church (EOTC) and presided over the Council of Boru Meda (1878), where Tewahdo was declared the only doctrine of the EOTC. Ethiopian Muslims, especially those of Wallo, were forced to be converted to Orthodox Christianity.

Hence, some superficially converted while others preferred migration to other areas like Arsi, Gurage, Jimma and Sudan. However, the Wallo leaders such as Mohammed Ali and Amede Liban were converted to Christianity and changed their names to *Ras* Mikael and *Dejjach* Hayle-Mariam, respectively.

Figure 3.4 Emperor Yohannes IV

Exercise 3.1

Part I: Choose the correct answer for each of the following questions.

1. Which of the following is not among the battles fought by Kassa Hailu?

    A. Ayshal   B. Deresge   C. Wad Kaltau   D. Gorgora Bichign

2. Which of the following chronological order is **correct** about the battles fought by Kassa Hailu from the earliest to the latest?

    A. Ayshal- Deresge-Gorgora Bichign-Gur Amba

    B. Gur Amba- Ayshal- Deresge -Gorgora Bichign

    C. Deresge-Gorgora Bichign Gur Amba-Ayshal

    D. Gur Amba- Gorgora Bichign- Ayshal-Deresge

3. Which of the following battles gave Kassa Hailu a lesson to modernize his army?

    A. Debarki   B. Deresege   C. Ayshal   D.Wad kaltabu

4. The main reason for the conflict between Tewodros and the British was

    A. his foreign policy was anti-Great Britain

    B. Tewodros's desire to test his military skill

    C. the British refused the request of Tewodros

    D. the British colonial adventure of the 19th century

5.The first modern emperor who attempted to unify the country was

    A. Menilek II   B. Yohannes IV   C. Tewodros II   D. Haile Selassie I

6. Which of the following symbolized Tewodros II modernization attempt?

    A. Gafat   B. Boru Meda   C. Liche   D. Adwa

7. Which of the following is among the significances of the Battle of Ayshal?

    A. It marked the beginning of the Zemene Mesafint

    B. It symbolized the end of Zemene Mesafint

C. It brought the religious controversy to an end

D. it was the last battle fought by Kassa Hailu.

8. According to the Liche Agreement of 1878

   A. Yohnnes IV recognized Menilek as King of Shawa

   B. Yohannes designated Ras Adal Tesema of Gojjam as Nigus Tekle-Haymanot

   C. the controversy within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (EOC) ended

   D.All of the above

The process of territorial expansion carried out during the time of Menilek II can be categorized into three phases. The first phase of his territorial expansion was made when he was king of Shewa (1865-89). The second phase was from the time of his coronation as emperor of Ethiopia in 1889 up to the battle of Adwa in 1896 and the third phase was after the battle of Adwa (1896-1900).

Figure 3.5   Emperor Menilek II

By the 1870s, Menilek incorporated the Tulama and eastern Macha Oromo territories. The Shewan Oromo notables like *Ras* Gobana Dache played a pivotal role in the territorial expansion and the creation of the modern Ethiopian Empire. In this decade, the northern Gurage, the Kistane or Soddo Gurage peacefully submitted without resistance to Menilek while the western Gurage, led by Hassan Enjamo of Qabena, strongly resisted Menilek's force until *Ras* Gobana defeated them in 1888.

Figure 3.6   *Ras* Gobana Dache

Menilek's territorial expansion to western & southwestern Ethiopia was concluded through both forceful and peaceful submissions. The area south of the Abay River, particularly Horro Guduru was controlled by *Ras* Adal (Nigus Tekle-Haymanot) for some time up to the time   of his defeat at Embabo by Menilek's commander, *Ras* Gobana. After the Battle of Embabo, Leqa-Naqamte, Leqa-Qellem, and Jimma Abba Jifar submitted to Menilek peacefully, who promised them to recognize and maintain their autonomy.

Figure 3.7   Abba Jifar II of Jimma

However, in some of the Oromo inhabited territories like in Arsi and Hararghe Menilek encountered stiff resistance. For instance, it took him six different campaigns from 1882 to 1886 to pacify the Arsi Oromo. Finally, the Arsi resistance was suppressed by the forces of *Ras* Darge Sahla Sellasie at the battle of Azule on 6 September 1886.

In Haraghe, the combined forces of the Harari and the Oromo attempted to resist Menilek's expansion. Yet, their forces were defeated at the battle of Chalanqo on 6 January 1887. This was followed by the appointment of *Dejjach* (later *Ras*) Mekonnen Welde-Mikael as governor of the province by Emperor Menilek II.

In 1889, Menilek became the emperor of Ethiopia and he continued the process of expansion with renewed vigour. A year before his coronation, the country was hit by the Great Famine or Kefu Qan (1888-92), which devastated the nation and seriously depleted the cattle population. The immediate cause of the famine was the rinderpest epidemic triggered by the Italian importation of infected cattle through Massawa. The famine partly necessitated and gave further momentum to territorial expansion in southern Ethiopia. As a result, starting from1889 up to 1894, areas like Dawuro, Konta, Kambata, Bale, Sidama, Gamo Gofa and Wolaita were incorporated. The incorporation of Wolaita was made possi-

ble after the suppression of a stiff popular resistance which resulted in the death of a large number of people in 1894. The Wolaita resistance was put under control after Kawo Tona (the last king of Wolaita) was arrested. It was followed by the incorporation of Gedeo, Borana and Konso.

Figure 3.8 Kawo Tona

In 1897, Kafa was incorporated after the forces of Tato Gaki Sherocho (the last king of Kafa) were defeated by Menilek's army led by *Ras* Wolde Giorgis. Similarly, Emperor Menilek extended his authority over Benishangul and Gambella, setting the stage for a formal agreement in I902 on borders with the British as the colonial power in Sudan. The process of territorial expansion was concluded with the signing of boundary agreements with the neighboring colonial powers that continued until 1908.

Figure 3.9 Gaki Sherocho

Menilek II, like Tewodros II, was eager to introduce western technology and administrative reforms into Ethiopia. Therefore, he founded the first modern bank known as the Bank of Abyssinia in 1905; the first Modern School, Menilek II in 1908; introduced the first modern postal system, signed the agreement and initiated work that established the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway with the French in 1894, introduced electricity to Addis Ababa, as well as the telephone, telegraph, the motor car, and modern plumbing. He also started to mint a coin to replace the Maria Theresa Thaler.

The treaty which delimited the boundaries between Ethiopia and the surrounding colonies was signed. The first boundary that was delimited and concluded on 20 March 1897 was the boundary between Ethiopia and French Somaliland (Djibouti). This was followed by the delimitation with British Somaliland in May 1897, with Italian Eritrea on 10 July 1900, with Anglo-Egyptian Sudan on 15 May 1902, with the British East Africa (Kenya) in 1907, and with Italian Somaliland in 1908.

With the signing of these boundary delimitation treaties the process of defining Ethiopia's modern territorial extent is completed .These agreements concluded over about a decade, were significant for the history of Ethiopia. They gave the country approximately its present shape. However, the delimitation on the map was not followed by demarcation on the ground.

Exercise 3.2

Part I: Choose the correct answer from the given alternatives

1. Which of the following regions was incorporated during the first phase of Menilek's territorial expansion?
    A. Arsi   B. Hara   C. Hararghe   D. All of the above

2. The last ruler of the kingdom of Wolaita was
    A. Abba Jifar II   B. Gaki Sherocho   C. Sheikh Khojale   D. Kawo Tona

3. Which of the following was the last territory incorporated into the Ethiopian Empire?
    A. Jimma   B. Konso   C. Sidamo   D. Gambella

4. The process of unification of the northern and central parts of Ethiopia commenced during the reign of
    A. Menilek II
    B. Tewodros II
    C.Yohanes IV
    D. Lij Iyyasu

3.3 External Aggressions and the Unity of Ethiopian People in Defence of National Sovereignty, 1871-1896

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- explain the causes of the British military expedition led by General Napier;
- recognise the attempts of Egyptians to dominate the Nile basin ;
- unravel the results of the Hewett Treaty;
- pinpoint the causes and effects of the battle of Adwa ;
- appreciate the heroic resistance of the Ethiopian people against foreign aggression.

Brainstorming

- Identify the foreign powers who attempted to violate Ethiopia's territorial integrity in the second half of 19th C.
- Mention at least four battles where Ethiopia scored decisive victories over foreign aggressors in the second half of 19th C.

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period during which the survival of Ethiopian independence was put to the utmost test. Emperor Tewodros's modernization drive emanated mainly from the understanding of this danger to Ethiopia. He needed the technical support of Europe, particularly that of Britain, both against what he considered to be the main threat to Ethiopia, namely Egypt, and to assist him in his goal of modernizing the country. As a result, in 1862, Tewodros sent a letter to Queen Victoria of Great Britain requesting military assistance through Consul Cameron. Cameron came back to Ethiopia via Egypt without any response.

> Tewodros held Cameron directly responsible for the lack of response to his letter of 1862 to Queen Victoria of England. He also suspected him of conspiring with the "Turks", i.e. the Egyptians, against him.

On learning about the imprisonment of the Europeans, Queen Victoria sent a letter through Hormuzd RAssem, which did not satisfy Tewodros. After some communications, the British parliament decided to take military action.

Figure 3.10 Tewodros's European captives

To free their citizens arrested by Tewodros, the British sent in late 1867, a large military expedition commanded by Sir Robert Napier. With the help of local allies who had their ambitions and grievances against Tewodros, such as Kasa Mercha of Tigray (the future Emperor Yohannes IV), the British were able to make their march from the coast to the interior.

On 10 April 1868, up to 8,000 Tewodros' soldiers, including his general Gebriye tried to check the advancing British forces but were defeated at the battle of Aroge. The following day, on 11 April 1868, Tewodros released his European captives and on 13 April, 1868, Tewodros committed suicide at Maqdala. This was followed by the burning of his fortress and looting of treasures.

Figure 3.11 The main and key gate to Meqdela

Figure 3.12 The fortress of Meqdela burning after the British expeditionary force defeated Emperor Tewodros II

Map 3.2 Debre Tabor and Maqdala: the two historic sites of Tewodros II

Activity 3.4

Pair work:

1. What caused the conflict between Tewodros II and the British?

2. Which African country was considered the main threat to Ethiopia in the 1870s?

The British showed no interest to remain in control of the country and thus left immediately. However, the easy way in which the British accomplished their mission in Ethiopia created a false impression on the Egyptians about Ethiopia. So, they immediately showed a keen interest to occupy Northeast Africa, including Ethiopia, with the ambition of controlling the source of the Nile. After making initial encroachments along the Ethiopian side of the Red Sea, they prepared a very grand campaign to control the whole of the country.

That came in 1875, when Khedive Ismail Pasha, the Egyptian leader, sent his troops to invade Ethiopia in three directions. First was the Zeila front led by Mohammed Rauf Pasha which resulted in the occupation of the Harar Emirate (1875 to 1885). The second front was led by Werner Munzinger, the architect of the whole of Ismail's scheme for the invasion of Ethiopia, and started from the direction of Tajura (Djibouti) but was annihilated by the Afar.

Finally, Colonel Arendrup and Arakel Bey led another 2,000 well-armed troops through Massawa. Emperor Yohannes IV and his general *Ras* Alula mobilized about 20,000 forces and encountered the Egyptians at the Battle of Gundat (16 November 1875), in which the Egyptian troops were severely defeated. The Egyptians again reorganised their forces and sent army to invade Ethiopia. However, they were defeated at the Battle of Gura (7–9 March 1876).

The other foreign and most dangerous power which came to challenge Ethiopian independence in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was Italy. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the Red Sea region had acquired great strategic and commercial importance. The Italian foothold on the Horn of Africa began when an Italian private shipping company (Rubatino) had bought the port of Assab from the local chiefs in 1869. The port was transferred to the Italian government in 1882.

Moreover, Great Britain secretly transferred Massawa from Egypt to Italy in 1885. Using these bases as a springboard, Italy began penetrating northern Ethiopia, Mereb Melash. But they were defeated decisively at the Battle of Dogali by *Ras* Alula Engida in 1887, Emperor Yohannes's famous general and right-hand man.

There was a parallel development in the northwestern part of the country bordering Sudan. The struggle of the Sudanese people against Egyptian occupation had gathered momentum and drove them out of most of the country and encircled the remaining Egyptian troops in the Kassala area of Eastern Sudan. The only way the Egyptians could save their lives was via Massawa through the cooperation of Ethiopia. So, the British

brokered a treaty known as the Hewett Treaty between Ethiopia and Egypt in 1884. According to the Hewett Treaty, Ethiopia agreed to facilitate the evacuation of Egyptian soldiers encircled by the Mahdist in eastern Sudan in return for, among others, the use of Massawa by Ethiopia. The Ethiopian involvement infuriated the Mahdists and became the main cause for the clashes between the Mahdists of Sudan and Ethiopian forces that lasted from 1885 to 1889.

The first clash between the two came at Kufit in September 1885, when the Ethiopian forces were victorious. However, when Emperor Yohannes IV was in northern Ethiopia busy with the task of checking the Italian advance to Marab Milash, the Mahdists caused a lot of destruction to churches and monasteries, including the killing of the clergy and the laity. In January 1887, Yohannes ordered Nigus Tekle-Haymanot of Gojjam to repulse the Mahdists.

A year later, the Mahdists led by Abu Anja, defeated *Nigus* Tekle-Haimanot's troops at Sar Wuha in Dembia. At this important juncture, Nigus Menilek and Nigus Tekle-Haymanot conspired against the emperor, instead of directly facing the Mahdists. Now, Emperor Yohannes faced what is called the triangular tension, namely the Italians in the north, the Mahdists in the west and northwest, and his two vassals in the centre. As a result, Emperor Yohannes made the following national call.

> ! የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ሆይ ኢትዮጵያ የተባለቸው ሀገር፦ 1ኛ እናትህ ናት ፤ 2ኛ ካባርህ ናት ፤ 3ኛ ሚስትህ ናት ፤ 4ና ልጅህ ናት ፤ 5ኛ መቃብርህ ናት ፦ እንግዲህ የእናትን ፍቅር ፣ የከበረን ካብር ፣ የሚስትን የዋህነት ፣ የልጅን ደስታ ፣ የመቃብርን ከባቲነት አስበህ ተነስ!
>
> Literally, Oh! The people of Ethiopia,
> The country called Ethiopia is firstly your mother, secondly your crown, thirdly your wife, fourthly your child, fifthly your grave. Accordingly, rise understanding the love of a mother, honor of a crown, the goodness of a wife, the delight of having a child, and the shelter of a grave.

Hence, on 9 March 1889, the Emperor marched to Metemma where he died fighting the Mahdists. Internal divisions and hostilities among rulers would result in a huge cost to the country and its people. Among others, Maqdala and Metemma are very good testimonies.

Brainstorming

- What do you know about the battle of Adwa?

As mentioned earlier, the Italians advance in the northeast was temporarily checked by the force of Emperor Yohannes IV. Following the death of Emperor Yohannes, the responsibility of keeping the territorial integrity of the country fell on his successor, Menilek II. The Italians used the treaty of Wuchale to advance their colonial interests. The treaty was signed by King Menilek II and, the Italian representative, Count Pietro Antonelli in the town of Wuchale, Ethiopia, on 2 May 1889 to promote friendship and trade between the two countries. There were slight, but crucial, differences between the Italian and the Amharic versions of the treaty which created misunderstandings between the two countries. Article XVII of the treaty in its Amharic version indicated that emperor of Ethiopia "could" use the good offices of the Italian government in his dealings with other foreign powers while the Italian text of the treaty made it obligatory. Upon failing to get the revision of the treaty from the Italians, Emperor Menilek unilaterally abrogated the treaty in 1893.

To achieve their intentions, the Italians crossed the Marab River, arrived at Adigrat, and proceeded to Amba-Alage. This Italians steady encroachment onto north Ethiopia and the need to defend the territorial integrity of the country has been made clear by Emperor Menilek's call for mobilization.

> አሁንም አገር የሚያጠፋ ሃይማኖት የሚለውጥ ጠላት እግዚአብሔር የወሰነልንን የባህር በር አልፎ መጥቷልና ......እንደ ፍልፈል መሬት ይቆፍር ጀምር ፡ ፡ አሁን ግን በእግዚአብሔር ረዳትነት አገሬን አሳልፌ አልሰጠውም ፡ ... ጉልበት ያለህ በጉልበትህ እርዳኝ ፡ ፡ ጉልበት የሌለህ ከሌጃህ ለምሽትህ ከሃይማኖትህ ስትፈ በህዘን እርዳኝ ፡ ፡
>
> Enemies have now come upon us to ruin the country and to change our religion by crossing the sea coast which God gave us as our frontier. Our enemies have begun the affair by advancing and digging into the country like moles. With the help of God, I will not deliver up my country to them. Today, you who are strong give me of your strength, and youwho are weak, help me by prayer.

Following Emperor Menilek's proclamation for general mobilization, about 100,000 troops from every part of the country gathered at Wara-Illu (in today's South Wallo). The people marched to the front irrespective of gender, regional, and ethnic differences to fight against the Italian aggression. Almost troops from all parts of the country participated in the war. A force led by *Fitawrari* Gebeyehu Gurmu defeated the Italians at Amba-Alage and forced them to retreat to Mekelle. In January 1896, under the leadership of *Ras* Mekonnen, the Ethiopian forces defeated the Italians at Mekelle. At Mekelle, they came

under siege that prevented their access to a well, which they used for drinking. The strategy was commonly called the "siege of Mekelle" and was believed to be designed by Empress Taytu. After some negotiations, the besieged Italian troops were set free and left Mekele, and joined their compatriots at Adwa.

Figure 3.13 Etege Taytu

The last and decisive phase of the war was fought at Adwa on March 1st 1896. The Ethiopian forces were led by Emperor Menilek, Empress Taytu and war generals like *Ras* Mikael, *Ras* Makonnen, *Ras* Alula, *Ras* Mangasha and Nigus Tekle-Haymanot. The result of this battle was a remarkable victory for Ethiopians. At this battle, about 8,000 Italian fighters were killed, 1,500 wounded, and 3,000 were captured. On the Ethiopian side, about 4,000-6,000 troops are said to have been killed.

The battle of Adwa has had a profound impact on the countries involved in the conflict and the people who were fighting for their independence and rights all over the world. As far as Ethiopia was concerned, its status as an independent sovereign state was recognized by the great powers of the world. The first country to do so was Italy itself. By the treaty of Addis Ababa signed on October 26, 1896, and which concluded the war, Italy recognized the independence of Ethiopia. Soon after, several powers of the time (including Italy, France, Britain, Russia, the United States, Germany, Belgium, Turkey, and others) also recognized Ethiopia as a sovereign state and opened their legations in Addis Ababa. In addition, the heroic national campaign, the cooperation, and common successes of the peoples of Ethiopia had a positive impact in consolidating national integration. The victory has since served as a symbol of unity, independence and national pride for all Ethiopians.

The victory of Adwa was the first decisive victory of black people over a powerful white European power. So, for black people who were fighting for their freedom and independence across the world, it also served as a source of pride and motivation. In Italy, too, the defeat led to the collapse of the government of Premier Francesco Crispi.

Activity 3.5

1. Who were the commanders of the Ethiopian force at Adwa?
2. What was the cause of the Battle of Adwa?
3. Elaborate the difference between the Amharic and the Italian Versions of Article XVII of the Treaty of Wuchale.

3.4 The Inception of Power Struggle among the Ruling Elites 1906 to 1935

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- pinpoint the measures Emperor Menilek took in order to avert power struggle among his successors;
- describe the reforms of Lij Iyasu;
- analyse the salient features of the period of diarchy; and
- identify the measures Emperor Haile Selassie took to consolidate his absolute power.

Brainstorming

- Explain the importance of the year 1906 in the history of Modern Ethiopia.
- What do you know about the reforms of Lij Iyasu?

The year 1906 might be regarded as a watershed moment in post-Adwa Ethiopia's political history. Menilek suffered his first stroke in this year, an illness that would claim his life seven years later. This was made worse by the death of his cousin, *Ras* Mekonnen Walda-Mikael, in the same year, who was widely expected to replace him on the throne. As a result of these developments, the issue of succession has arisen. As a result, the

surrounding colonial powers, the United Kingdom, France, and Italy, formed a Tripartite Treaty in the same year, assuming that Ethiopia would fall into disorder if Menilek died. Britain and France will each have a sphere of influence over the Nile basin and the railway zone, respectively, according to this pact. The hinterlands of Italy's colonies, Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland were considered as part of Italy's interests.

Activity 3.6

1. Mention the vested interests of the signatories of the tripartite treaty of 1906.

Emperor Menilek established Ethiopia's first cabinet (ministers' council) in 1907 to address the looming crisis of succession and power vacuum. In 1909, he also named his grandson Lij Iyasu as his successor (regent). In the meanwhile, Empress Taytu's influence grew, but she faced stiff opposition from the Shewan nobles, who saw her as a significant danger to their dominion. They organised resistance against her, and she was forced to abstain from participating in the country's politics in 1910.

Iyasu began to wield his full powers with the fall of Taytu and the death of *Ras* Tesema Nadaw, and his de facto rule lasted from 1911 until 1916. Iyyasu enhanced laws and regulations on the one hand, he announced a series of actions and policies that might be described as progressive and bold, yet contentious on the other. Some of Iyyasu's actions brought together internal and external forces, eventually leading to his overthrow in 1916.

Figure 3.14 Lij Iyasu

Iyasu maintained Menilek's modernization agenda, which included the construction of Addis Ababa's first police force. He tried to reform property ownership and taxation, removed the traditional Quragna system of tying plaintiffs and defenders together, and outlawed the indigenous institution of lebeshay, or magical thief catchers.

Exercise 3.3

Explain the following terms briefly.

    A. Quragna

    B. Lebashay

    C. Terenbulle

Iyyasu was deposed on September 27, 1916, and Zewditu, Menilek's daughter, was crowned empress of Ethiopia. *Dejjach* Teferi Mekonen was promoted to the rank of *Ras* and named successor to the throne.

Following Iyyasu's removal from power by a palace coup, Iyyasu's father, *Nigus* Mikael, tried unsuccessfully to reverse the coup. His plans were thwarted when his soldiers were decisively defeated and he was captured by the Shewan army, led by *Ras* Teferi, at Sagale on October 27, 1916, in the deadliest battle since Adwa.

Power was shared between *Empress* Zewditu, Menilek II's daughter, and Teferi Mekonnen, son of the renowned *Ras* Mekonnen, following the successful palace revolt against Lij Iyyasu in 1916. The political settlement of 1916 marked the start of a difficult and unusual period of dual governance known as the time of diarchy. The time was characterized by an ongoing dispute between Empress Zewditu's adherents, known as the conservative or indigenous camp on the one hand, and the progressive prince Teferi Mekonnen and his supporters on the other. The conservative camp was led by *Fitawrari* Habte Giyorgis Dinagde.

The expulsion of the ministers in 1918, with the exception of Habte Gyorgis Dinagde, Minister of War from 1907 until 1926 was the first step towards enhancing Teferi's power. Habte Gyorgis died peacefully in December 1926, putting an end to their silent struggle.

Nonetheless, there were several open challenges to the regent's expanding power. *Dejjach* Balcha Safo, governor of Sidamo, and *Ras* Gugsa Wale, governor of Begemdir and ex-husband of Zewditu, issued an open challenge to Teferi. The conflicts were ended when *Dejjach* Balcha was removed from his governorship in 1928 and *Ras* Gugsa was defeated at the Battle of Anchim in 1930.

Activity 3.7

1. Who were the protagonists at Battle of Sagale ?

2. Why did the notables challenge Teferi Mekonnen during the period of diarchy?

The coronation of *Ras* Teferi as *Nigus* in 1928 and Emperor in 1930 marked the beginning of Haile Selassie's autocracy. After gaining virtual control of power, the emperor implemented a series of reforms and adjustments aimed at setting the groundwork for autocratic rule.

The first written constitution of 1931 established the legal basis for emerging absolutism. The Constitution provided a legal framework for Haile Selassie's emerging autocratic rule. The constitution recognized the emperor's unrestricted rights to make appointments and dismiss officials, administering justice, declare and end wars, and grant lands and honours.

The provincial hereditary aristocracy lost a lot of political influence with the 1931 Constitution. With the exception of Tigray, which was permitted to be ruled by descendants of its local hereditary chiefs, the country's other provinces lost their internal autonomy and were replaced by individuals nominated directly by the Emperor. The formation of a national army was another measure through which the emperor attempted to consolidate his power. In 1930, the Belgian officers began training the Imperial Bodyguard. In 1934, the first officer training school was established at Holeta, west of the capital, by a Swedish military mission. The first batch of officers three year training program was disrupted by the Italian invasion. Rather than career officers, the cadets began to make history as passionate patriots.

Activity 3.8

Write short answers for the following questions.

1. Mention the features of the 1931 constitution of Ethiopia.
2. What measures did Emperor Haile Selassie take to consolidate his absolute power?
3. Which regional rulers lost their autonomy in the 1930s soon after Haile Selassie crowned Emperor of Ethiopia?

3.5 Fascist Italian Aggression and Patriotic Resistance

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- state the causes of the Second Italo-Ethiopian War ;
- identify the major fronts during Fascist Italy's invasion ;
- appreciate the heroic resistance of the Ethiopian patriots during the Italian occupation.

Brainstorming

- Who was Benito Mussolini?
- Why did the League of Nations give deaf ears to Emperor Haile Selassie's plea during the Italian invasion of Ethiopia?

Despite their defeat at Adwa in 1896, the Italians had never given up their desire to colonize Ethiopia and were waiting for an opportune time to revenge on their defeats.

When Benito Mussolini, the leader of the fascist party, came to power in 1922, he was determined to restore ancient Roman power and glory. To divert attention away from problems he encuntered in Europe, he planned a larger military operation in Africa. Mussolini just needed a pretext to invade Ethiopia after a long period of planning. Ethiopian and Italian forces clashed at Walawal, in the Ogaden, on December 5, 1934, over an ill-defined border between Ethiopia and Italo-Somaliland.

The Italian soldiers crossed the Marab River on October 3, 1935, and by November 8, they had taken control of Mekele. Emilio de Bono, who was subsequently succeeded by Pietro Badoglio, headed the Italian troops in this direction. On the northern front, Badoglio headed the war's most brutal phase. With air attacks, his men advanced quickly into Tigrai. Three hundred planes were dispatched to drop the internationally banned poison gas on Ethiopians. General Rudolfo Graziani was in charge of the Italian army in the south.

Activity 3.9

1. What was the pretext that the Italian used when they invaded Ethiopia in 1935?

The Ethiopian government's mobilization order was met with a huge response. Ethiopia's counter-offensive, on the other hand, arrived more later than expected. The delay was caused by two factors. First and foremost, Ethiopia placed its faith in the League of Nations and the international world, hoping for fair justice. Second, Ethiopians intended to extend Italy's supply line by enabling it to move deeper into the country. Ethiopian soldiers eventually went out to fight the Italians on two fronts: the northern and southern fronts.

Ras Kassa Hailu had overall command of the northern front. Under him were *Ras* Mulugeta Yeggezu (minister of war), *Ras* Seyoum Mengesha (ruler of Tigray), and *Ras* Emeru Haile-Selassie (governor of Gojjam). Ethiopians fought the Italians in three directions. At the Battle of Amba Aradom, the forces of Minister of War *Ras* Mulugeta Yegezu, fought on the eastern front. The armies of *Ras* Kasa and *Ras* Seyoum Mengesha were in the centre. *Ras* Emeru Haile Selassie commanded an army that battled the Italians in Shire, in the west. On the western front, the Ethiopians won a few battles. They were, however, unable to stop Italy's overall advance. Ethiopians were unable to resist the aerial bombardment and poison gas used by the Italians. The battles of Tembien and Amba Aradom were won by the Italians. *Ras* Mulugeta Yigezu was killed in the second combat. Only in the battle of Shire, on the western front, did the Ethiopian army gain a modest victory.

The final battle on the northern front was fought at Maychew, on March 31, 1936. The emperor led the remaining troops and the Imperial bodyguard. The Italians were well

fortified because of the delay from the Ethiopian side and thus helped by their air superiority, the Italians achieved victory over the Ethiopians.

On 2 May 1936, Emperor Haile Selassie, his royal family, and some notable officials left Addis Ababa for Europe via Djibouti. On 5 May 1936, Addis Ababa came under the control of the Italian army led by Marshal Badoglio.

Meanwhile, Ethiopians in Ogaden, Sidamo, and Bale were putting up a strong fight on the southern front. On this side, *Ras* Desta Damtew, *Dejjach* Nesibu Zeamanuel, *Dejazmach* Balcha Safo, and *Dejjach* (later *Ras*-bitwadad) Mekonnen Endalkachew commanded Ethiopian soldiers against Marshal Rodolfo Graziani's Italians. Despite this, they were unable to stop the Italian advance. The Italians took control of Harar a few days after Addis Ababa fell,

The Italians' success was largely due to their greater preparation, superior weapons, a crucial monopoly of airpower, and the deployment of the banned mustard gas. The Ethiopians, on the other hand, experienced logistical issues (absence of roads, radio communication and maps). Ethiopia was in the process of transitioning from feudalism to modernity. Ethiopian commanders lost the Adwa-era military courage without replacing it with contemporary military skills.

Activity 3.10

1. Why did Italians succeed in 1936 where they had so miserably failed in 1896?

Following Marshal Badoglio's occupation of Addis Ababa, Benito Mussolini declared, "Ethiopia is Italian". Italian-occupied Ethiopia was officially merged with Eritrea and Somalia into an entirely new territory called Italian East Africa, or in its Italian version, *Africa Orientale Italiana* (AOI).

! **The Italian colonial Empire called Italian East Africa had six major territorial divisions.**

- *Eritrea (including Tigray) with its capital at Asmara;*
- *Amhara, formed out of the old provinces of Begemdir, Gojjam, Wallo and northern Shewa with its capital at Gondar;*
- *Addis Ababa (later renamed Shewa);*
- *Oromo and Sidama, comprising lands to the Southwest with its capital at Jimma;*
- *Harar; and*
- *Somalia, including Ogaden, with capital at Mogadishu.*

The viceroy was the senior representative of fascist power at the top of the Italian colonial administrative structure. Badoglio was Musoloni's first viceroy, but he was soon replaced (at the end of May 1936) by Graziani, whose reign was likewise cut short by an assassination attempt on February 19, 1937. He was succeeded by Amadeo Umberto d'Aosta, Duke of Aosta, a more liberal figure who ruled until Italy's surrender in 1941.

Ethiopian resistance fighters, named "Patriots" (locally known as *Arbegnoch*), began to reassemble in their respective areas under the leadership of local leaders in order to challenge the enemy. The Italians were confronted with a national resistance almost from the beginning. Despite the Italians efforts to divide the patriots, the resistance movement encompassed nearly all areas and ethnic groupings.
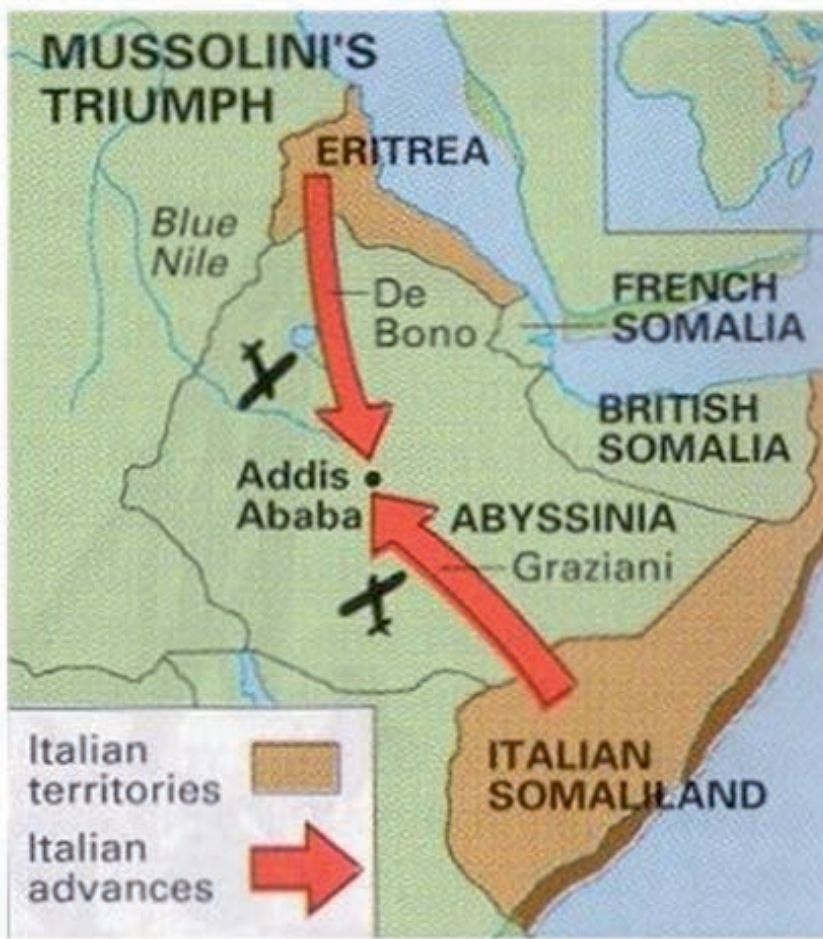
Map 3.3 Italian advances, (source: world War II wiki-Fandom)

The resistance began almost soon after the Battle of Maychew. These Patriots were active throughout the occupation era, making life tough for the Italians, particularly in rural northern, eastern, and central Ethiopia. "ተነስ! አትነሳም ወይ ሀገር ሲወረር ዝም ትላለህ ወይ" ('Stand! Oh rise up; you cannot sit there while the nation is invaded') became the popular slogan at the time. As a result, the country was never effectively occupied.

> ! The resistance is divided into two phases, with the reprisals following the failed assassination attempt on Graziani in February 1937 providing the dividing line. In essence, the first phase was a continuation of the conflict. It was marked by traditional military battles and was mostly headed by upper-class nobles. Guerrilla warfare dominated the second phase, which was mostly headed by members of the lower nobility.

Some of the notable leaders of the first phase of the patriots resistance were *Ras* Emeru Haile-Sellase, *Ras* Desta Damtew, the emperor's son-in-law, the brothers Abera and Asfawason Kasa. *Dejjach* Balcha Safo, *Ras* Abebe Aregay, and *Dejjach* Feqre-Maryam Yennadu. Abune Petros, a bishop of Wallo who became a martyr, is said to have been the motivating spirit. Moges Asgedom and Abreha Deboch, two young Ethiopians, attempted to kill Italian Viceroy Graziani on February 19, 1937. Graziani was seriously wounded while some other officials were killed.

As a kind of revenge, Italian forces massacred Ethiopians in the city. The episode is known as the Graziani Massacre or the February Massacre. Approximately 30,000 Ethiopians were slaughtered in three days.

The Italians primarily targeted Ethiopians with a high level of education. Mass massacres revealed Fascism's real face and sparked a fresh phase of national opposition to Italian authority. This event signaled the beginning of the resistance's second phase. The nobility and local notables launched the second wave of patriotic resistance. It took on the form of guerilla warfare and was mostly concentrated in rural regions. It was mainly strong in the regions of Shewa, Gojjam and Begemidir. Many renowned guerrilla leaders fought the enemy in different battles.

Haile Mariam Mamo, Abebe Aregay, Geresu Duki, and Bekele Woya in Shewa, and Belay Zeleke in Gojjam, and Amoraw Wubineh in Gondar, were some of the popular patriotic leaders.

Figure 3.15 Fighters of the patriotic resistance

Ethiopian resistance fighters lacked a well-organised supply and provisioning infrastructure. They relied heavily on individual donations as well as looting enemy possessions. Patriots often used peasant homesteads for shelter and food. The Ethiopian peasantry provided food and shelter to the combatants. On various occasions, peasants fought with patriots against the Italians. They also provided crucial information to the patriots.

Activity 3.11

1. Discuss the roles of the Ethiopian Women during the Patriotic resistances against the Italian Occupation.
2. Write a short profile of Shewaragad Gadle.

Figure 3.16 Shewaragad Gadle

Yewust Arbegnoch ("inner patriots") made a great contribution to the patriotic struggle. These were patriots who lived in towns among the Italians and frequently worked with them, but who also passed on vital information to the patriots. Some of these group's members used to provide underground support to patriots battling in the bushes. Their main task was to collect weapons, medicine, food, and intelligence reports to be secretly delivered to fighters. As *Yewust Arbegnoch*, Ethiopian women played an important role. Women used to get crucial information from Italians. Some went to the extent of arranging secret killings of Italian authorities.

> **!** In addition to underground activities, there were women that led their troops in battles of resistance. Others served as rallying points to soldiers, when their husbands died. Prominent examples of women in the patriotic resistance movement were Shewareged Gedle of Addis Alem, Kebedech Seyoum of Shewa, Shewanesh Abera of Lasta, Abebech Cherqos of Gondar and Lekyelesh Beyan of Jirru.

The patriotic struggle continued often under difficult circumstances. Shortages of arms, food, clothing, and medicines had always been serious challenges to the patriots throughout the period of struggle. There were also personal conflicts among patriotic leaders which even sometimes led to the extent of armed clashes. The patriots also lacked proper coordination. They had no strong uniting political organization. Their slogan was fighting for the Ethiopian flag and monarchy.

Despite the above mentioned weaknesses, the patriotic resistance continued throughout the five years of Italian occupation. It played a great role in the gradual weakening of the fascist forces and enhanced the liberation of Ethiopia. Yet, the final liberation of Ethiopia was achieved by the combined efforts of internal and external forces which was partly related to the Second World War.

In June 1940, Italy entered World War II on the side of Germany. This incident led to British military intervention in the liberation campaign of Ethiopia. Britain believed that military intervention in Africa would protect her colonial interests. Emperor Haile Selassie, who was in exile in London, requested British military assistance, and a joint Anglo-Ethiopian liberation operation was started in Sudan and Kenya.

In the interior of Ethiopia, patriots joined hands with recently arrived liberation army. Troops under General William Platt attacked the Italians in Eritrea. The two British officers, Major General Orde Charles Wingate and Brigadier General Daniel Sandford, led a joint army known as the Gideon Force with Emperor Haile Selassie that entered Gojjam in April 1941.

The British commander Lieutenant General Sir Allan Cunningham entered Ethiopia through British East Africa (Kenya) and his army controlled Addis Ababa on 6 April 1941. Emperor Haile Selassie re-entered his capital on 5 May 1941 and officially hoisted the Ethiopian flag.

Unit Summary

The long-distance trade routes of the nineteenth century, which linked peoples and states of southern and northern parts of modern Ethiopia started from Bonga, the capital of the kingdom of Kafa. Muslim traders known as Afkala and Jabarti played a pivotal role in the trade. The salt bars (*amole*) and the Maria Theresa Thalers served as a medium of exchange.

The twin processes which led to the making of modern Ethiopia were the unification of regions and principalities found in northern and north-central parts on the one hand and territorial expansion into the southern half of the country on the other. Tewodros II (1855-1868) was the first emperor of modern Ethiopia who attempted to unify the country.

After the downfall of Tewodos, three contenders to the throne, namely *Wagshum* Gobeze of Lasta, Kassa Mircha (Yohannes IV) of Tigray, and Menilek of Shewa emerged and came to the throne one after the other. While the former's reign was too short and uneventful the latter two played pivotal roles in the creation of modern Ethiopia. Yohannes IV was renowned for his attempt to introduce a decentralized system of administration and terminate a religious controversy within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Menilek II was credited for his unprecedented territorial expansion and the creation of the present shape of Ethipiopa through foceful subjugation, peaceful submission and boundary delimitation treaties.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, foreign powers attempted to control Ethiopia. The British military expedition led by Sir Robert Napier came to Ethiopia and resulted in the death of Tewodros II. In the 1870s the Egyptians' attempt to control the country was successfully repulsed thanks to the battles of Gundat (1875) and Gura (1876), in which the Ethiopian forces scored decisive victories over the Egyptians.

The Italians repeated attempt to control northern Ethiopia was also successfully repulsed in the 1880s. However, a conflict with the Mahdist Sudan consumed Emperor Yohannes IV's life in 1889. Last but not least, the Italians attempt to colonize Ethiopia was sanctioned by the glorious battle of Adwa in

The period from 1906 up to 1930 was mainly dominated by the power struggle among Ethiopia's ruling elites.

The coronation of Teferi Mekonnen as Emperor Haile Selassie in 1930 marked the end of the period known as diarchy or dual rule. However, Emperor Haile Selassie was forced to exile after six years as a result of the Italians invasion of Ethiopia in 1935/36 and then occupation, 1936-1941. The Emperor restored to his power in 1941 after the defeat of Fascist Italy.

Exercise 3.4: Unit Review Questions

?

Part I: Choose the correct answer from the given alternatives for the questions

1. The high point of Kassa Hailu's confrontation with the Egyptians came in 1848 at the battle of

   A. Aroghee

   B. Dabarqi

   C. Wad Kaltabu

   D. GuteDili

2. In 1868, the British troops came to Ethiopia mainly

   A. to liberate their nationals

   B. to restrain Tewodros from his wild dream of liberating Jerusalem

   C. to guarantee the safety of the British sailors to India across the Suez Canal

   D. All of the above

3. Which of the personalities is considered the architect of the Egyptian expansion into Ethiopia in the 1870s?

   A. Muhammad Ra'uf Pasha

   B. Werner Munzinger

   C. Colonel Arendrup

   D. General Loring

4. By the Treaty of Adwa (after the place where it was signed) or the Hewett Treaty

   A. the British agreed to restore Bogos to Ethiopia

   B. the British agreed to give Ethiopia free use of the port of Massawa

   C. Yohannes agreed to facilitate the evacuation of the Egyptian troops trapped in eastern Sudan

   D. All of the above

Unit 4

SOCIETY AND POLITICS IN THE AGE OF WORLD WARS 1914-1945

Unit Introduction

The unit deals with the history of the world from the beginning of the first World war in 1914 up to the end of the Second World War in 1945. The major issues to be dealt with in this unit are Causes and Courses of the First World War; the Consequences of the First World War; The October Socialist Revolution in Russia; The League of Nations; The World Great Depression; The Rise of Fascism and Nazism and the Second World War.

Unit learning outcomes

At the end of this unit, students will be able to:

- distinguish the major causes, courses and consequences of WW I and WW II;
- discuss the causes and consequences of the Socialist Revolution in Russia;
- identify causes and impacts of the Great depression;
- compare and contrast Fascism, Nazism and Militarism;
- examine causes for the failure of the League of Nations to protect the world from devastating war.
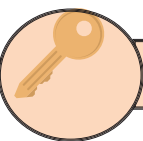
Key Terms

- Fascism
- Nazism
- Revolution
- Bolshevik
- Dictatorship
- Militarism

4.1.The First World War: Causes, Course and the Consequence

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- identify the causes of the First World War;
- assess the consequences of the First World War.

Brainstorming

- What were the causes of WWI?
- What were the two military blocks during WWI?

The First World War (1914-18), often known as the Great War, was an international conflict that involved most of the nations of Europe along with Russia, the United States, the Middle East, and other regions. The major causes of the war are indicated as follows. (See also the video using this link https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OGfAf45ddCo).

Root Causes of WW I

Mutual Defense Alliances

Growing rivalries and mutual mistrust had led to the creation of several military alliances among the Great Powers as early as the 1870s. This alliance system had been designed to keep peace in Europe but it would instead help push the continent into war.

> The Major military alliances during WWI were:
> - Triple Alliance: The Triple Alliance (also known as Central Powers) when originally formed in 1882, Comprised Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. Italy, however, left it and joined the Triple Entente in 1915.
> - Triple Entente:It developed from the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1894 which was followed by the British and French Entente Cordiale of 1904. It was transformed into a Triple Entente following the Anglo-Russia Agreement of 1907. More than twenty countries, including the USA, Japan, the Union of South Africa, Portugal and Rumania joined the Triple Entente also named the Allied Powers.
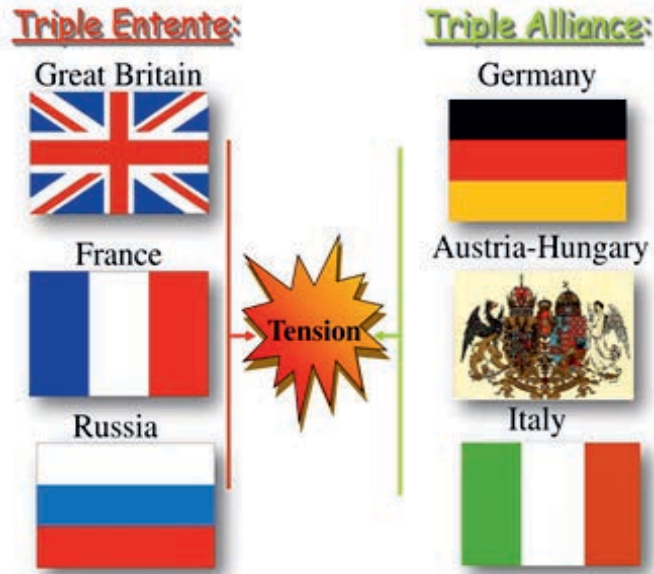
Figure 4.1 World War I military alliances,(source:https://www.slideserve.com)

Imperialism

Another force that helped set the stage for war in Europe was imperialism. The nations of Europe competed fiercely for colonies in Africa and Asia. The quest for colonies sometimes pushed European nations to the brink of war. As European countries continued to compete for overseas empires, their rivalry and mistrust of one another deepened.

Militarism

Yet another troubling development throughout the early years of the 20th century was the rise of a dangerous European arms race. By 1914, Germany had nearly 100 warships and two million trained soldiers. Great Britain and Germany both greatly increased their navies in this period. Further, in Germany and Russia particularly, the military establishment began to have a greater influence on public policy. This increase in militarism helped push the countries involved into war.

Nationalism

Nationalism also created tension between France and Germany. France wanted to avenge its defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 to 1871 and regain its lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. Balkan nationalism was another source of tension. They struggled to be independent of the Ottoman Turks domination.

Immediate Cause: Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand

The immediate cause of World War I was the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, on June 28, 1914, by a Serbian nationalist named Gavrilo Princip at Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia which was part of Austria-Hungary.
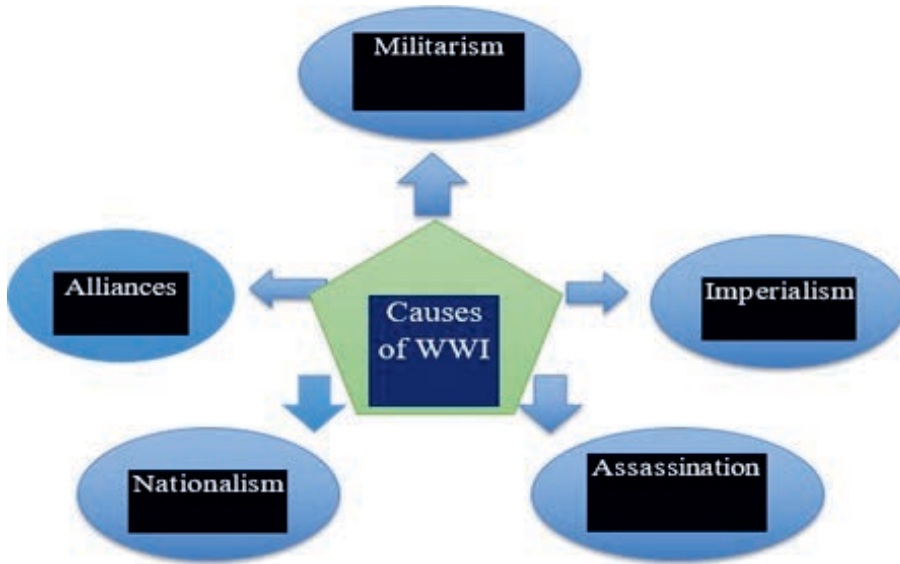
Chart 4.1   Causes of WWI

Map 4.1 Map of Military Alliances, (source:slideplayer.com)

Activity 4.1

Individual work:

1. Enumerate the short-term and long-term causes of World War I.

Course of WW I

The assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand suddenly became a source of conflict in the region. Austria-Hungary used the assassination as an excuse to settle its dispute with Serbia. On July 23 Austria-Hungary sent a warlike ultimatum to Serbia. Serbia accepted most of Austria-Hungary's demands but sought international arbitration on some issues. Austria- Hungary declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914. Within a week most of Europe was at war.

Figure 4.2 Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife,Sophie (source: britannica.com)

In 1914 the Germans followed a plan devised by Count Alfred von Schlieffen, their Chief of the General Staff. Schlieffen proposed to attack France through Belgium and occupy Paris within six weeks before turning on Russia to avoid a drawn-out, two-front war. Then turn east against the Russia, a large and backward country which would be slow to mobilize.

Moreover, Schlieffen also proposed that the Germans should attack the French from the north through Belgium, where the French defence was weak. Hence, in August 1914, Germany invaded France through Belgium. The Germans' attack was forced back at the Battle of the Marne in September 1914, which halted their advance. After that, both sides dug defensive trenches, and a deadly stalemate started on the Western Front, which lasted for the next four years. Meanwhile, contrary to the Germans' expectations, the Russians made rapid

mobilization. As a result, the Germans transferred part of their army to the Eastern front and were forced to fighta two front war. The war in the east was more mobile than that of the west, which was static.
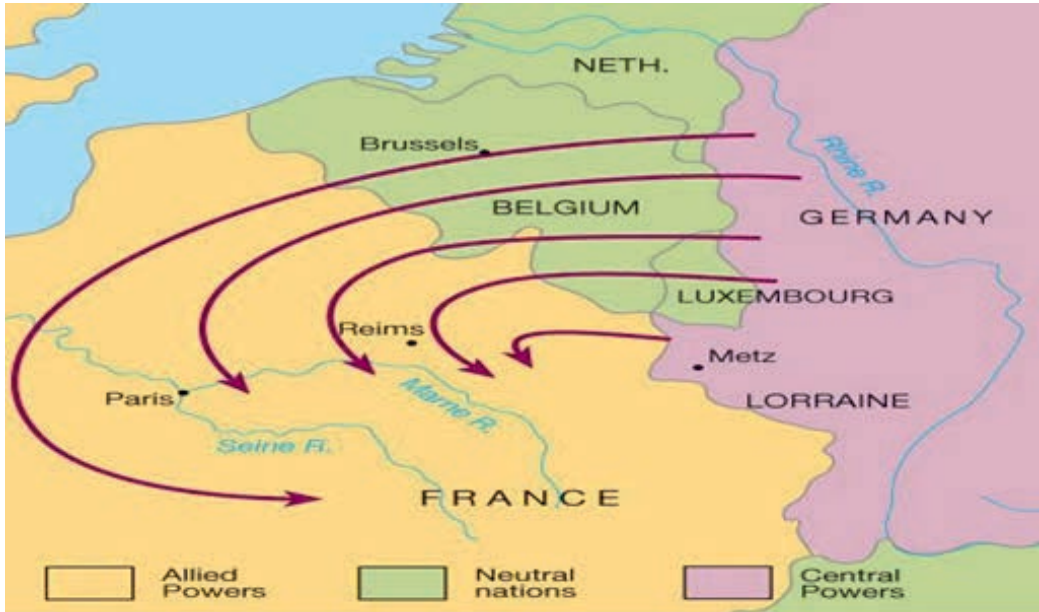
Map 4.2 The Schlieffen Plan, (source: slideplayer.com

Figure 4.3 A British soldier inside a trench on the Western Front during World War I, (source: britannica.com)

Activity 4.2

1. Why was the First Battle of the Marne considered so significant?

In the U.S. Public opinion had gradually changed against Germany after 1914. In January 1917, Germany launched an unrestricted submarine campaign. Furthermore, it was discovered that the German foreign minister, Arthur Zimmermann, had secretly sent a telegram to the Mexican government that promised to reward Mexico with vast areas of the southwestern United States in return for Mexican support against the Americans. Although President Woodrow Wilson's great desire was for peace, he felt the United States was forced to go to war. The US declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917.

Figure 4.4 Battle of the Marne, (source: History on the Net)

Activity 4.3

1. What factors helped the United States to join the war on the Allies' side?

2. Which of the non-European countries had the greatest impact on the war effort?

Map 4.3 Allied powers advance, (source: slideplayer.com)

Activity 4.4

1. From the above map, identify in which country most of the war in the West fought.
2. What was the Schlieffen Plan?

The consequences of World War I

World War I, in many ways, was a new kind of war. It involved the use of new technologies such as machine guns, airplanes, poisonous gasses, and U-Boats (Submarines). According to some sources, as many as 8.5 million soldiers and some 13 million civilians died during World War I.

As a result of the war four imperial dynasties collapsed: the Habsburgs of Austria-Hungary, the Hohenzollerns of Germany, the sultanate of the Ottoman Empire, and the

Romanovs of Russia. The map of Europe changed forever as territories were divided among the victorious Allied powers.

The mass movement of soldiers and refugees helped spread one of the world's deadliest influenza pandemics, the Spanish flu of 1918–19, also called the Spanish influenza pandemic.

Figure 4.5 An emergency hospital during Spanish flu influenza pandemic, Camp Funston, Kansas, (source: the guardian news website)

Additional Activities:

☞By referring to relevant sources, highlight the relations between the Spanish flu and the Ethiopian *Yehidar Beshita.*

Discontent with World War I also helped bring about the Russian Revolution of 1917. In this revolution, the Russian Empire was toppled and replaced by a socialist government led by Vladimir Lenin. In northeastern Europe, new states emerged that had formerly been a part of the Russian Empire. Among them were Estonia, Finland, Latvia, and Lithuania. In the USA, the war brought women more into the US economy and also helped increase their involvement in politics. The Nineteenth Amendment (Women's Right to Vote) was passed in 1920. It also encouraged African Americans to move to northern cities for factory work.

The Treaty of Versailles between Germany and the Allied powers was signed on June 28, 1919, adopting Wilson's Fourteen Points, the treaty created a League of Nations. The League was to be an international association whose goal would be to keep peace among nations.

Although the conference included representatives from many countries, it was dictated by a group known as the "Big Four": Woodrow Wilson of the United States, Georges Clemenceau of France, David Lloyd George of Great Britain, and Vittorio Orlando of Italy. Russia, in the grip of civil war, was not represented. Neither were Germany and its allies.

The treaty also punished Germany and had severe restrictions placed on its military operations. It placed sole responsibility for the war on Germany's shoulders. As a result, Germany had to pay reparations to the Allies.

The defeated nations also lost substantial territory. All of Germany's territories in Africa and the Pacific were declared mandates or territories to be administered by the League of Nations. Under the peace agreement, the Allies would govern the mandates until they were judged ready for independence.

Exercise 4.1

Part I: Choose the correct answer from the given alternatives for the questions

1. What region was referred to as the "powder keg" of Europe?
   - A. Iberian Peninsula
   - B. Alsace-Lorraine
   - C. Austria-Hungary
   - D. the Balkan Peninsula

2. One major reason for the tension between France and Germany before World War I was that
   - A. France had begun to surpass Germany in industrial output.
   - B. Germany wanted to join the Triple Entente with Great Britain.
   - C. Germany controlled French access to the North Sea.
   - D. France wanted to regain lands previously seized by Germany.

3. Which countries made up the Triple Alliance in 1907?
   - A. Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia
   - B. The United States, Great Britain, and Russia
   - C. Great Britain, France, and Russia
   - D. Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy

4.2. The October 1917 Russian Revolution: Cause, Course and Results

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- explain the causes of the October 1917 Revolution in Russia;
- recognise the difference between the February and October Revolutions in Russia; and
- distinguish the effects of the October Revolution.

Various other sectors of Russian society were discontented throughout the nineteenth century by the autocratic rule of the Czars. This gave rise to different political groups who worked in secret. Some liberal groups demanded the replacement of Czarist absolutism with a democratic parliamentary government.

The group called Social Revolutionaries thought that the peasants should rise, and seize the land of all landlords. Such groups encouraged the peasants to rebel. Of all these, the most radical group was that of the Marxists. This group followed the teachings of Karl Marx (1818-1883). These revolutionaries formed the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) in 1898. This party was later divided into the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks (majority) were led by Lenin, whose real name was Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov.

Russia was one of the poorest countries in Europe in the early 1900s. Much of Western Europe saw Russia as a backward and underdeveloped society. The Russian Empire maintained serfdom, a kind of feudalism, in which landless peasants were forced to serve the land-owning nobility. Serfdom was abolished in Russia in 1861.

A population increase at the end of the nineteenth century, combined with a difficult growing season due to Russia's northern climate and a succession of costly conflicts, beginning with the Crimean War (1854-1856), resulted in recurrent food shortages across the vast empire. For instance, defeat by Japan during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) became the immediate cause of the Russian Revolution of 1905. The defeat sparked a surge of domestic upheaval.

The Bloody Sunday massacre of peace demonstrators in St. Petersburg marked the beginning of the violent phase of the Russian Revolution of 1905. The czar's army killed or injured hundreds of defenceless protestors. As a result, Nicholas II was forced to issue the October Manifesto, which purportedly turned Russia from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy.

Figure 4.6 Vladmir Ilich Lenin

Map 4.4 Lenin's Russia during 1917 Revolution
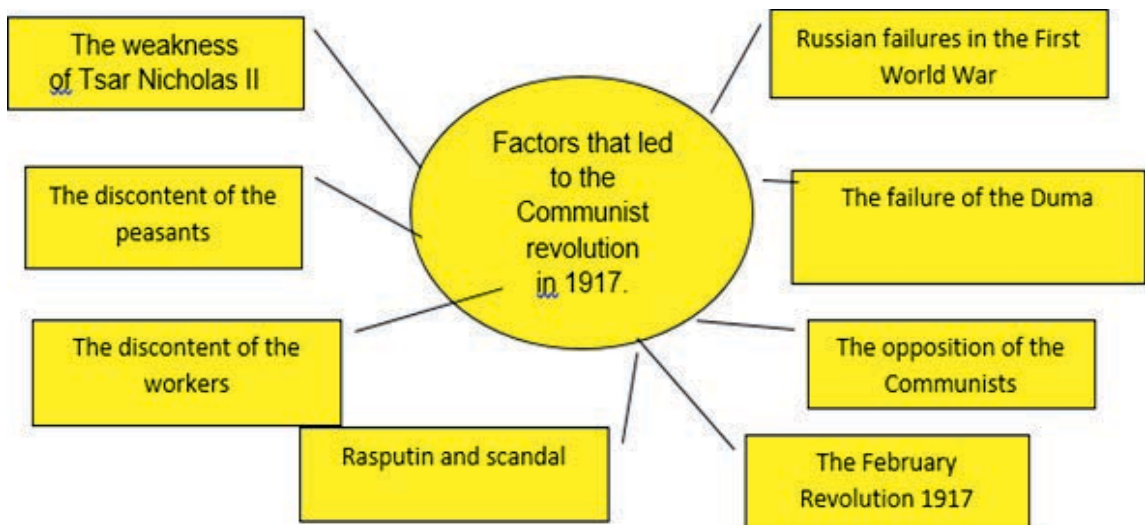
Chart 4.2 Factors to the October revolution of 1917

Activity 4.5

1. What were the basic differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks?
2. Describe briefly the causes of the Russian Revolution.

Tsar Nicholas II and his subjects entered World War I with enthusiasm and patriotism, with the defense of Russia's fellow Orthodox Slavs, the Serbs, as the main battle cry. In August 1914, the Russian army invaded Germany's province of East Prussia and occupied a significant portion of Austrian-controlled Galicia in support of the Serbs.

German control of the Baltic Sea and German-Ottoman control of the Black Sea severed Russia from most of its foreign supplies and potential markets.

By the middle of 1915, Russia was affected by the impact of the war at most. Food and fuel were in short supply, casualties were increasing, and inflation was mounting. Strikes rose among low-paid factory workers, and there were reports that peasants, who wanted reforms of land ownership, were restless. Heavy losses during the war also strengthened thoughts that Tsar Nicholas II was unfit to rule.

The February Revolution

The Russian army lost battle after battle in the ongoing First World War. The military losses precipitated the outbreak of the Revolution. Living conditions in the towns worsened due to food shortages and inflation. In Petrograd, workers went on strikes, and riots became common. Soldiers in Petrograd, finally, joined the people of the city. Eventually, Czar Nicholas II was deposed and this brought the rule of the Romanov Dynasty to an end.

After the monarchy was deposed in February 1917, the powerful members of the Duma (parliament) formed a Provisional Government led by George Lvov, who was succeeded by Alexander Kerensky However, the new government failed to meet the people's demands. It was unable to mitigate the food shortage and bring the war to an end.As a result, it lost support among the general public.

Meanwhile, in Petrograd, peasants, workers, and soldiers united together to form Soviets (councils or co-coordinating bodies). The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, who had recently returned from exile, sought the dissolution of the incompetent Provisional Government.

As a result, it lost popular support. In the meantime, peasants, workers and soldiers in Petrograd came together and formed Soviets (councils or co-coordinating bodies). The Bolsheviks under Lenin, who had just returned from exile, demanded that the ineffective Provisional Government be dissolved.

The Bolsheviks held the following popular slogans:"All Power to the Soviets!" and "Peace, Land and Bread!" with these slogans and their organizing skills, the Bolsheviks won popular support. In September 1917, a military take-over was attempted by General Kornilov, the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army. Following the failure of this attempt, the Bolsheviks strengthened their hold in Petrograd and Moscow where the Soviets were strong.

> The February Revolution, in Petrograd, was a spontaneous protest movement, involving huge masses of people. The event was characterized by massive strikes of workers and demonstrations, the use of the army and the police to stop demonstrations and the occupation of the State Duma in Petrograd. The period between February and October 1917 was characterized by a 'dual power' political structure, representing the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet.

Activity 4.6

Group work:

1. Who were the Soviets?
2. How WWI paved the way for the outbreak of revolution in Russia?

The October 1917 Revolution

The Bolsheviks of the Petrograd Soviets led a popular insurrection beginning on 25 October 1917. The headquarters of the Provisional Government fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks within ten days. The Provisional Government came to an end. The Bolsheviks seized political power. They established a regime led by Premier Lenin and war Minister Leo Trotsky. Soon after they secured state power, the Bolsheviks took the following measures:

- Organised the workers to take over factories and nationalized industry. An eight hour working day was introduced by law.
- Directed the peasant to seize the noble's estates by the decree passed in October 1917. It confiscated the land of landlords and gave it to the peasants. This was an important measure meant to solve the age-old agrarian problem.

- Passed the decree on peace (October 1917) which relieved the soldiers from the war that they were not willing to fight. Russia formally withdrew from World War I, after signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany in 1918.

By introducing these and other measures, the Bolsheviks tried to meet the demands of the People for "Peace, Land and Bread". These Bolshevik measures were disliked by those who lost their lands, and high offices in government. West European powers feared that such an upheaval would set a bad example for their people. The internal enemies of the Revolution, led by the ex-czarist officers', organised military operations and attacked the revolutionary government. Their forces were known as the "White Armies". A civil war broke out and lasted until 1922. The Red army of the revolutionary government succeeded in crushing the rebel forces and saved the revolution.

To solve the mounting economic problems, the Bolsheviks introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921. This policy restored smaller enterprises to their owners, allowed peasants to sell their grains for profit and revived commerce.

A new state called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) was established in July 1922. Secret police called Cheka was also organised in the same year to suppress counter-revolutionaries. Lenin died in 1924 and was succeeded by Joseph Stalin.

From1928-38, Stalin carried out purges within the Soviet communist party to strengthen his totalitarian rule and eliminate opposition. He introduced series of economic plans, called 'Five Year Economic Plans'. The first five-year economic plan lasted from 1928 to 1932. All foreign influence in Russian industry was abolished. Industrialization showed rapid progress resulting in a high rate of production. But the process of forceful collectivization of farms faced serious opposition, particularly from the rich farmers (kulaks), and as a result, Russia faced a severe food shortage in 1934.

In the Second Five Year Plan, however, the situation was somewhat alleviated. The third five-year plan had just begun when Nazi Germany attacked Russia in 1941. By that time, Stalin had already transformed Russia from a backward agricultural nation into a modern industrial state. This economic strength enabled Russia to score a victory over Nazi Germany in the Second World War.

The Russian Revolution became an inspiration for colonized peoples of Africa and Asia in their anti-colonial struggle. The strengthening of the U.S.S.R. after the Second World War changed the international balance of power. The U.S.S.R. became strong supporter of the national liberation struggle in Africa, Asia and Latin American countries.

4.3 The League of Nations

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- explain the ideals that underpinned the forming of the League of Nations;
- assess the successes and failures of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations, headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, was an intergovernmental organization founded on January 10, 1920, as a result of the Paris Peace Conference that ended the First World War. It was the first international organization whose principal mission was to maintain world peace. Its primary goals, as stated in its Covenant, included preventing wars through collective security and disarmament and settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration.

The idea of the formation of the League of Nations was proposed by President Woodrow Wilson of the USA. But the U.S. Congress was resistant to joining the League, as doing so would legally bind the U.S. to intervene in European conflicts. In the end, the U.S. did not join the League.

The League was composed of a General Assembly, which included delegates from all member states, a permanent secretariat that oversaw administrative functions, and an Executive Council, the membership of which was restricted to the great powers. The Council consisted of four permanent members (Great Britain, France, Japan, and Italy) and four non-permanent members. Members of the League of Nations were required to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all other nation-states and to renounce the use or threat of military force as a means of resolving international conflicts. The League sought to peacefully resolve territorial disputes between members and, was in some cases, highly effective. For instance, in 1926, the League negotiated a peaceful outcome to the conflict between Iraq and Turkey over the province of Mosul. Similarly, in the early 1930s, it successfully mediated a resolution to the border dispute between Colombia and Peru.

However, the League ultimately failed to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War and has therefore been viewed as a largely weak, ineffective, and essentially powerless organization. The League failed to intervene in many conflicts leading up to World War II, including the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, the Spanish Civil War, and the Second Sino-Japanese War.

Figure 4.7 The Big Four at the Paris Peace Conference, including British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, Italian Premier Vittorio Orlando, French Premier Georges Clemenceau, and US President Woodrow Wilson (from left to right)

Though the League had failed to prevent the outbreak of another world war, it continued to operate until 1946.

Activity 4.7

1. Why did the United States refuse to join the League of Nations?
2. How effective was the League of Nations as an international peacekeeping organization?
3. Do you think the League of Nations could have prevented the outbreak of the Second World War if the United States had joined?

4.4   The Worldwide Economic Crisis

The worldwide economic crisis, also known as the Great Depression, was the worst economic downturn in the history of the industrialized world. It began in the United States with the New York Wall Street stock market crash of October 1929.

The Great Depression had devastating effects on countries, both rich and poor. Personal income, tax revenue, profits, and prices dropped, while international trade plunged by more than 50%. Unemployment in the U.S. rose to 25%, and in some countries, as high as 33%. Cities all around the world were hit hard, especially those dependent on heavy industry. Construction was virtually halted in many countries. Farming communities and rural areas suffered as crop prices fell by about 60%.

Over the next several years, consumer spending and investment dropped, causing steep declines in industrial output and employment as failing companies laid-off workers. By 1933, when the Great Depression reached its lowest point, some 15 million Americans were unemployed, and nearly half the country's banks had failed.
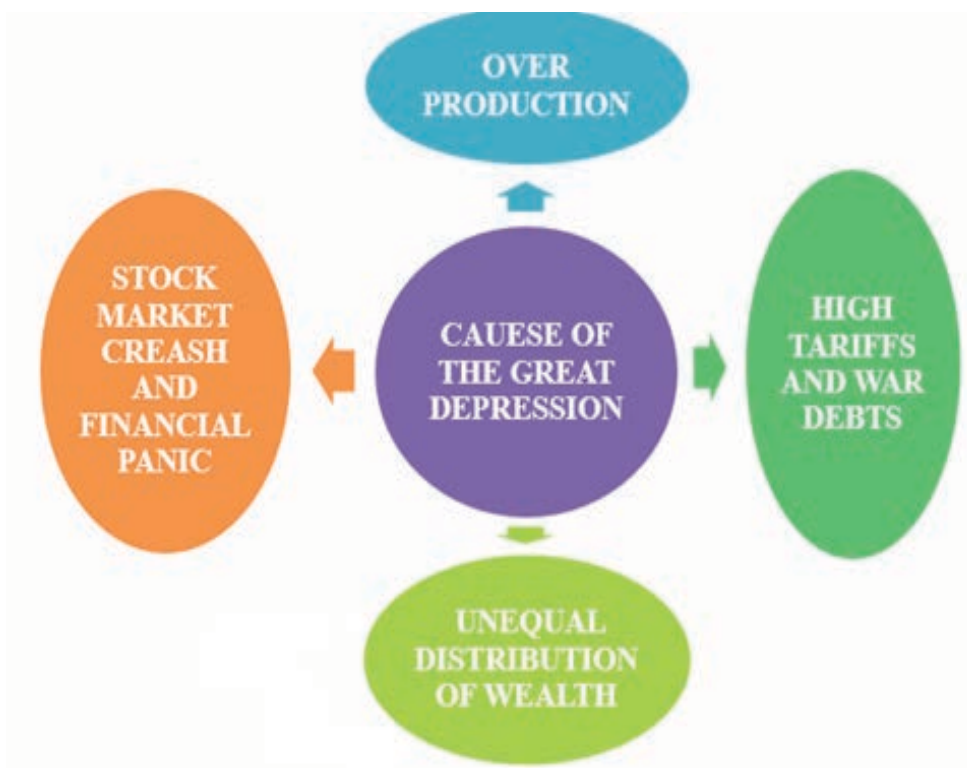
Figure 4.8 Causes of the Great Depression

4.5 The Rise of Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany and Militarism in Japan

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- compare and contrast Fascism and Nazism;
- describe causes for the rise of Fascism in Italy;
- analyse the main causes of the rise of Nazism in Germany.

Fascism and Nazism, though ideologically similar, emerged in Italy and Germany respectively during the inter-war period and turned out to be the main causes of the Second World War. A Fascist State was established in Italy in 1922. Nazis came into power in Germany in 1933. Benito Mussolini had formed his Fascist party in 1919. Nazi was a term associated with the members of the National Socialist German Worker's Party of Adolf Hitler.

Italy had joined the First World War (1914-18) with hopes and ambitions of having plenty after the war for its poor peasants and workers. However, the war rendered Italy great illusions, disappointment and unemployment. The Peace Settlement of 1919, better known as the Treaty of Versailles, too turned out to be dissatisfactory to Italy. The defeat of Germany in the First World War had witnessed important developments such as the Treaty of Versailles, the continuation of the age-old rivalry between France and Germany; the emergence of the first communist state in Russia, and the economic depression in the 1930s.

These developments were directly or indirectly responsible for the rise of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany. Fascism and Nazism, in turn, were primarily responsible for the commencement of the Second World War in 1939.

Figure 4. 9　Mussolini and Hitler

Hitler and Mussolini: Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini were the two most prominent fascist dictators, rising to power in the decades after World War I.

> Fascism is a far-right authoritarian political ideology that emerged in the early 20th century. Fascists believe that liberal democracy is obsolete and regard the complete mobilization of society under a totalitarian one-party state, led by a dictator, as necessary to prepare a nation for armed conflict and respond effectively to economic difficulties.
>
> Fascist regimes are often preoccupied with racist ideologies and practices, such as the Holocaust in Nazi Germany.
>
> The term Fascism is originated in Italy and is derived from fascio, meaning a bundle of rods, and is used to symbolize strength through unity: a single rod is easily broken, while the bundle is difficult to break.

Figure 4.10 Characteristics of Fascism

Causes for the Rise of Fascism in Italy

Treaty of Versailles: Versailles Peace Treaty had disappointed the Italians since it could not obtain any share in the German overseas territories which the other allied powers had secured. Italy had joined the Allies after the secret treaty of London of 1915. The Allies had agreed to give Italy certain areas like Eritrea and Trieste and later backed out. This gave a justification to Italy's grievance against the Allies.

Socio-economic conditions of Italy: There was terrible confusion in the political, social and economic life of Italy in 1919. The economic structure had collapsed due to war and natural resources were scarce. It was argued by the supporters of Fascism that Italy, under such terrible conditions, will be saved by the Fascist revolution. Mussolini claimed that the post-war labour unrest and discontent in Italy were leading the country towards communism, and his Fascist party alone could save the society from the danger of communism.

False aspirations of Italians: The feeling of disappointment after the Peace Settlement of 1919 was fully exploited by Mussolini, who succeeded not only in uniting the people under his leadership but also in increasing his hold over Italy. The people had this feeling that their high ambitions, which could not be achieved under a democratic Italy, would be realized under Fascist Italy.

Impact of Fascism in Italy

Rise of Totalitarianism: Mussolini changed the laws to suit his interests of dominating the Parliament. He dissolved all political parties except his own. Fascists started terrorizing opponents making most of them flee Italy. He abolished the Chamber of Deputies in 1929. Fascist Grand Council was established as an apex body to make laws with Duce (leader) Strikes and lockouts were declared illegal to enhance agricultural and industrial productions. Almost all walks of Italy's life were being controlled by the State.

Territorial Expansion: An increase in population and the need for raw material make it imperative for Italy to have territorial expansion. Mussolini succeeded in expanding Italian territories.

Aggressive Foreign Policy: Mussolini adopted an ambitious foreign policy and persuaded Yugoslavia to hand over the port of Fiume and acquired it in 1924. He established a protectorate over Albania in 1926 and subsequently annexed it in 1939. He also acquired some territory in East Africa and near Libya through negotiations with England and France. He conquered Ethiopia in 1936, which sounded a death knell of the League of Nations.

Led to Second World War: Mussolini joined the Anti-Communist Pact of Germany and Japan in 1937. Thus came into being the Berlin-Tokyo-Rome Axis. During the Spanish Civil War, Italy helped General Franco. The victory of the General in the Civil War strengthened the position of Italy in the western Mediterranean.

Activity 4.8

What conditions in post-World War I Italy favoured the rise of Fascism?

Rise of Hitler and Nazi Party

Several parties and their factions emerged following the collapse of the Hohenzollern dynasty in Germany, each with a strong will to capture power. The communists tried to achieve this end by revolutionary methods. The reactionary elements took advantage of the failure of the Weimar Republic (the government established in Germany after WWI) and stirred up hostile propaganda against the Socialists. In their bid to capture power they blamed the Socialists,

Some Germans believed that the Jews, had conspired against Germany during the War of 1914-18. This propaganda became very effective for the millions of middle-class Germans, who were on the verge of becoming dissatisfied on account of the economic crisis. They began   to join the ranks of the National Socialists (The Nazis), who were backed by the landed aristocracy of Germany. Adolf Hitler, the leader of the National Socialists, tried to capture power in 1923 by coup d'état but failed. Hitler was arrested and jailed, and his party was dissolved. It was during this imprisonment that he wrote the *Mein Kampf,* his autobiography which was published in 1926.

Causes of the Rise of Nazism

The following were the main causes of the rise of Nazism in Germany:

(1) the war and the Peace Settlement left Germany disillusioned and crushed spiritually and materially.

(2) The continuing hostile attitude of France, the quarrels over the Ruhr, the Rhineland occupation, the Saar, and the reparation it was made to pay.

(3) the continuous debate on security and disarmament angered many Germans.

(4) the Weimar Republic's acceptance of unfair treaties and its inability to assert itself more strongly in international affairs.
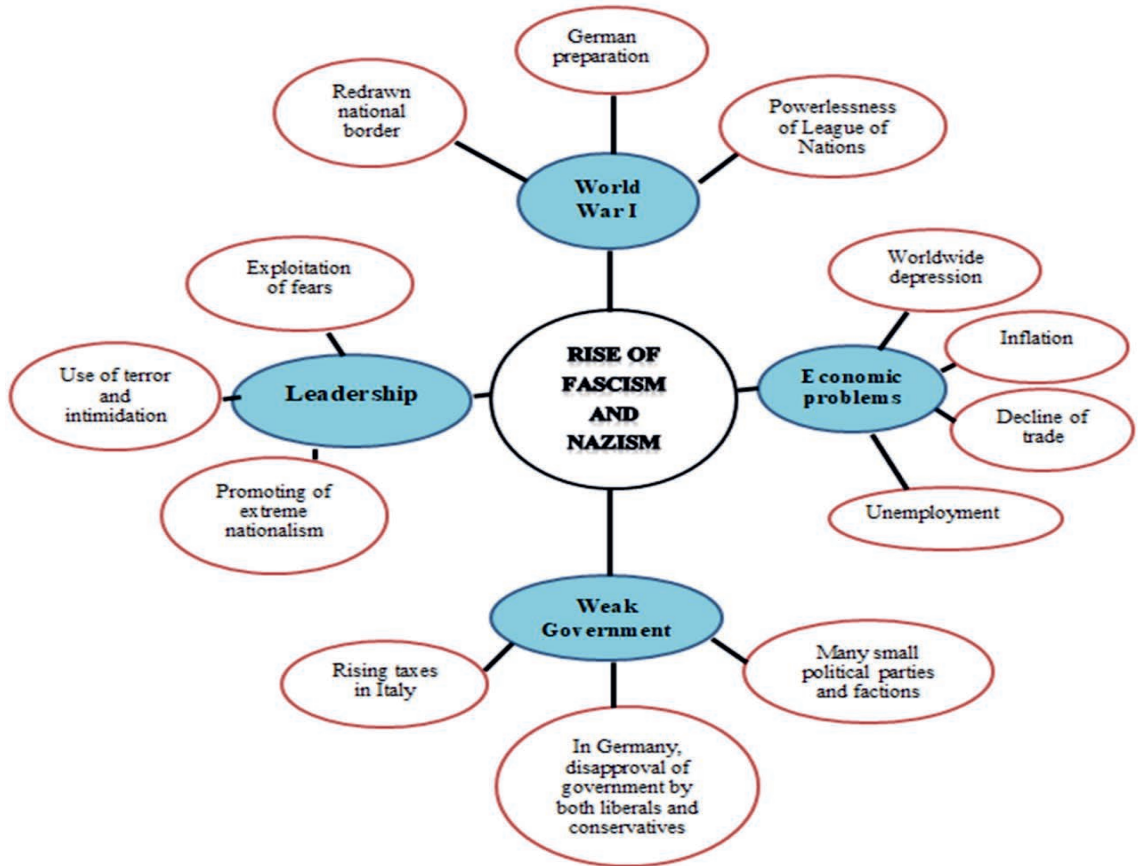
Figure 4.11 Causes for the rise of Fascism and Nazism,
(source: lh3.googleusercontent.com)

Militarism in Japan

Militarism in Japan started during the late Meiji dynasty and continued up to 1945. The period from 1931 to 1945 was considered as a peak period of Japanese militarism. The Japanese militarists believed that the military should dominate the political and social life of the Japanese society.

4.6 The Second World War: 1939-45

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- explain the causes of the Second World War ;
- identify the major military blocks during WWII;
- evaluate the effects of WWII.

The Second World War was fought between two major military blocs, known as the Allied and the Axis Powers, from 1939 to 1945. The Allied Powers consisted mainly of France, Britain, the U.S.A. (from December 1941) and the U.S.S.R. The Axis powers were made up of Germany, Japan and Italy (after June 1940).

The Second World War broke out in 1939. However, the roots of the international crisis went back to the preceding two decades (1918-38). Generally, the causes of the war could be attributed to the following factors:-

Causes of the War

One major cause for the war was the developments that led to the ascendancy of fascists in Germany, Italy and Japan. German Nazis complained that the Versailles Treaty signed at the end of the First World War was a dictated peace against Germany. They felt that Germany was unfairly treated by the terms of the peace treaty. Hence, the desire for the restoration of Germany's old position in Europe derived the Nazis to revenge and aggression.

Italy too, under the Fascist Party, subscribed to national chauvinism. Led by Benito Mussolini, Fascists aspired to build a great Italian empire in Africa. Militaristic Japan also planned to expand the Japanese Empire using conquests.

Following World War I the World entered an international economic crisis known as Great Depression. This crisis created economic troubles and political instabilities in many countries. In the wake of these problems, leaders like Adolf Hitler, Mussolini and Japan, military cliques promised a better future for their people and embarked on a policy of aggression.

The Western powers failed to create a united front against Fascist aggression. Rather Britain, and France followed the policy of appeasement. To avoid another world war they were prepared to allow territorial seizures by the aggressive Fascist states. The USA adopted a policy of isolation (not to ally with any power). But this rather encouraged the Fascist states to intensify their war of conquest on a global scale.

In 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria, a northern province of China. Japan continued to control Manchuria and, when the League condemned her aggression, she withdrew from the League of Nations in May 1933. In 1937, Japan started the Sino-Japanese war

(1937-1945) for the total subjugation of China.

Against the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty, Germany began rapid rearmament endeavours. Even more, Germany withdrew from the League in October 1933. Germany reoccupied the Rhineland in March 1936. Similarly, Fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia in October 1935. The Spanish Civil War (1936-39), in which Germany and Italy intervened, was another indicator of the aggressive move of the two powers. In 1936, the democratically elected republican government of Spain was overthrown by Spanish fascist leader, General Franco.

In March 1938 Adolf Hitler of Germany incorporated Austria under the pretext of uniting Austrian Germans with Germany. This simply was the realization of the age-long German dream of uniting Austria with Germany-Anschluss. Similarly, Hitler annexed parts of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 under the pretext of uniting the Sudeten Germans with Germany. In September 1938, Britain, France and Germany signed the Munich Deal. The Munich agreement allowed Germany to occupy part of Czechoslovakia inhabited by German-speaking Sudeten.

The Course of the War

In August 1939, Germany and the USSR signed the Nazi-Soviet Non-aggression Pact. Finally, Germany invaded Poland on 1 September 1939. This event marked the beginning of World War II. On 3 September 1939, Britain and France declared war on Germany.

Poland was not able to withstand German air and ground attacks. The whole of Poland had been overrun by the German army within three weeks. The Germans called their Polish campaign Blitzkrieg (lightning war). Germany annexed western Poland. The eastern provinces of Poland were invaded by Russia that had territorial claims over this country. From 1939 to 1940 Russia also annexed the Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania as well as Finland, German expansion thus faced the competition of Russia. In the west, the German army invaded France in May 1940 through neutral Holland and Belgium.

The Nazi forces thus bypassed the Franco-German border with its mountainous terrain and French defensive fortification, the Maginot line. They easily defeated the Allied force in France. The British retreated to Dunkirk. The French resistance collapsed. The Germans occupied over half of France.

In unoccupied France, the Nazis formed a puppet government headed by Marshal Petain, at Vichy, in southern France. General Charles de Gaulle formed a French Free government in England, and was determined to continue a war of liberation. Encouraged

by the victory   in France, Hitler launched devastating air attacks on Britain. However, the effective British resistance repulsed the Nazi invasion.

Despite the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, the Nazis invaded Russia in June 1941. Hitler expected a quick victory but Russia proved to be a strong enemy. The Russian armies retreated slowly and the communist guerrilla bands harassed the invaders. The Nazis occupied much territory but were unable to crush the Soviets' resistance.

When Japan attacked the US naval base at Pearl Harbor on the Pacific Island of Hawaii in December 1941, the USA declared war on Japan.

However, Japan secured the support of Italy and Germany. The last two, in turn, declared war on the USA. The USA now joined the Second World War. To stop further expansion of Germany in the west, America began sending continuous supplies to Britain, the Soviet Union and other allies. The Allies also cooperated in the military operations of the Far East but America remained the major opponent of Japan in the Far Eastern war theatre.

In 1942 Germany, Italy and Japan were at the height of their success. The Germans had conquered vast territories in Europe. The Japanese became masters of much of the Far East and Pacific Islands.

In Europe, the Soviet Union's implacable resistance turned back the tide of Nazi's assault. The victories scored at the Battles of Stalingrad in 1942/3 and Kursk in 1943, were decisive. These marked the beginning of the Allied counter-offensive in Europe.

In May 1943 Britain, France and the USA finally drove German and Italian forces out of North Africa. This was the second Allied military victory in Africa. The balance of power was shifting in favor of the Allies in the years 1943 to 1945. The Allies launched successful air and sea attacks on Axis Powers in Asia and Europe. The Alliled Powers opened a Second Front in Europe in 1944.

The 1943 Allied invasion of Italy hastened the overthrow of Mussolini from power. France was liberated in 1944. By June 1944, Allied forces had overrun much of Italy, though some heavy fighting continued till the end of the war. Russia liberated her last provinces in 1943 to 1944 and her troops continued their advance towards Germany. While the Western Allies were advancing into Germany, Russia entered Berlin. Adolf Hitler committed suicide on 30 April 1945. Mussolini was murdered by the Italian communists in 1945. A few days later, Germany unconditionally surrendered. Thus the war came to an end in Europe.

Allied forces, mainly the USA, New Zealand and Australia had already begun reoccupying the Pacific Islands in 1943. The Allies enjoyed naval, air and land

superiority over Japan in the next two years. On the 6th and 9th of August 1945, the USA dropped atomic bombs on the two Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, respectively. US forces occupied Tokyo, the capital of Japan, on 2 September 1945. Japan unconditionally surrendered.

World War II ended with victory for the Allied Powers. There were several reasons for the defeat of the Axis Powers. To begin with, the Axis Powers had their forces stretched over vast territories, and they could not protect the vast territories which they controlled. When the Soviet Union and the USA entered the war, the military balance shifted in favour of the Allies. Nazi Germany and militarist Japan made the mistake of provoking these powers and forcing them to enter into the war. The coordinated military operations of the Allies together with their mighty economic resources and enormous manpower ensured their success.

Effects of WWII

The Second World War had far-reaching consequences. Above all, it caused an immense loss in human and material wealth. About 50 million people, fighters and civilians lost their lives, millions of families were broken, children left orphans, and a significant number of fighters were to become handicapped. Material losses on infrastructures, factories, roads, buildings and others summed up to excel the destructions of the First World War.

The war hastened the process of decolonization in Asia and Africa. Following the end of the war, the USA and USSR became super-powers of the world. The bloodless diplomatic and political competition and conflict between the two powers and their respective allies known as the Cold War-was another outcome of WWII.

The urge for the formation of a new international organization for the maintenance of world peace and order gave birth to the United Nations Organization(UNO), which replaced the League of Nations.

Unit Summary

The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand marked the beginning of World War I. However the major causes of WWI include, among others, nationalism, rivalry for empires and markets, an arms race, militarism, and alliance structures. The Two belligerent Military Blocks of World War I were the Triple Entente (Allied Powers) and the Triple Alliance (Central Powers).

The leading members of the Allied Powers were France, Russia, and Britain. The United States also fought on the side of the Allies after 1917. The chief members of the Central Powers were Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and Bulgaria. WWI lasted until the defeat of the Central powers. The War destroyed empires, established several new nation-states, promoted independence movements in the European colonies, drove the United States to become a world power and led to the rise of communism in Russia and Hitler in Germany.

The League of Nations founded in 1919, sought to maintain peace, collective security, and negotiation diplomacy to settle international issues and improve global welfare. However, the League was ultimately unable to stop Axis aggression in the 1930s, and hence failed to achieve its principal goal of preventing future global wars.

In the aftermath of World War I, Mussolini and Hitler rose to power, using the political and economic effects of the war as a pretext. Hitler opposed the Treaty of Versailles, which made Germany responsible for the outbreak of the war and imposed severe penalties on it, which include among others, abandoning its foreign territories, reducing the size of its army and navy, and paying reparations to the victors of WWI. Fascist leaders used their powers in more extreme ways both at home and abroad, which paved the way for the beginning of another World War known as WWII.

WWI was not limited to Europe. It had a devastating impact on the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. The War also spurred desires for independence in many of the colonial empires that remained under the Europeans' control. The global power balance shifted from Western Europe to the United States and the Soviet Union after WWII.

Exercise 4.2 : Unit Review Questions

?

Choose the correct answers from the given alternatives for the questions

1. All of the following were leaders of totalitarian governments in the 1930s and 1940's except

   A. Joseph Stalin

   B. Francisco Franco

   C. Benito Mussolini

   D. Neville Chamberlin

2. In what country was the Fascist party and government initially formed?

   A. Italy

   B. Japan

   C. Spain

   D. Germany

3. The United States entered World War II as a direct result of what?

   A. The attack on Pearl Harbor

   B. The invasion and division of France

   C. The invasion and division of Poland

   D. Attacks on U.S. ships in the Atlantic

Unit 5
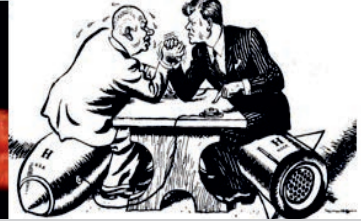
GLOBAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1945

Unit Introduction

Some of the most significant historical developments in world history since 1945 have been presented in this unit. The formation of the United Nations Organization and its organs is outlined at the begining of the unit. Since 1945, there have been several peace deals, both successful and unsuccessful; wars and revolutions, both with positive and negative outcomes. The unit primarily focuses on the history and characteristics of the Cold War. It includes the following key points: The United Nations: its foundation, mission, values, and accomplishments; the emergence of superpowers and the start of the Cold War; Japan, Vietnam, China, Korea, and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM); the Arab-Israeli War; and the fall of Communism in Asia during the Cold War.

Unit learning outcomes

At the end of this unit, the students will be able to:

- evaluate the socio-economic features of the world in the post-WWII;
- examine the political condition of the world during the cold war;
- assess the sweeping changes that took place in the contemporary world;
- identify and discuss the major contemporary historical issues of the world;
- examine the major problems facing the contemporary world; and
- assess the political and socio-economic developments in the Middle East.
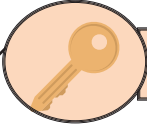
Key Terms

- UNO
- Veto Powers
- Cold War
- Super Powers
- Non-Aligned Movement

5.1 The United Nations Organization: Formation, Mission, Principles and Achievements

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- explain how and why the UN was established;
- outline the founding conferences of the UN;
- design a chart showing the main organs of the UN; and
- acknowledge the principles and roles of the UN.

Brainstorming

- What does the United Nations do?
- Can you think of any ways that United Nations contributes to stopping conflict?

The United Nations is a global organization that was established in 1945. There are currently 193 UN member states. The United Nations' mission and operations are driven by the goals and ideals outlined in its founding Charter. The predecessor of the United Nations was the League of Nations, which existed from 1926 to 1946 and failed to achieve its most fundamental goal of preventing another global war.

The League of Nations had several weaknesses that finally led to its demise. Among these, the first one was the inability of the world's most powerful governments, to join the League, most notably the United States. Second, during the 1930s, League members were hesitant to strongly denounce Japanese, Italian, and German aggression.

Exercise 5.1: Individual work

Answer the following questions

1. What is the purpose of the UN?
2. What are the six organs of the UN?

Figure 5.1 The flag of the UNO

The UN has six official languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish. Five of the official languages were chosen when the UN was founded (the languages of the permanent members of the Security Council, plus Spanish, which was the official language of the largest number of nations at the time). Arabic was added in 1973. The Secretariat uses two working languages, English and French.

> **Timeline of the history of the United Nations**
> - **August 1941**- The U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill signed the Atlantic Charter;
> - **On January 1, 1942**, 26 countries signed the Declaration by the United Nations, which set forth the war aims of the Allied powers. At this time, the name United Nations was originally used;
> - **October and December 1943**:The idea for the United Nations found expression in declarations signed at conferences in Moscow and Tehran ;
> - **September 1944:** U.S., British, Soviet Union, and Chinese representatives " Big Four" met at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington in August and draft the charter; and
> - **June 26, 1945:** The 50 nations represented in San Francisco signed the Charter of the United Nations. Poland was not represented at the conference but signed the charter, bringing the total of original signatories to 51.

The United Nations has four main goals: to maintain international peace and security; to foster friendly relations among nations; to collaborate in the resolution of international economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems; to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and to protect the Earth and its environment.

The essential principles underlying the purposes and functions of the organization are:

The UN is based on the sovereign equality of its members; disputes are to be settled through peaceful means; members are to refrain from the threat or use of force in violation of the UN's purposes; each member must assist the organization in any enforcement actions it takes under the Charter; and non-intervention in matters considered within the domestic authority of any state.

The Structure of the UN

The six main organs of the UN are:

1.**The General Assembly:-** This is the meeting of the representatives of all member nations. There is only one vote per nation. It meets once a year to discuss international problems, consider the UN budget, and elect the members of the Security Council.

2.**Security Council:-** The Security Council is charged with maintaining peace and security among countries. It is the most powerful body of the UNO. The decisions of the Council are known as United Nations Security Council Resolutions. The Security Council comprises five permanent members-United States, Britain, France, Russia and China and ten non-permanent members, who are elected for two years by the General Assembly. The permanent members have the power to veto any of the decisions and prevent any action.

3.**The Secretariat:-** The Secretariat is headed by the Secretary-General and consists of many employees. The Secretary General's duties include helping resolve international disputes, administering peacekeeping operations, organizing international conferences, gathering information on the implementation of Security Council decisions, and consulting with member governments regarding various international relations initiatives.

The Secretariat Generals of the UNO	
Trygvie Lie of Norway	*1946-52*
Dag Hammarskjöld of Sweden	*1952-61*
U Thant of Myanmar, Burma	*1961-71*
Kurt Waldheim of Austria	*1971-81*
Javier Perez de Cuellar of Peru	*1981-91*
Boutros Boutros-Ghali of Egypt	*1991-96*
Kofi Anan of Ghana	*1997-2006*
Ban Ki-Moon of South Korea	*2007-2016*
Antonio Gutierrez of Portugal	*since January 2017*

4.Trusteeship Council:- Trusteeship Council aims at helping countries under foreign rule to attain independence. Eleven such countries came under this system after the Second World War. By 1994, all Trust Territories had attained independence. The last to do was Palau.

5.International Court of Justice:- The International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the UN. The seat of the Court is in The Hague, Netherlands. It is composed of 15 judges elected by the General Assembly.

6.The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) assists the General Assembly in promoting international economic and social cooperation and development.

1   2   3   4

5   6   7   8

Exercise and Activity

Exercise 5.2   **?**

Part I Multiple Choices. Choose the correct answer from the given alternatives

1. Which of the following counties doesn't have veto power in the UN Security Council?

   A. Germany   B. USA   C. Russia   D. Britain

2. The total signatories to United Nations Charter in 1945 were

   A. 63   B. 51   C. 193   D. 76

3. Which of the following is not the main organ of the United Nations?

   A. The General Assembly

   B. The Secretariat

   C. International Monetary Fund

   D. International Court of Justice

   E. Economic and Social Council

4. All are official languages of the "United Nations", except

   A. Chinese

   B. Arabic

   C. English

   D. Finnish

5. The name UN was coined by

   A. Winston Churchill   C. Kofi Anan

   B. Franklin   D. Roosevelt   E. U Thant

Activity 5.1: Pair Work

1. State at least two mechanisms used by the UN Security Council to maintain peace and security.

2. By looking at the photographs of the United Nations Organization Secretary Generals, match the names with the numbers indicated under each picture. .

   Javier Perez de Cuellar (Peru), Dag Hammarskjöld (Sweden) Ban Ki moon (South Korea),Boutros Boutros-Ghali (Egypt), Kofi Anan (Ghana) U Thant (Myanmar) Kurt Waldheim (Austria) Trygve Lie (Norway).

5.2 The Rise of the Superpowers and the Beginning of the Cold War

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- examine the US-Soviet relations during and after WWII;
- point out the salient features of the Cold War;
- evaluate the methodologies employed by the superpowers to implement their political, economic and military goals.

Brainstorming

- Who were the superpowers?

US-Soviet Russian relations during WWII

Tensions between the Soviet Union and the Western powers increased from 1945 to1947, especially when Stalin's plans to consolidate Soviet control of Central and Eastern Europe became manifestly clear in Potsdam, Yalta, and Tehran. The western countries feared that the communists, led by the Soviet Union, were planning to take over Europe.

The Second World War resulted in the emergence of two superpowers: the USA (United States of America) and the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republic).The United States was sole superpower that possessed atomic weapons at that time, after bombarding Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. The American economy was strong and healthy. The United States strengthened its military and political influence in Europe and the Asia-Pacific region, consolidating its status as a leading world power.

The Soviet Union economy was seriously affected by the war. The Soviet Union suffered huge losses, including 20 million deaths and heavy damage to industry and agriculture during World War II. Joseph Stalin wanted to protect the USSR from further attack by establishing "satellite nations" that were sympathetic and allies to communism along its western borders.

In 1944 and 45, the Soviet Red Army liberated and occupied Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary. The Soviets established a communist regime in these countries. In these Eastern European countries, the Allies desired free elections. However, around 1948, the Soviet Union was able to crush opposing groups and completely subjugate East European countries to communist parties. The countries of Eastern Europe were known as

"European People's Democracies" or Soviet satellite states. They were under heavy political, economic and military influence or control of Soviet Russia.

The political, military, and ideological barrier erected by the Soviet Union after World War II to seal off itself and its satellite states from open contact with the West and other noncommunist areas was known as Iron Curtain. The term was coined by Winston Churchill in 1946 during his speech in Fulton, Missouri. It was an imaginary political boundary dividing Europe into two separate areas from the end of World War II in 1945 until the end of the Cold War in 1991.

Map 5.1 The Iron Curtain: imaginary line dividing Europe into two parts, (source: https://www.google.com/search?q=iron+curtain+powerpoint)

Activity 5.2

Watch the following documentary film about the Cold War from the following website or additional reading material and answer the following question: (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NF3u8Ju9aAg)

What were the differences between the USA and Soviet Russia in terms of ideology, economic system, and governance?

Cold war characteristics

The Cold War was the continuing state of political conflict, military tension, proxy wars, and economic competition primarily between the Soviet Union and its allies, on the one hand, and the USA and its western allies on the other, after World War II. It was called the Cold War because there was large scale war directly between the two nations.

As they were significantly stronger than any other country, these two countries are generally referred to be superpowers. The term" Cold war" became popular or got wider currency in April 1947 when journalist Walter Lippmann published a book on U.S.-Soviet tensions entitled The Cold War.

There are different interpretations about the causes of the Cold war. Western writers blamed Russia. They said Stalin was trying to build up a Soviet empire. Other historians blamed America, particularly President Truman as a cause for the Cold war. Recently, most historians argue that misunderstanding between the USA and Soviet Russia leaders was responsible for the beginning of the Cold war.

The fundamental difference between the USA and The Soviet Union

Points of differences	USA	Soviet Union
Ideology	Capitalism, Western democracy	Communism, Marxism-Leninism
governance	multi-party system	Mono-Party rule (One)
Property ownership	Private ownership	Public (state) ownership
Economic system	Free market economy	Command economy

Table 5.1 The difference between the USA and the Soviet Union in terms of ideology, governance, and economy

Both the US and the USSR used various methods to achieve their goals during the Cold war period. The most important strategies of the Cold war include:

A. **The arms race:** from 1945 onwards, both sides have been engaged in a continuous nuclear and conventional arms competition.

B. **Espionage:** collecting intelligence and information through spies and secret agents.

C. **Propaganda:** Information, ideas or rumours disseminated to influence others.

D. **Military Alliances:** the development of opposing military alliances, such as NATO for the United States and Western Europe and the Warsaw Pact for the Soviet Union and its satellite states.

E. **Aid programs:** Both sides strove to expand their influence by providing aid to underdeveloped nations in particular.

F. **Proxy wars:** armed conflict between states or groups that represents the interest of the superpowers.
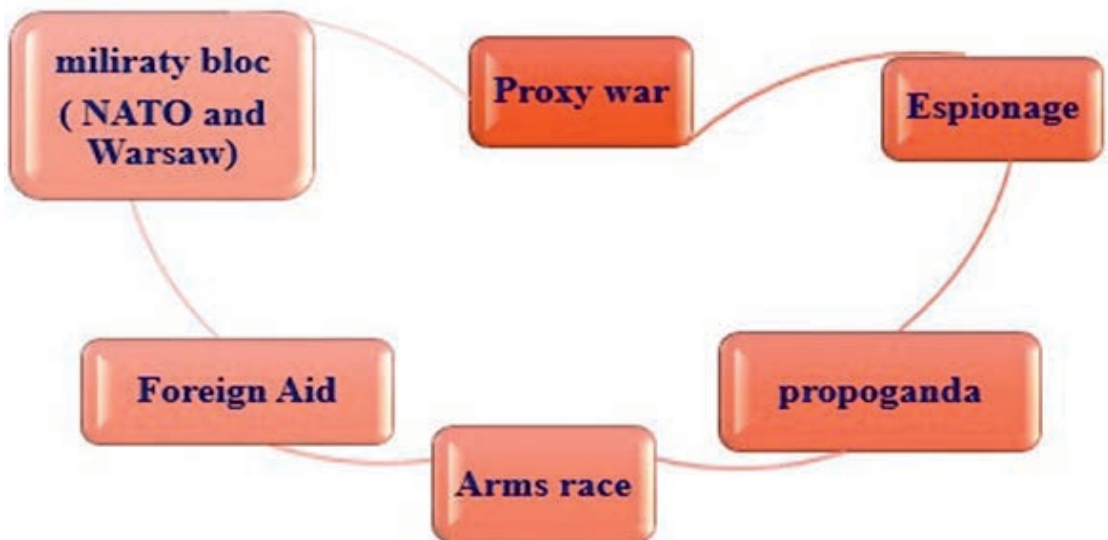
Diagram 5.1 Shows the strategies of the Cold war

Activity 5.3

Small group discussion: Discuss in your group the following statement and present your finding to the class

The methodologies employed by the superpowers to implement their political, economic and military goals.

The Truman Doctrine

Early in 1947, the US emerged as the west's leader in the face of Soviet expansion. When the British government indicated that it would no longer be able to protect the eastern Mediterranean region, Western nations were concerned that Greece, Turkey, and the Middle East, with its vast oil reserves, might fall to communism.
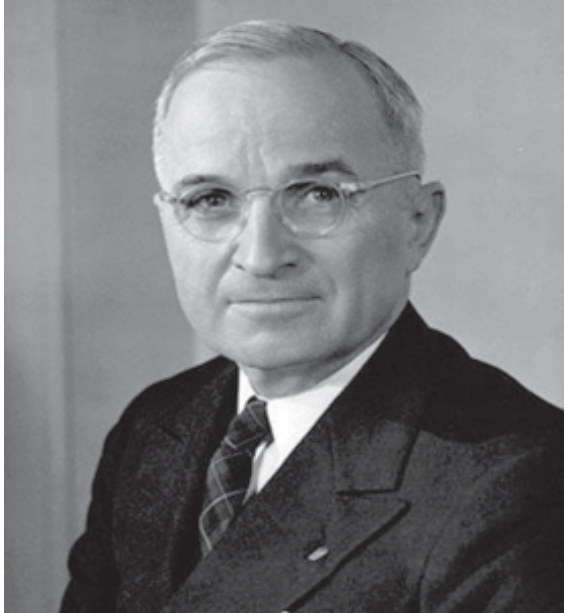
Figure 5.2 President H. Truman

The United States decided to act. It issued what became known as the Truman Doctrine in March 1947. The United States was resolved to stop communism's spread. For this purpose, Truman said that the United States utilizes its money, supplies, and technological knowledge to assist countries threatened by communism. Truman requested $400 million in funding and other supplies from Congress to assist in the defense of Greece and Turkey against communist attack. In 1949, the Greek government suppressed the communist movement with American financial and technical assistance. Following that, the United States adopted a new strategy known as Containment to stop or slow the expansion of communism. George Kennan was the architect of the Containment Doctrine.

The Marshall Plan

Europe was devastated by years of conflict during World War II. Millions of people had been killed or wounded. Industrial and residential centres were ruined. Much of Europe was on the brink of famine as agricultural production had been disrupted by war. Transportation infrastructure was in disaster. In 1947, the United States Secretary of State, George Marshall, announced a new policy that came to be known as the *European*

recovery program, often called the **Marshall Plan**. The USA raised $17 Billion in the economic and technical assistance of 16 European countries.

> **!** *Aims of the Marshall Plan*
> - *Stop the spread of Communism (main political motives of the USA)*
> - *Help economies of Europe recover, and*
> - *Provide a market for American goods.*

Figure 5.3   The motto of the Marshal Plan,(source: https://www.wiki-wand.com/en/Marshall_Plan)

Activity 5.4

What was the central message of the above motto of the Marshal plan?

Exercise 5.3

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Part I: Multiple Choices. Choose the correct answer from the given alternatives

1. What was the goal of the USA during the Cold war?

    A. To help developing countries

    B. To strengthen ties with non-capitalist nations

    C. To contain communism

    D. To prevent wars

2. The first country that benefited from the Truman Doctrine is

    A. Greece

    B. Vietnam

    C. Germany

    D. Syria

3. The main goal of the Soviet Union during the Cold War was

    A. to unite Germany

    B. to spread communism

    C. to militarize Asian nations

    D. to expand capitalist ideologies

4. The architect of the containment policy was

    A. George Marshal

    B. George Kennan

    C. Truman

    D. W. Churchill

5. The Soviet satellites states were

    A. Western European countries that followed the socialist path of development

    B. Eastern European countries that followed the capitalist path of development

    C. Countries that were under the influence or aligned with the USA

    D. Countries that were aligned with or influenced by the Soviet Union

The Americans also tried to extend aid to the Soviet Union and its satellites, but the latter rejected it. Joseph Stalin, the Soviet leader, denounced it as a "Dollar Imperialism," and banned the Soviet satellites from joining it. The Soviet response to the Marshal plan was known as the Molotov Plan, named after the Russian foreign minister, to provide aid to rebuild the countries in Eastern Europe that were politically and economically aligned to the Soviet Union (aka satellite state).

Figure 5.4 George Marshal, American Secretary of State

The Division of Germany

After conquering Nazi Germany in WWII, the occupying powers split Germany into four zones: Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States. Even though each power was in command of its own zone, the four powers aspired to administer Germany collaboratively and cooperatively. Despite its location in the heart of the Soviet Zone in Eastern Germany, Berlin was split into four parts. In January 1948, the United Kingdom and the United States united their two zones and named it *Bizonia*. Later , the *Trizonia* (three zones) was created when the French zone merged into *Bizonia* in April 1949.

The Berlin Blockade, which lasted from 24 June 1948 to 12 May 1949, was one of the Cold War's first significant international crises. Stalin imposed the Berlin Blockade in June 1948, prohibiting food, resources, and supplies from reaching West Berlin. The large "Berlin airlift," which supplied West Berlin with food and other supplies, was launched by the United States and numerous other nations in response. The Soviet Union lifted the blockade of West Berlin on May 12, 1949. The Berlin Blockade exposed postwar Europe's conflicting ideological and economic ambitions.

One of the consequences of the Berlin blockade was the establishment of two German states. In August 1949, the western powers set up the German Federal Republic (FRG), known as West Germany. Konrad Adenauer became the first Chancellor of FRG. The German Democratic Republic (GDR), or East Germany began to function as a state on

7 October 1949. Germany remained divided until the collapse of communism in East Germany (December 1989).

Map 5.2 The division of Germany, (source: Adapted from https://slidetodoc.com/division-of-germany-where-germany-europe-west-germany/)

> *The consequences of the Berlin Blockade:*
> - *Cold War worsened*
> - *Two Germans created: East and West Germany*
> - *Led to formation of military blocs: NATO and the Warsaw Pact*
> - *Arms Race intensified.*

Military Blocs and the Arms Race

In March 1948 Britain, France, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg signed the Brussels Defense Treaty promoting collaboration in case of war. It was becoming increasingly clear that no European force would be strong enough to stop the Soviet Red Army if Stalin attacked them As a result, in March 1949, the Brussels Pact opened secret negotiations with the Americans, and in April 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was founded. It was signed by 12 nations, namely the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Portugal, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Canada, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Luxembourg. Greece and Turkey joined in 1952, and West Germany in 1955.

In May 1955, in Warsaw, Poland, the Soviet government held a meeting of representatives of the governments of Eastern Europe communist bloc-Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania who formed a military bloc known as the **Warsaw Pact**.

The Arms Race

The Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union was possibly the world's greatest and most costly weapons race. The arms race is defined as a fast growth in the number or quality of military force instruments. The atomic bombings of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 sparked an arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union. This event signalled the start of the Nuclear Age. However, the Soviet Union launched an atomic weapon in 1949, initiating the Cold War nuclear arms race. Both sides were competing to acquire more nuclear weapons than the other. They also attempted to create more powerful weaponry.

In the 1950s, tension grew between the two superpowers. The Americans worried about an advancing tide of communism following the success of the communist revolution in Asia. In 1949, Mao Tse Tung(Mao Zedong) established the Chinese communist government. In 1950, Communist North Korea invaded South Korea. There were strong communist movements in Vietnam. The arms race was intensified as both powers invested a huge amount of their budget in the production of armaments.

> *Arms Race timeline*
> - **1952**- *Americans exploded the Hydrogen bomb. 2500 times more powerful than the atomic bomb*
> - **1953**- *the Russian produced Hydrogen bomb*
> - **1953-55**: *This was a period of soft relations (Thaw) between the USA and Soviet Russia. The factors that contributed to these developments were: the death of Joseph Stalin and his successor Khrushchev came with a policy of destalinization and peace co-existence*
> - **21 August 1957**-*First ICBM missile was launched by USSR.*
> - **4 October 1957**- *the Soviets launched the first earth satellite known as Sputnik. Nuclear arms supremacy became in the hands of Russian in 1957.*

Another development in the arms race was the invention of ICBM (Intercontinental Ballistic Missile). The Russians were the first to produce ICBM. The ICBM is a nuclear war that carried a rocket powerful to hit America when fired from Russia. Soon the Americans produced their version known as the Atlas.

Figure 5.5 Intercontinental Ballistic Missile, (source: https://www.google.com/search?q=intercontinental+ballistic+missiles+cold+war)

The arms race between the two superpowers increased fear and hostility on the part of the countries involved in the race and the world at large. Moreover, it had displaced more productive forms of investment. For instance, the Soviet Union's economic difficulties were certainly aggravated by the very high proportion of the gross domestic product devoted to arms.

The weapons race has an impact on poorer countries as well, because those emerging countries were victims of the debt issue as they imported more weaponry from manufacturers. The arms race intensified the probability of war by undermining military stability and damaging political relations.

Excersice 5.4

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1. Explain the economic and political motives of the Marshal plan.

2. What were the effects of an arms race on both the USA and the Soviet Union?

5.3 Situations in Asia During the Cold War: Japan, Korea, China, Vietnam

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the student will be able to:

- appreciate the national liberation movements of Asian people;
- compare and contrast the role of the USA and the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of Asian nations after WWII ;
- explain how the Non-Aligned Movement started; and
- discuss the achievements of the Non -Aligned Movement.

Brainstorming

- Show the location of Japan, China, Vietnam and Korea on the political map of the world.
- What do you know about the following personalities: Mao Tse Tung, Ho Chi Minh?

Japan

Before World War II, Japan had been the most industrialized of the Asian nations. Although the destruction of many factories and loss of its Asian possessions hurt Japan's economy, its post-war recovery was rapid and impressive. The Cold war led to a reversal of Japan's international position.

Since its loss in World War II, Japan has been a close ally of the United States. The success of the communists in China and Korea shifted American strategy in Japan. The US-led economic assistance packages quickly renewed the kind of industrial growth that had turned Japan into an imperial capitalist nation before the war. The United States began assisting Japan as a prospective ally in the face of Soviet expansion. Japan's postwar

experience has been distinct. In the post-World War II era, Japan's success was an economic miracle. By 1985, Japan became the world's second-largest industrial power, with increasing dominance in international commerce. By the mid-1980s, Japan had a massive trade surplus all over the world, especially with the United States and Europe.

China

During World War II, China was occupied by the Japanese army. The two conflicting forces in China, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) led by **Mao Tse Tung (Mao Zedong),** and the nationalists or Kuomintang party(**KMT)** led by **Chiang Kai-shek** had agreed to stop their civil war and form a united front against their common enemy, Japan. Their alliance had broken down before the end of the war. During the civil war from 1946 to 1949, the CCP won and gained upper hand. In October 1949, the People's Republic of China (PRC) was formed by the Chinese Communists and forced the Kuomintang government to flee to Taiwan (Formosa).

During the civil war period, the Americans were the supporters of the Chiang Kai-shek government. The USA government continued to support the nationalist Government in Taiwan. The Chinese Communist Party regarded the US as a serious threat to Communist China. In June 1949, the Chinese Communist leader Mao announced that New China would support the Soviet Union in international affairs. The Chinese and Soviet leaders signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance on February 14, 1950. The alliance was

The United States had given aid to the Chiang Kai-shek government for many years and kept troops and a fleet based in Taiwan. The Republic of China, also called Nationalist China led by Chiang Kai Shek, occupied China's permanent seat on the United Nation's Security Council. The US used its veto power not to admit Communist China to the UN. In 1971, however, the PRC was admitted to the UN and the Nationalists were expelled.

The Korean War: 1950-53

From 1910 to 1945, Korea was a colony of Japan. By agreement, at the end of World War II, the Soviet Union occupied northern Korea and the United States occupied southern Korea. The dividing line was the 38th parallel of latitude. Each occupying power organised the government in its zone. In 1948, The Republic of Korea was formed in South Korea with Syngman Rhee as president. Its capital was Seoul. At the same time a Democratic People's Republic, Known as North Korea, was formed in the north. Its president was Kim Il Sung. The United States recognized South Korea as the legal government, while communist countries recognized only North Korea.

In June 1950, the North Korean army invaded South Korea. As Kim Il-Sung's North Korean army, armed with Soviet tanks, quickly overran South Korea, the United States came to South Korea's aid. The United Nations members supported South Korea with manpower and supplies to resist the aggression.

The UN troops crossed to North Korea and approached the border of China. This provoked the Chinese to launch a massive attack against the UN forces and South Korea. A Chinese army of 300,000 men (Known as the "Volunteers") forced the UN troops to retreat. In 1953 a peace treaty was signed at **Panmunjom** that ended the Korean War.

> **!** *Result of the Korean War*
> - *Death and displacement of Koreans industries destroyed, agriculture ruined, and millions became refugees*
> - *Saved South Korea from communism.*
> - *Revival of the relationship between Russia and China*
> - *China became a major power in Asia and saved North Korea from America*
> - *Increased American protection for Taiwan (Formosa)*
> - *The strength of the communist movement in Asia forced the Western powers to establish a military bloc in south East Asia. As a result, SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organization) was formed in 1954 as a branch of NATO in Asia. Member countries wereAustralia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan (including East Pakistan, now Bangladesh), the Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom and the United States.*

The First Indo-China War (1946-54)

Indo-china includes the modern states of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. These countries were French colonies since the 19th century. During the Second World War, Indo-China became under Japanese occupation and it compelled the people of Indo-China to fight for independence.

The First Indochina War was an anti-colonial war that started following the defeat of Japan in the Second World War. The war started in 1946 and lasted in 1954. During this war, the people of Vietnam were led by the communist Ho Chi Minh, who established an organization known as Viet Minh (Vietnamese Independent League).

Viet Minh was a Communist independence movement in Vietnam, founded in 1941. The Chinese communists and Soviet Russia supported the Viet Minh with military aid. President Truman of the USA promised to return Indochina to France after WW II.

The US was worried about the spread of communism in Asia and supported the French. The Indo-China war was unpopular in France, particularly among French Communists. It was known as the"***Dirty war***".

Figure 5.6   Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969)

The US used the term **Domino Theory** to describe growing concern over communist influence in Indochina. This theory was quite clear: if the communists were not stopped, then they will expand to neighbouring countries. The French forces were defeated by the Viet Minh at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu, on 7 May 1954. In peace negotiations at Geneva, (the Geneva Accords May 1954) the decision was reached to divide Vietnam into northern and southern halves. Laos and Cambodia were made independent. The North and South Vietnam were separated at the 17th parallel.

Map 5.3 The division of Vietnam, (source: vietnamwar50th.com

In the North, a Democratic Republic of Vietnam was established by the communists, headed by **Ho Chi Minh**, with its capital at Hanoi, while South Vietnam, with its capital at Saigon, would remain non-communist. The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China supported the north, while the United States was determined to maintain an independent, non-communist South Vietnam.

In December 1960, the National Liberation Front, commonly called the Viet Cong, emerged to challenge the South Vietnamese government. They were trained and supported by North Communists. The Second Indochina War (1957-1973) began in earnest with the US commitment to preventing the communists from controlling South Vietnam.

In spring 1961, the administration of John F. Kennedy expanded US support for the South Vietnamese government, including an increase in US military advisers. The 'Strategic Hamlet' program or Safe Village Policy "was introduced. It was a policy aimed to stop the Vietcong from getting their supplies and soldiers from villages. In practice, it meant destroying peasant villages near areas held by the Vietcong and forcefully relocating the people.

In 1965, President Johnson began a campaign of sustained airstrikes (bombing) against

the North that were code- named Rolling Thunder. The fight expanded to the neighboring Laos and Cambodia. During the reign of Nixon, a program known as Vietnamization was introduced Vietnamization was   a strategy that aimed to reduce American involvement in the Vietnam War by transferring all military responsibilities to South Vietnam.

On January 27, 1973, an agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam was signed by representatives of the South Vietnamese communist forces, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and the United States. In 1975, the North Vietnamese finally achieved the objective of uniting the country under one communist government. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam was formally established on July 2, 1976, and Saigon was renamed Ho Chi Minh City.

The major factors for the victory of the Vietnamese people during the Second Indo-China war include:

- The Vietcong (the NLF) had widespread support from the masse;
- The Vietnamese were experts at guerilla fighting;
- Support from North Vietnam, China and Russia; and
- The North Vietnamese were dedicated to eventual victory and the unification of their country.

Exercise 5.5

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Part I: True/Talse Items. Write True if the statement is correct and False if it is incorrect.

1. Chiang Kai Shek was the founder of the Chinese Communist party.
2. The "Dirty war" refers to the French-Vietnamese confrontation from 1946-54.
3. Korea before WWII was a Chinese colony.

Part II: Matching Item: Match items under column B with their correct matches under column A.

A	**B**
1. Syngman Rhee	A. a Vietnamese communist and revolutionary leader
2. Ho Chi Minh	B. a Communist leader and founder of North Korea
3. R. Nixon	C. the US president known for his policy of "Vietnamization"
4. Viet Minh	D. the first president of South Korea
5. Kim Il Sung	E. a Communist Independence movement in Vietnam

Part III: Answer for the following questions beriefly.

1. What were the different policies implemented by the American presidents on Vietnam during the war from 1957-1973?
2. Why were the Americans involved in the Second Indo-China war?

5.4. Non-Aligned Movement /NAM/

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was formed during the Cold War as an organization of States that did not seek to formally align themselves with either the United States or the Soviet Union but sought to remain independent or neutral. NAM is an international organization which was not officially aligned with or against any significant power bloc. Almost all the Asian, African, and Latin American states are members, and they have come together despite all the political, economic, and cultural differences between them. NAM doesn't mean the neutrality of the state on global issues, it was always a peaceful intervention in world politics.

During the early days of the movement, its actions were key factors in the decolonization process, which led later to the attainment of freedom and independence.

The basic concept for the NAM originated in 1955 during the Asia-Africa Bandung Conference held in Indonesia. This Conference was held in Bandung on April 18-24, 1955 and gathered 29 Heads of State belonging to the first post-colonial generation of leaders from the two continents (Africa and Asia). The participants of the Bandung conference urged the formation of a United Nations Fund for economic development; they condemned Apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism.

The first NAM Conference took place in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in September 1961. The most important leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement were Joseph Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Sukarno of Indonesia.

The purpose of the organization was enumerated in the Havana Declaration of 1979 to ensure "the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries" in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, and all forms of foreign subjugation.

Exercise 5.6

Write an appropriate answer for the following questions.

1. Who were considered the founding fathers of the Non-Aligned Movement?

2. What were the objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement?

5.5 The Arab-Israeli Conflict

Learning Outcomes of the lesson
At the end of the lesson, the students will be able to:

- assess the political and socio-economic developments in the Middle East after WWII;
- identify major causes for the Arab-Israeli wars ;
- examine the role of external forces in the Arab-Israeli war.

Brainstorming

- Where is Palestine located?
- What do you know about Jewish-Arab relations?

Before WWI, Palestine was under the occupation of the weak and declining Ottoman Turks administration. In 1915, with the hope of securing support against the Ottoman Empire, the British promised Palestine for the Arabs. But, in 1917 the British supported the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine in what was known as the Balfour Declaration.

After WWI and the destruction of the Ottoman Empire, Britain and France divided up the Middle East into mandates that they controlled directly. This included the territory of Palestine where British officials had supported growing Jewish migration from Europe. In the 1920s and 1930s, there was growing Jewish immigration into Palestine. As a reaction against anti-Semitism in Europe, **Zionism**, a Jewish nationalist movement, grew in popularity. Zionists wanted to create a Jewish homeland.

Figure 5.7   Theodor Herzl

Theodor Herzl, the founder of Zionism, encouraged Jews to move to Palestine and buy land with the ultimate goal of having enough land to establish a state.

The demand for an independent Jewish state increased after the Holocaust. In 1947, in the aftermath of the **holocaust**, the systematic state-sponsored killing of six million Jewish men, women, and children and millions of others by Nazi Germany and its collaborators during World War II,   the British government

presented the case of Palestine to the United Nations. The United Nations General Assembly decided the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. Jerusalem was to be internationalized. The Arabs opposed the decision claiming Palestine only for the Arabs. The Jews partially accepted the plan and proclaimed the establishment of the state of **Israel** on May 14, 1948.

The First Arab-Israeli War of 1948

On May 15, 1948, the governments of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Trans-Jordan (Jordan) declared war on Israel. The Jewish successfully repulsed repeated Arab attacks. By early 1949 the Israelis had managed to occupy half of Jerusalem and the northwest coastal area along the Mediterranean Sea. In Israel, the war is remembered as the War of Independence. In the Arab world, it came to be known as the Nakbah (or Nakba; "Catastrophe") because of the large number of refugees and displaced persons resulting from the war.

Map 5.4   UN Partition Plan, 1947, (source: mfa.gov.il/MFA/)

The Suez War of 1956

On July 26, 1956, Gamal Abdel Nasser announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company. On October 29, 1956, Israeli forces attacked Egypt and started the second Arab-Israeli war, also known as the Suez Canal Crisis. Britain and France supported Israel. Soviet Russia, the USA and the UN forced Israel, Britain and France to stop the war and withdrew their forces. This action saved Egypt from total defeat.

The 'Six Days War"

The Six-Day War, also known as the third Arab-Israeli war was a bloody conflict fought in June 1967, between Israel and the Arab states of Egypt, Syria and Jordan. On June 5,

1967, the Israeli air force attacked Egyptian air bases and destroyed most of their air force, while it was still on the ground. The war resulted in Israel controlling the Golan Heights, Jerusalem and the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Sinai.

"Yom Kippur War"

On October 6, 1973, Egyptian and Syrian forces launched a coordinated attack against Israel on **Yom Kippur**, the holiest day in the Jewish calendar. An oil embargo was placed on Western nations that supported Israel. Oil prices increased drastically. The USA was supporting the Israeli forces while the Soviet Union was on the side of Egypt. The Arab forces were defeated and Israel seized even more territory in the Golan Heights. The Palestinian liberation struggle continued under the leadership of the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization).

Figure 5.8 Yasser Arafat

Yasir Arafat was a Palestinian political leader. He was Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization from 1969 to 2004.

Activity 5.5

Group Discussion:
1. What was the British foreign policy regarding the Arab Israeli conflict before 1948?
2. How did Zionism and Arab nationalism contribute to the conflict between the Arabs and Israel?

5.6 The Collapse of the Soviet Union

Gorbachev's policy

Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet Communist Party in 1985. He introduced two bold reforms called **glasnost** and **perestroika**. Interns of the Cold War, he was known for the beginning of liberalization in the USSR.

Figure 5.9   Mikhail Gorbachev

Glasnost, a Russian word, for openness or publicity, was a call for greater transparency in the Soviet government, allowing more freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

Perestroika refers to restructuring or reorganizing the USSR. It was a movement aimed at allowing private ownership of some businesses. Gorbachev's plan for economic restructuring focuses on a hybrid communist-capitalist system.

Gorbachev's reforms encouraged people to demand more rights and freedom. They started protesting against their governments and the communist regimes that collapsed one after the other.

Changes in Eastern Europe

After WWII, the central and Eastern European countries, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and East Germany became Soviet satellites. In 1989, nationalist movements first started and brought regime change in Poland, and the movement soon spread to Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania. As these Soviet republics pulled away from the Soviet Union, the power of the central state weakened. All overthrew their communist regime by peaceful methods except in Romania, where the revolution was violent.

Map 5.5 Central and Eastern Europe (Soviet satellites), (source: euroland. eklablog.com)

In 1991, fifteen souvereign states emerged from the collapse of the USSR: Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Belorussia, Uzbekistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

Activity 5.6

Pair Discussion:
1. How did Gorbachev's policy impact the 1989 revolutions in Eastern Europe?
2. What forced Gorbachev to introduce his two reforms?

Unit Summary

While the United States and the Soviet Union had worked together to defeat the Axis powers, their partnership quickly turned into a conflict and confrontation. This fierce conflict is called the "***Cold War***" since the two superpowers never directly engaged in combat ("***hot war***").

Instead, they increased their military capabilities, tried to expand their global influence, and undermined the other's way of life in the eyes of the world. While the United States believed in a capitalist system of free markets and multiple political parties, the Soviet Union was founded on a communist system controlled by a centralized state and a single political party.

The Cold War started in Europe. From 1945 to 1953, the USSR expanded its influence by creating the Eastern Bloc across states like Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Stalin set up puppet communist governments that he could control. He repressed anyone who resisted him. The United States likewise began to meddle in the affairs of foreign nations where it feared communist regimes would gain control. This became known as a policy of containment.

The cold war which initially started in Europe gradually spread to the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America, with each side trying to establish control. The Cold War finally ended in the 1990s. The USSR could no longer be on a par with US military spending.

Meanwhile, economic problems in the Eastern Bloc and growing opposition to Soviet domination had encouraged Eastern Europeans to revolt against communism. The new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, proposed reforms to stimulate communist economies. His reforms were known as perestroika, or "glasnosts".

In 1989 anti-communism movements spread throughout the Eastern Bloc. The end of the Cold War was marked by the disintegration of the USSR into over a dozen independent nations.

Exercise 5.7 Review Questions

Part I: Fill in the blanks with an appropriate answers

1. An event that marked the beginning of the space race was_____.

2. The Russian response to the Marshal plan was known a_____.

3. The European nation that most benefited from Truman Doctrine was_____.

4. The two UN General Secretaries from Africa were_____and_____.

5. The most powerful organ of the UNO is_____.

Part II: Matching Item: Match items under column B with their correct matches under column A.

<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>
1. Hiroshima	A. first artificial satellite in history
2. Sputnik	B. the US policy to stop the spread of communism
3. Superpowers	C. the first city to be hit by the atomic bomb
4. Containment	D. separates western Europe and eastern Europe
5. Iron curtain	E. name given to the US and the USSR because of their dominance

Part III: Multiple Choices. Choose the best answer from the given alternatives

1. Which of the following is not the purpose of the UNO?

    A. To maintain international peace and security

    B. To develop friendly relations among nations

    C. To cooperate in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems

    D. To protect and promote capitalism

2. Which of the following slogans best represented the motto of the Marshal Plan?

    A. Down to Dollar Imperialism

    B. Stop! Apartheid Policy

    C. Whatsoever the weather we will move together

    D. Viva! Communism

3. The US policy of stopping the spread of communism was known as
    A. The Marshall Plan
    B. The Truman Doctrine
    C. Cold war
    D. Containment

4. One of the following was not a feature of the Cold War.
    A. Espionage
    B. Foreign Aid
    C. Space race
    D. Nuclear War
    E. Economic competition

5. Which of the following describes an action taken by the United States in response to concern about Soviet expansion after WWII?
    A. adopt a policy of containment
    B. offer the Soviet Union financial assistance
    C. launch a nuclear attack against the Soviet Union
    D. negotiate with the Soviet Union about what territories they could expand into

6. One of the following factors did not contribute to the downfall of the Soviet Union.
    A. Gorbachev's Policies
    B. Anti-Communist Movement in Eastern Europe
    C. Economic troubles in the Soviet Union
    D. The Regan Policy towards USSR

7. Changes in the political borders of Eastern European countries during the 1990s were a result of the
    A. failure of communism
    B. expansion of the Warsaw Pact
    C. end of free trade
    D. decline of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

8. The outcome of the Korean War best explained by
    A. the increasing demand for unification of the two Koreans by its political leaders
    B. Korea remained divided as North and South Korea
    C. the North readiness to withdraw from Warsaw membership
    D. little change with the border between the North and South Korea after the war

Unit 6

ETHIOPIA: INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS & EXTERNAL INFLUENCES FROM 1941 TO 1991

Unit Introduction

This unit deals with major socio-economic and political developments in Ethiopia from 1941 to 1991. It covers the following important lessons: major administrative reforms and socio-economic conditions in the post-liberation period; external influences(the British and the American); early opposition movements against the imperial rule; administrative reforms, the 1955 constitution, agriculture, land tenure and tenancy, trade, industry, financial sector, education, transport and communication, and health; the Ethiopian Revolution and the fall of the Monarchy, the Ethio-Somalia War and foreign influences; the Question of Eritrea, and the fall of Derg.

Unit learning outcomes

At the end of this unit, the students will be able to:

- elaborate how the British established their dominance in Ethiopia immediately after the termination the Fascist Italian rule;
- explain how the United States was involved in consolidating autocracy in Ethiopia;
- assess the causes and results of the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974;
- compare and contrast the land policies of the Imperial and the *Derg* regime;
- outline the major opposition movements against the imperial regime in Ethiopia;
- describe the process of federation and union of Eritrea with Ethiopia;
- distinguish the major factors for the decline of the *Derg* regime.
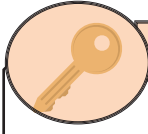
Key Terms

- Restoration
- Abortive coup
- Federation
- *Derg*

- Revolution
- Red Terror

6.1 Major Administrative Reforms and Socio-Economic Conditions in the Post-Liberation Period

6.1.1 External Influences

Learning Outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- examine the impact of foreign influences on Ethiopia in the immediate post-liberation period;
- evaluate the essence of the treaties of 1942 and 1944 signed with Great Britain.

Brainstorming

- What do you know about the role of the British in the anti-fascist resistance movement of the Ethiopian people?

A. The British Era

In unit three, you have studied the Fascist Italians were defeated by the Ethiopians with the support of the British forces. On May 5, 1941, Haile Selassie returned to Addis Ababa. Despite officially recognizing the sovereignty of Emperor Haile Selassie, Ethiopia remained under the influence of Britain. The British military administration dictated all internal and external affairs of the country. They were in control of the most important government bodies (the police force, the army, and finance). The British set up the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (OETA) over the Ogaden and Eritrea.

The first agreement between Ethiopia and the British was signed on 31 January 1942. The treaty recognized Ethiopia as an independent state. However, the agreement restricted the country's sovereignty in many ways.

These include the following:

- the Ethiopian army was to be trained by the British military mission;
- the British minister enjoyed a privilege over the other diplomatic representatives in Ethiopia ;
- British advisors were assigned to each government ministry office;
- the British military could use former Italian state property without payment; and
- the British were also to remain in control of the region termed as the Haud and the reserved area along the boundary with the British Somaliland and the rest of the Ogaden.
- The high-power radio transmitting station, the telephone system and the railway were to remain under the British control.
- The British East African Shilling was made the official Monetary Unit.

The **Second Anglo-Ethiopian treaty** was signed in December 1944. The British promised to restore Ogaden to Ethiopia and also allowed Ethiopia to use the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway. The privilege enjoyed by the British minister over the other diplomatic representatives in Ethiopia was also lifted. Moreover, the British agreed to train and modernize the Ethiopian army. Accordingly, they setup a mission called British Military Mission to Ethiopia (BMME). However, the Ogaden stayed under the British until 1954, while Eritrea remained under their administration from 1941 to 1952.

Activity 6.1

Pair work: Discuss in pairs and answer the following questions

1. The first Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty made Ethiopia dependent. Do you agree or disagree? Why?
2. Which of the above two agreements gave the Ethiopian state a relatively greater margin of independence?

Immediately after the end of the Second World War, the Ethiopian government demanded that Eritrea should be unified with Ethiopia based on historical and geographical grounds. Different political parties emerged and came up with different options to address the question of Eritrea. These were:

1. **The Unionist Party:** constituting the single largest political group, largely based on the Orthodox Christian and the Tigrigna speaking population, and demanded the unification

of Eritrea with Ethiopia.

2. **The Independence bloc:** It was a collection of different groups that were united by their opposition to the union. It included:

A. **The Muslim League,** which had its stronghold in the Muslim-inhabited lowlands;

B. **The Liberal Progressive Party**, which campaigned for the independence of Eritrea, united with Tigray. It was a creation of the British, who had advocated a policy of partitioning Eritrea by attaching the lowlands to Sudan and uniting the Tigrigna speaking highlands.

C. **Pro-Italian party,** brought together Italian settlers, Eritreans who served in the colonial army (ex-askaris), and the people of mixed races. This group was mainly supported by the Italians.

The victorious powers of the Second World War (known as the Four powers), namely Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the United States, found it very difficult to settle the Eritrean issue and hence, finally passed it on to the United Nations in 1948. The UN passed a resolution called **UN Resolution 390V**, adopted on 2 December 1950. This resolution decides that Eritrea should be united with Ethiopia by a federation.

Exercise 6.1

Part I:True/False Items. Write True if the statement is Correct and False if it is incorrect.

1. Great Britain occupied Eritrea as a formal colony in 1941.
2. The Ogaden stayed under the British until 1954.
3. The UN Resolution 390 V, supported the separation of Eritrea from Ethiopia.

Part II: Multiple Choices. Choose the correct answer from the given alternatives

1. Which of the following political groups did not support the independence of Eritrea in the immediate WWII period?
   A. The Muslim League
   B. The Unionist party
   C. The Liberal Progressive Party
   D. Pro-Italian party

2. Eritreans who served in the colonial army were known as
   A. Askaris
   B. Arbegnoch
   C. Mahal Safari
   D. Qagnew tor

B. The American Era

Ethiopian-American ties began in 1903 with the arrival of the first American mission to Ethiopia, led by Robert Skinner, but the connection grew stronger and more active following WWII. The Point Four Agreement was signed by the two countries on May 15, 1952. As a result, the United States assisted to Ethiopia in the areas of locust management, agricultural and public health education, public administration training, and scholarship awards to Ethiopian students. In the 1950s, American strategic interests in Ethiopia, the Horn of Africa, and the Middle East shifted dramatically. Following the Young Free Officers' revolt in 1952, Egypt adopted a pro-communist, anti-Israel administration.

Colonel Gamal Abdel Nassir headed the movement. As a result, the US began looking for a new partner in the Middle East. The Ethiopian-American Treaty of 1953 was based on these developments. The 1953 deal let the US to operate the Kagnew station, a communication facility in Asmara that had previously been used by the Italians as Radio Marina.

It was renamed Kagnew station after the name of the Ethiopian battalion that took part in the Korean War of 1950 -1953, on the side of the Americans. In return, the US government promised to provide military assistance to Ethiopia and set up a unit known as the Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG). American influence was particularly strong in the fields of Military organization and training, communication, and education. In the 1960s and 70s, Ethio-US relations began to decline due to the following reasons:

- Advances in satellite communication significantly diminished the importance of the Kagnew station on which the Ethio-American alliance had been founded.
- Growing opposition, especially among students, against American Imperialism.

Thus, on the eve of the Ethiopian revolution of 1974, Haile Selassie's regime began to lose the USA, which was its strong ally.

Exercise 6.2

?

A. What were the objectives of the Point Four Agreement?

B. What were the causes of the decline of Ethio-American relations in the 1960s and 1970s?

6.1.2 Administrative reforms:

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- outline the political, economic and administrative changes in the post-liberation period;
- sketch a map that shows the administrative divisions of Ethiopia during the imperial regime;
- explain the differences between the 1931 and 1951 constitutions.

Brainstorming

- When was the first written constitution endorsed in Ethiopia?

In the post-liberation period, Emperor Haile Selassie took series of measures to strengthen his power. His political vision mainly focused on the suppression of regional nobilities and the creation of a centralized state. To this end, Ethiopia was reorganised into twelve *teqlaygezats* (governorate-generals) in 1942. Each province was subdivided into sub-provinces (*awrajas*), districts (*weredas*), and sub-districts (*mikitil weredas*). The head of each *teqlaygezat* was appointed by the Emperor and was known as *enderase* (on my behalf) who was to rule on behalf of the Emperor.

6.1.3 The 1955 Constitution

Another important measure taken by Haile Selassie to consolidate his power was the revision of the Ethiopian constitution in 1955. The Emperor sought to provide a formal basis for his efforts at centralization and to attract the loyalty of educated Ethiopians.

The other reason that necessitated the promulgation of the revised constitution of 1955 was the federation of Eritrea, which had an elected parliament and a more modern administration.

The Revised Constitution of 1955 strengthened the absolute power of the Emperor. Haile Selassie remained the head of the executive, the legislative and the judiciary organs of the government. The Revised Constitution of 1955 did not introduce constitutional principles like the popular sovereignty, rule of law, good governance, and religion-state relations. It focused on the centralization of governmental authority in the hands of the monarch rather than promoting the values of Ethiopians as culturally diverse people.

Activity 6.2

1. Sketch a map that shows the administrative units of Ethiopia during the Imperial regime.
2. Write a summary of the differences between the 1931 and 1955 constitutions.

6.1.4 Agriculture, Land Tenure and Tenancy

Agriculture is the dominant human activity and the backbone of the Ethiopian economy. The majority of the societies in the rural areas are engaged mainly in subsistence agricultural activities. Agricultural commodities, such as coffee and oilseed, formed the bulk of the country's exports. The country's livestock population was the largest in Africa. During the Imperial period, the agricultural sector was particularly important not only for its large contribution to the economy but also because the land was the basis of power.

The indigenous system of land tenure in Ethiopia were communal *Gult* and *Rist. Gult* referred to the right to collect tributes (*gibir*) from peasants granted by the emperor to various ranks of the warrior class, local rulers, the church and others. *Rist* refers to land owned based on a lineage system.

Although the *qalad* system or land measurement had a long history in Ethiopia, it is in conjunction with the creation of Menilek's empire-state that it came to have wider application. The motives behind land measurement were facilitating taxation. The measured land was divided into *lem, lem-tef* and *tef* (fertile, semi fertile and unfertile, respectively). Land measurement also promoted the twin processes of private ownership and land sale. *Lem* land paid the highest and taf the lowest rate of tax. The *qalad* system also enabled the state to appropriate large areas of land either for its benefit or for individuals and institutions it wished to reward. The most important consequence of the growth of private tenure was the associated spread of tenancy (landlessness), especially in the Southern half, where some 50%-65% of all holdings were estimated to fall under this category.

The post-Liberation period witnessed the acceleration of the privatization of land and the remarkable growth in land sales, particularly in the last decade and a half before the Revolution of 1974. Along with land measurement, large scale land sales and evictions became common. As a result of the feudal exploitation, most of the peasants became subsistence farmers living in miserable poverty during this period, especially in the southern half, where the tenancy system, locally known as *Chisegna*, was widespread.

Exercise 6.3

Part I: Match the items under column A with the terms under column B

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center"><u>A</u></td><td colspan="2" align="center"><u>B</u></td></tr>
<tr><td>1.</td><td><i>Rist-Gult</i></td><td colspan="2">A. tribute paying peasant</td></tr>
<tr><td>2.</td><td><i>qalad</i> system</td><td colspan="2">B. cultivated land</td></tr>
<tr><td>3.</td><td><i>lem</i></td><td colspan="2">C. Tribute</td></tr>
<tr><td>4.</td><td><i>Gibir</i></td><td colspan="2">D. land measurement</td></tr>
<tr><td>5.</td><td><i>Gebbar</i></td><td colspan="2">E. the right to collect tributes</td></tr>
</table>

Part II: Short answer and discussion

1. List down the roles women play in agricultural activities. To what extent do women exercise their rights in economic activities?

6.1.5. Trade, Industry, Financial Sector, Education, Transport and Communication

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the student will be able to:

- evaluate the socio-economic conditions of the imperial regime during the post-liberation period ;
- examine the nature of the import-export trade of Ethiopia during the Imperial period.

Brainstorming

- What measures do you suggest to improve our industrial, agricultural, and educational sectors?

When the Italians left Ethiopia in 1941, the economic structure of the country was almost as it had been for centuries. However, there were some improvements in communications, particularly in the area of road building. Attempts were also made to establish a few small industries.

In the post-liberation period, the country continued to be dependent on few agricultural products for export. The leading agricultural export was coffee. Next to coffee, the second export item was skins and hides, and pulses and oilseeds ranked third. Regarding import items, the post-war period was

characterized by a change from the prewar importation of textiles to machinery and chemicals. Italy, Japan and the USA were Ethiopian partners in imports.

By the early l950s, Emperor Haile Selassie I attempted to introduce a new economic policy, which focused on a transition from a subsistence economy to an agro-industrial. In 1954/55, the government created the National Economic Council to coordinate the state's development plans. The First Five-Year Plan (1957-61) sought to develop a strong infrastructure, particularly in transportation, construction, and communications to link isolated regions. This plan aimed to accelerate agricultural development by promoting commercial agricultural ventures.

The Second Five-Year Plan (1962-67), signaled the beginning of a twenty-year program to transform Ethiopia's predominantly agricultural economy to an agro-industrial one. Both the first and second plans focused on the intensification of agricultural development. The Third Five-Year Plan (1968-73) also sought to facilitate Ethiopia's economic well-being by raising manufacturing and agro-industrial performance. But it focused on the development of the agricultural sector through package programs to address the rising problem of food shortages in Ethiopia.

Several factors hindered the implementation of Ethiopia's development planning during the imperial period. These included a lack of administrative and technical capabilities to implement a national development plan. Many projects failed chiefly because of a shortage of qualified personnel, funds and equipment.

By the end of the plan period, the overall industrial base of the country remained weak and characterized by a rudimentary small scale that was mainly found in Asmara, Addis Ababa., and Dire Dawa.

During Haile Selassie's regime, the Ministry of Public Health was founded in 1947, as well as referral hospitals in some provincial capitals, medical and health colleges in Addis Ababa and Gondar was also founded. These early health structures were mostly located in urban centres and were focused on curative care.

In the post-liberation period, the government encouraged the development of education. In doing so, the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts was established in 1942, and the effort to modernize education started all over the country again. Consequently, schools started growing in some of the urban centres of the country.

From the time of liberation up to early 1950s, the Ethiopian education system was highly influenced by the British. In1950s, the American educational system had replaced the British system. American citizens were assigned as directors and teachers in Ethiopian

schools and this enabled them to increase their influence on Ethiopia's educational system.

Exercise 6.4

Part I: Multiple choice Items: Choose the best answers from the given alternatives

1. The leading export item of Ethiopia in the post liberation period was
   - A. Gold
   - B. Coffee
   - C. Skin and hides
   - D. Oil seeds and spices

2. By the end of the 1970s the overall industrial base of the country
   - A. played the dominant role as compared to the agricultural sector
   - B. characterized by a primary small scale industry
   - C. was uniformly distributed in all provinces
   - D. was the main source of income

3. From 1942 to 1954 the modern Ethiopian education system was highly influenced
   - A. By the British
   - B. By the Americans
   - C. The Church
   - D. The French

4. The First Five-Year Plan (1957-61) sought to develop a strong infrastructure in transportation and communication aimed
   - A. to get access to mining sector
   - B. to accelerate agricultural development
   - C. to establish regional economic integration with neighboring countries
   - D. to serve the urban population

5. Which of the following countries was not the major Ethiopian partner in imports in the 1960and 70s?
   - A. The USA
   - B. Italy
   - C. Japan
   - D. China

Part II: Short Answer

1. Evaluate the administrative and economic reforms introduced during the post-liberation period.

6.2 Early Opposition Movements Against the Imperial Rule

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of the lesson, the student will be able to:

- explain the major causes of peasant revolts against the Imperial regime;
- evaluate the role of different opposition movements against the Imperial regime.

Brainstorming

- What is a coup?
- What could be a reason for peasants' opposition movements?

6.2.1 Peasant Revolts

There had been various oppositions against the imperial regime in the post-liberation period. The earliest noticeable revolt Emperor Haile Sellsie facedsoon after his return from exile took place in Tigray and is known as the *Woyyane revolt*. In 1943, three disgruntled social groups, namely, the semi pastoralists, highland peasants, and some local feudal lords formed a united front against the regime.

The revolt was led by Bilata Haile Mariam Reda. The feudal lords wanted a greater share in the regional reallocation of power. The semi-pastoral communities of Southern Tigray especially the Raya and Azebo, felt that centralization posed a danger to their communal ideals of egalitarianism and justice. The highland cultivators sought to prevent feudal exploitation and wanted to terminate the excessive demands of state officials and the militia. This was the most serious internal threat that Haile Selassie faced. It was finally crushed with the imperial force in collaboration with the British Royal Air force.

The revolt in Bale started in the district of Elkere in 1963 and ended in1970. By 1964, the revolt was spread to the districts of Bale, like Wabe, Dallo, and Ganalle. One of the leaders of the Bale uprising was Waqo Gutu.

Land alienation, taxation, religious discrimination, ethnic hostility and corrupt administrative practices that worsened peasant life sparked the peasant uprising in Bale. The arrival of Christian settlers into a mostly Muslim area intensified religious tensions. The emerging Republic of Somalia, which vowed to construct "Greater Somalia", provided crucial morale and material support to this campaign. However, the uprising was finally quelled after its popular leaders including Waqo surrendered in March 1970.

The government assigned General Jagema Kello as governor of Bale.

The Gojjam peasants also revolted several times during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie due to their resentment over the ill-treatment of patriots and imposition of heavy taxation. What finally triggered the Goijam uprising of 1968 was the Imperial government's attempt to introduce the 1967 agricultural income tax. When the central government sent tax assessors to Gojjam, the peasants refused to allow them to enter their land and resisted the government agents. Then, they presented their petition to the state. In the absence of a positive response from the state, the peasants defied the authority of the state and rebelled.

The government reacted by sending a combined force of local militia and the armed police to the rebellious districts, especially of Mota , Qolla Dega Damot, and Bichena districts. Two other areas which witnessed significant peasant uprisings against the Imperial rule were Yejju in North East Wallo, and Gedeo in the southern province of Sidamo. Both uprisings had their genesis in land alienation. Both uprisings were crushed by government forces.

Activity 6.3

Group work: Discuss in groups and answer the following questions.
1. What were the major causes for peasant rebellions against the Imperial regime?
2. Evaluate the role of the students' peasants and the elite movements against the Imperial regime.

6.2.2 The Coup of 1960

The most serious challenge to the administration of Emperor Haile Selassie in the post-liberation period was the attempted coup d'état of 1960. The coup was organised by the two brothers, Mengistu Neway and Germame Neway. Menegistu was then the commander of the Imperial Bodyguard. He was aided by his younger brother Germame, a civil servant and an intellectual, who represented a bridge between the pre Italo-Ethiopian War intellectuals and the student radicals of the 1960s and 1970s. The two brothers were joined by the Chief of Security, Colonel Warqenah Gabayahu, the Police Commissioner, Brigadier General Tsege Dibu and a few educated radicals. They were supported by most of the Imperial Bodyguard.

Figure 6.1 leaders of the abortive coup d'état of 1960, Brigadier-General Mengistu (left) and Germame Neway, (source: Bahru Zewde, A History of Modern Ethiopia: 1855-1974)

The coup makers proclaimed the establishment of a new government on 14 December 1960. The emperor's son and heir, Asfawosen Haile Selassie, was appointed head of state, as a salaried constitutional monarch. *Ras* Emeru Haile Selassie was designated prime minister of the new government, while the popular General Mulugeta Buli was nominated chief of staff of the armed forces.

Confrontations was made between the rebels and loyalists to the regime in Addis Ababa for barely two days. The emperor entered the city two days later, aborting the coup d'état. General Tsige Dibu, Chief of the Police force was killed in action. Germame and Colonel Workneh Gebeyehu committed suicide; Mengestu was captured and was sentenced to death. The main cause for the failure of the coup was a lack of support from the army. It also lacked proper organization.

6.2.3 The Ethiopian Student Movement

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of the lesson, the students will be able to:

- explain the role of Ethiopian students in the struggle against the Imperial regime;
- appreciate the student movements for equality, justice and democracy.

The Ethiopian student movement began following the expansion of secondary and higher education in post-liberation Ethiopia. The nucleus of the student movement was the University College of Addis Ababa (founded in 1950), later named Haile Selassie I University. Many students were displeased with the ruling monarchy, the feudal land structure, and the poor quality of life of the people. They also demanded improvement in education facilities and services. They began to demand a free press and the right to form their union.

Although the undemocratic rule of the Haile Selassie government system was the main reason for the student movement, other additional factors strengthened their activism and radicalism. These include:

- Ethiopian student's activism abroad,
- the attempted coup of 1960,
- the anti-imperialist and pro-socialist movement in some Western countries, and
- the presence of students from different African countries through Ethiopian government scholarships.

One of the major social and political issues that the students raised in the mid-1960s was the abolishment of the feudal land tenure system which was thought to have affected agricultural productivity. The famous slogan of the students was "*Meret Learashu*", "Land to the Tiller". In addition, the students were advocating Marxism-Leninism as the right and appropriate ideology.

On December 28, 1969, the president of the student union, Tilahun Gizaw, was shot while walking outside the Seddest kilo campus in the Afencho Ber area, by the security police. Tilahun Gizaw's death was a transformative event that pushed more radical student activists towards revolution.

Activity 6.4

1. After watching the video, under the following link, describe briefly the speech of Tilahun Gizaw and the nature of Ethiopian student movements. https://youtu.be/DpSJ5Xmy0ZE.

6.3. The Ethiopian Revolution and the Fall of the Monarchy

Learning Outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- describe the major developments of the 1974 Revolution;
- write a short essay on socio-economic and political reforms of the *Derg*;
- list down the fundamental causes for the fall of the *Derg* regime.

Brainstorming

- Do you hear or know about *Derg*?
- What do you know about the 1974 Ethiopian revolution?

6.3.1. Deposition of the Emperor and Emergence of the *Derg*

The last two decades of Haile Selassie's reign witnessed growing opposition to his regime, which reached its peak in February 1974. This was a period when the country's social, economic and political situations became worse and different sections of the people made a series of strikes, protests and demonstrations against the imperial regime.

The life of rural people also deteriorated as they were hit by various natural and man-made famine. From 1958 to 74, almost all administrative regions of Ethiopia were affected by famines of varying degrees. The most serious of these occurred in Tigray in 1958/59, Wag-Lasta in 1956/66, and Wallo province in 1972/73.

These famines resulted in the death and dislocations of tens of thousands of people. The urban population was suffering from inflation and corrupt administration. The devastating famine was made public to the international community by Ethiopian students and a documentary film produced by the British journalist Jonathan Dimbleby.

Activity 6.5

Group work:

Group one: discuss the main factors for famine and drought in Ethiopia.

Group two: discuss the impacts of famine and drought in Ethiopia and identifies the areas most vulnerable to these problems.

Group three: Suggest a solution for the problems and comment on the efforts so far made. Each group represents its findings and gets feedback from the subject teacher.

Reference: watch a documentary film by Jonathan Dimbleby 'The Unknown Famine' from the following website: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ML32CeRUglU

At the beginning of 1974, the situation in Ethiopia was ripe for revolution. Popular uprisings became widespread, particularly in the urban centres. Different sectors of society took part in the uprisings. Students, teachers, the unemployed youth, the civil servants, taxi drivers and soldiers had their active roles. Nevertheless, the first serious act along the road to revolution came from the army when the Negelle army mutinied in protest in January 1974. Armed forces in other provinces of the country followed the footstep of the Negelle army and began to demand a pay increase and improvement in their working conditions.

On 18 February 1974, the Ethiopian Teachers Association opposed the new educational reform program known as the Sector Review. The teachers were accompanied by students and some parents. On the same day, taxi drivers went on strike in protest against the 50% rise in petrol prices. The Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Union (CELU) also presented a list of demands to Prime Minister Endalkachew Mekonen. The workers' demands included; the passing of new labour legislation, freedom of organization (association), pension and wage increase, job security, and free education for all. The Muslim community demonstrated against the age-old discrimination they suffered.

The Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces (AFCC), commonly known as *Derg*, composed of senior officers below the rank of major, was set up from the Armed forces,

police and territorial Army. The military uprising and riots in the capital eventually led to the resignation of Prime Minister Aklilu Habtewold, who was replaced on February 28, 1974, by the new Prime Minister, Endalkatchew Mekonnen.

Ever since its establishment on 28 June 1974, the *Derg* acted as a *de facto* government and began to exercise power and take action. The first move was the detention of high ranking officials of the imperial regime, including Prime Minster Endalkachew. Following this, Lij Mikael Emiru became prime minister. Then, the *Derg* introduced its motto or slogan called '*Ethiopia Tikdem*'.

On 12 September 1974, the *Derg* deposed Haile Selassie and transformed itself into a Provisional Military Administration Council (PMAC). Lieutenant General Aman Mikael Andom became the first chairman of PMAC. Major Mengistu Haile Mariam and Major Atnafu Abate also became the first and second vice-chairman respectively.

However, General Aman, who was a well-known, popular commander and hero of the war in the first Ethio-Somalia War was in conflict with the radical elements in the *Derg* over the question Eritrea. Finally, he was killed at his home while resisting arrest. On November 24, 1974, Brigadier General Teferi Benti became both the new Chairman of the *Derg* and head of state, with Mengistu Haile Mariam and Atnafu Abate as his two vice-chairmen.

Figure 6.2 Menegistu (left side) Teferi (centre) and Atnafu (right side), (source: File:*Derg*.gif.wikimedia commons

6.3.2. Socio-Economic and Political Reforms of the *Derg*

The *Derg* introduced a series of radical reforms and measures. For instance, in December 1974, the Development through Cooperation Campaign or *Edget Behebret Zemecha,* aimed at implementing a literacy and rural development programs was launched. In late December about 60,000 campaigners were sent to the rural areas to provide basic literacy and gave orientations about socialism to peasants.

The military junta nationalized private banks and insurance companies in January 1975, and, private industrial and business companies were also confiscated a month later.

In March 1975, the Land Reform Proclamation which nationalized all rural land and brought to an end feudal relations in rural Ethiopia. It was radical in that it sought to transform the country's land tenure system. It provided conditions for the establishment of peasant associations on a Kebele basis. The primary task of the associations was implementing of the proclamation and overseeing the periodic redistribution of land.

Activity 6.6

Group work:

1. Interview people in your locality about the role of the Development Through Cooperation Campaign or *Edget Behebret Zemecha* and explain the merits and challenges of the campaign.

2. Collect data and organise a one-page report by asking elders about the role of the peasant Association and its achievements during the *Derg* regime.

Urban Land and Extra Houses were nationalized and made public property on 26 July 1975. Urban dwellers associations, the kebeles, were formed to administer housing and neighborhood affairs.

After the overthrow of the old regime, issues like the political role of the military and the strategies and tactics about of regime's exercise of power during the transition period caused a split within the civilian political groups. These political groupings were the All Ethiopian Socialist Movement (AESM) or MEISON and the EPRP (Ethiopian People Revolutionary Party). A bitter struggle emerged between these political parties. All Ethiopian Socialist Movement led by Haile Fida followed the strategy of critical support to the *Derg*.

The National Democratic Revolution (NDR) program was announced on 20 April 1976. It envisaged a people's democratic republic under the leadership of the proletariat, acting in close alliance with the peasantry and supported by the petty bourgeoisie, and promised the formulation of a working-class party.

In 1976 and 1977, EPRP intensified its armed struggle against supporters and functionaries of the *Derg*. The military regime,in turn, carried out systematic   and ruthless elimination of its opponents in a campaign known as **Red Terror,** a bloody campaign against the EPRP and other suspected individuals. Mass killing and torture became the order of the day. It was most intense in Addis Ababa and the major provincial towns. Thousands of students, teachers, workers and ordinary people who were suspected of supporting opposition groups, were imprisoned without charge, tortured and executed.

Figure 6.3 Red Terror Victims, (source: http://abyotawi.blogspot.com/2016/03/scenes-from-red-terror.html)

By 1978 the **Red Terror** more or less succeeded in suppressing opposition in the cities. However, in the rural areas of the central and northern highlands, particularly Tigray and Eritrea, separatist guerilla movements, which had already begun during the time of the emperor, continued to resist the new government. These insurgent groups fought a long civil war against the *Derg* throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

The *Derg* established a party known as the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE) as a vanguard party in 1984. The primary task for the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE) following its formation in 1984 was devising the new national constitution that would inaugurate the PDRE. In 1987, the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) was proclaimed and the constitution promulgated. The PDRE was a unitary state made up of 24 administrative and 5 autonomous regions (Eritrea, Tigray, Asseb, Dire Dawa, and Ogaden).

Actual power rested on Mengistu, who was not only president of the country but also general secretary of the WPE. He and the other surviving members of the *Derg* dominated the WPE. In essence, the power structure set up by the constitution was a carbon copy of the power structure that existed in other communist countries. The party was granted even more power than the government.

Activity 6.7

Individual work:

1. Search and read internet sources or books from the library on the Ethiopian revolution of 1974 and write a short essay focusing on the causes and impacts of the revolution.

6.4 The Ethio-Somalia, War and Foreign Influences, the Question of Eritrea, and the Fall of the *Derg*

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At this end of the lesson, the students will be able to:

- evaluate the major geopolitical factors for intra and inter-state wars in the region of Ethiopia and the Horn;
- appreciate the resistance movement of the people of Ethiopia against foreign aggression;
- discuss the internal and external factors that led to the decline of the *Derg* regime.

Brainstorming

- What factors contributed to the decline of *Derg* regime?

6.4.1 The Ethio-Somalia War of 1977

The Ogaden region has been an area of conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia particularly, since Somalia became independent in 1960. The conflict between the two countries briefly escalated into a border war in January 1964.

The major reason for the war was the political agitation of the new republic of Somalia that was committed to bringing all Somali speaking territories under one five-pointed star in the Somalia flag. Each point represents one of the five Somali speaking territories of South Somalia, North Somalia, French Somaliland (now the Republic of Djibouti), the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, and the Northern Frontier District (NFD) of Kenya. In the end, following the peacemaking intervention of the OAU, both countries went back to where they started- no change of boundaries.

In 1977, Ethiopia and Somalia again entered into a serious conflict over the Ogaden region. The war was initiated by President Siad Barre of Somalia, who pursued his irredentist policy of achieving the creation of "Greater Somalia". In the course of the war, Ethiopia was supported by the Soviet Union, Cuba, and the Democratic Republic of Yemen, while Somalia got military aid and technical support from the USA and the Arab world.

The full-scale invasion of the Somalia forces was successfully repulsed by a bold counter offensive of the Ethiopian people. Following the invasion of Somalia, *Derg* mobilized hundreds of thousands of militia forces.

The war had far-reaching political, economic, and social implications for both countries. In Somalia, it brought a massive influx of refugees from the north which, in turn, worsened the land and property rights of the local people. In Ethiopia, the victory encouraged Mengistu's government to focus on fighting the northern opposition forces.

Activity 6.8

Small Group work:

1. What was the major reason for the war between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1977?

6.4.2 The Question of Eritrea and the Armed Struggle up to Referendum

In 1941, Eritrea came under British control following the expulsion of the Italians. During the next decade, the fate of the former colony became an international issue. The federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia in 1952 was the compromised solution recommended in 1950 by the United Nations General Assembly, Eritrea was given legislative, executive, and judicial power to govern its domestic affairs, while the defence, foreign affairs, currency and finance, interstate commerce, and communications became the responsibility of the Ethiopian government.

The subsequent introduction of measures that were contrary to the Federal Act of 1952, which thoroughly undermined the autonomy of Eritrea created discontent among some Eritreans against the Ethiopian government.

The discontent finally led to the establishment of a movement known as the Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM) in 1958. In 1960, in the meantime, a rival organization, Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) was formed in Cairo dedicated to launching an armed resistance. However, there was also tension in the different units of the ELF.

In 1973, the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (EPLF,) also known as **Shabia** which means popular in Arabic was founded. The year 1977 marked the peak of the anti **Derg** opposition. External military aggression from Somalia, offensives from internal armed political groups like EDU and the EPRP and internal power struggle put the military government almost on the verge of collapse.

After defeating the invading forces of Somalia in 1978, the Ethiopian military force deployed from the eastern front to the northern front., Eritrea. As a result, the Eritrean rebels were forced to retreat to the Sahel.

In 1982, the *Derg* announced a military campaign named Operation Red Star, to solve the Eritrean problem once and for all. However, despite initial decisive victories, the

operation was not successful. There was dissatisfaction among the government forces and the top military commanders were suspected of corruption and treason. The coordinated military offensives of the EPLF (Eritrean People Liberation Front) and the the TPLF (Tigrean People's Liberation Front) greatly weakened the government forces and forced them to lose battles after battles.

The Fall of the *Derg*

Several factors led to the fall of the military regime. The famine of 1984/5, which was preceded by drought and crop failure, forced the military government to introduce a program of forced mass resettlement from drought-affected regions of Tigray and Wallo. Thus the people were resettled in the south and southwestern Ethiopia. However, this resulted in a massive internal displacement problem due to ineffective organization. In addition to the economic and political crisis, the forceful resettlement, collectivization, and villagization programs contributed to the downfall of the régime.

In the last years of the 1980s, the EPLF joined with the TPLF forces that occupied most of northern Ethiopia. In the southern regions like Bale, and Hararghe, the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and the Somali Abo Liberation Front (SALF), were active as of 1975. The Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) was also active in the Ogaden region.

In the second half of the 1980s, Soviet Russia and other Eastern European countries, who were struggling with their internal problems, had gradually withdrawn their economic and military assistance to the *Derg*. In 1991, the EPLF and EPRDF (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front) forces launched a highly successful operation in their respective areas and secured military victories that resulted in the collapse of the military regime.

Exercise 6.5   **?**

Writes short answer for the following question.

1. What were the internal and external factors for the decline of the *Derg* regime?

Unit Summary

The post-liberation period (1941-1991) was the most crucial in Ethiopian history. It saw strong foreign influences especially from Great Britain and the USA. During this period, the restored monarchy took various economic, political, and military measures to consolidate autocracy. As of 1960, however, the regime had encountered implacable opposition from students, peasants, and the military.

In February 1974, the Ethiopian revolution erupted and resulted in regime change. The spontaneous nature of the movement enabled the military, which maintained a certain level of organization, to assume power. The new government led by the *Derg* adopted Marxism-Leninism as its official ideology and took upon itself the task of building a socialist state in Ethiopia.

The *Derg* did not respect human and democratic rights and finally faced various forms of opposition from different sections of the population. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), the Tigray People Liberation Front(TPLF), and the Oromo Liberation Front(OLF) and others opposed and engaged an armed struggle to overthrow the *Derg*.

The famine of 1984/5, which was preceded by drought and crop failure changed the peasant life from bad to worse. The resettlement and villagization programs launched by *Derg* were not effective and lacked proper coordination. In the meantime, the *Derg* failed to stop the guerilla movements of the various liberation forces and the continuity of the civil war left the country impoverished.

In addition to these internal factors, the changes in Soviet Russia resulted in the loss of vital military support and aid from the eastern bloc. Finally, the front made up of the TPLF, the EPDM (Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement, the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO), and the Ethiopian Democratic Officer's Revolutionary Movement (EDORM), known as EPRDF (the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front) controlled Addis Ababa on May 28, 1991, that brought the end of the *Derg* regime.

Exercise 6.6: Unit Review Questions

?

Part I: Write True for correct statements and False for incorrect ones

1. The First Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1942 marked the end of British domination in Ethiopia.

2. The White terror was a reaction of *Derg* to the *Red Terror.*

3. The peasant rebellion in Bale was characterized by foreign intervention.

4. Unlike the 1931 constitution, the 1955 constitution in Ethiopia, gave less concern to an imperial succession.

5. The Ethiopian educational system after 1950 was shaped along with the American system of education.

Part II: Fill the blank spaces with appropriate answers.

1. The intellectual leader of the 1960 coup d'état was _____.

2. The most important slogan of the early Ethiopian student was _____.

3._____was the motto or philosophy of the *Derg*.

4. The two Superpowers which engaged in the 1977 war between Ethiopia and Somalia were _____and _____.

5. The two provinces which had a strong tradition of peasant uprisings in Ethiopia before the 1974 revolution were_____and _____.

Part III: Multiple Choices. Choose the best answer from the given alternatives

1. Which one of the following radical measures of the *Derg* brought the collapse of the feudal economy in Ethiopia?

   A. Development through Cooperative campaign

   B. Nationalization of foreign investments

   C. Nationalization of rural land

   D. Resettlement and villagization programs

2. The main cause for the defeat of the abortive coup of 960 was

   A. The support of Britain to the imperial regime

   B. Growing opposition to the coup-makers from university students

   C. Lack of support from the army

   D. Division among the leaders

3. The documentary film of Jonatan Dimbleby, entitled the '*Hidden Hunger*'

   A. showed the brutality of *Derg* to the international community

   B. Emphasized the agricultural reforms of the imperial regime

   C. Disseminated the idea that Ethiopia is a source of ancient civilization

   D. Exposed the famine and drought of Wallo to the world

4. The famous slogan of Ethiopian student movements during the struggle against the imperial regime was
   A. All things to the war front!
   B. Down to American Imperialism!
   C. Land to the Tiller!
   D. Revolutionary motherland or death!

5. Which of the following events comes first in chronological order from the earliest to recent?
   A. The Referendum of Eritrea of during the Imperial period
   B. A proclamation of nationalization of Rural land
   C. The resignation of Aklilu Habtewold
   D. Launch of the *Ediget behberet zemecha*

Part IV. Short answer questions

1. Explain the major causes of peasant rebellions against the Imperial regime.
2. Explain the internal and external factors for the decline of the *Derg* regime.

Unit 7

AFRICA SINCE 1960

Unit Introduction

The unit covers the history of Africa since the 1960s. The year 1960 is often considered the year of Africa because more than a dozen of African countries got their independence in this year. Hence in the unit, you will explore the national liberation movements in the north and northeast Africa; West Africa; East Africa, and South Africa; Pan-Africanism and the formation of Organization of Africa Unity (OAU), and its replacement by the Africa Union(AU); characteristics of the post-independence economy of Africa; regional economic integration; major issues in contemporary Africa which include among others, ethnicity and ethnic conflicts; poverty, unemployment, population pressure and environmental and climatic problems.

Unit learning outcomes

At the end of this unit, the students will be able to:

- compare and contrast different forms of national liberation struggles in Africa;
- appreciate Africans struggle for political independence;
- outline major socio-economic problems of African independent nations since the 1960s; and
- evaluate the successes and limitations of African regional economic integrations.

Key Terms

- Decolonization
- Pan Africanism
- Guerrilla war
- Liberation
- Nationalism
- Independence

7.1   Rise of Independent States in Africa

Learning Outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- examine the national liberation movements in different regions of Africa ;
- explain the process of foundation of the OAU;
- prepare the timeline of how the OAU was replaced by AU;
- produce a chart that shows the main organs of the OAU and AU.

Brainstorming

- What does national liberation movements mean?
- Who were the ringleaders of National liberation movements in Africa

7.1.1 National Liberation Movement in North Africa

The first breakthrough toward independence came in North Africa, spearheaded by Egypt, the protectorate of Great Britain starting from 1882. Soon after the end of WWI, the delegation of Egyptian nationalist activists led by Saad Zaghlul requested the British High Commissioner to end the British Protectorate in Egypt and Sudan. The request was accompanied by demonstrations and strikes across Egypt by students, elite, civil servants, merchants, peasants, workers, and religious leaders. As a result of the popular uprising, London was compelled to issue a unilateral declaration of Egyptian independence on February 22, 1922. Some decades after Egyptian independence, the Kingdom of Libya achieved its independence from Italy under UN Trusteeship (British administration) on December 24, 1951.

Following the Egyptian Revolution of 1952, which overthrew the unpopular government of King Farouk, demand for the withdrawal of British forces from all of Egypt and Sudan was intensified. Muhammad Naguib, one of the two co-leaders of the revolution along with Gamal Abdel Nasser and Egypt's first President made securing Sudanese independence a priority of the revolutionary government. On 1 January 1956, Anglo-Egyptian Condominium over Sudan duly ended, and Sudan became independent.

The liberation of French colonies in North Africa began in the 1950s. French military defeat in Indo-China in 1954 gave an impetus for the peoples of North Africa to wage a liberation war to end French colonial rule. For instance, the Moroccan National Front led by Sultan Mohammed V had already started challenging French colonial domination. In 1953, the Riff and Atlas communities revolted and started the armed struggle.

After a negotiated settlement, Morocco was proclaimed independent on 2 March 1956. French and Spanish Morocco reunited after independence. Tunisia also won its independence in 1956 under the leadership of Habib Bourguiba, who headed the Neo-Destour Party.

In Algeria, the French faced a protracted and bitter anti-colonial struggle. In Algeria, there had been a relatively larger number of white settlers. These white settlers were determined to prevent the independence of Algeria. They formed the "Secret Armed Organization" to hold back Algerian independence. The Algerian nationalist organization the "National Liberation Front of Algeria" (FLN) led by Ahmed Ben Bella waged a bitter guerrilla war of liberation against the French colonial domination from 1954 to 1962. Finally, based on an agreement reached between the Algerian freedom fighters and the French government, a referendum was conducted. The people of Algeria overwhelmingly voted for independence. In consequence, Algeria was proclaimed independent on 1 July 1962.

Activity 7.1

1. Which North African counties got independence in 1956?
2. The North African country that gained independence after the UN resolution was_____.
3. Name the French colony in North Africa that faced a protracted and bitter anti-colonial struggle_____.
4. The Neo-Destour party was to Tunisia as _____ was to Algeria.

7.1.2 National Liberation Movement in West Africa

A. British West Africa

Gold Coast (now Ghana), Nigeria, the Gambia and Sierra Leone constituted British West Africa. The first British colony to gain independence in sub-Saharan Africa in general and in West Africa, in particular, was the Gold Coast. In the Gold Coast, the struggle was at first led by an organization called the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC).

However, in 1949, Kwame Nkrumah left UGCC, founded his new political party known as the Convention People's Party (CPP and assumed leadership in the struggle for

independence. The Gold Coast became independent in 1957 and adopted the historic name Ghana.

Unlike Ghana where the parties had nationwide support, in Nigeria the parties were essentially divided along the region and ethnic lines. Thus, the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) is based in Igbo land, the Yoruba Action Group (AG) in Yoruba country and the Northern People's Congress (NPC) in Fulbe-Hausa in Eastern, Western and Northern regions respectively. Again, while the parties of Ghana readily agreed on the issue of independence and the date, both issues became subjects of bitter controversy among the parties in Nigeria. It was not until 1959 that all the parties agreed on the fateful year of 1960, the year in which Nigeria became independent. The remaining British Colonies in West Africa Sierra Leone and Gambia became independent in 1961and 1965, respectively.

Activity 7.2

1. Mention at least three political parties formed in Nigeria on the eve of its independence.

2. What was the difference between the parties founded in Ghana and Nigeria?

B. French West and Equatorial Africa

The French colonies in Africa were divided into two territories of French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. French West Africa was a federation of eight French colonial territories, which consisted of the following counties: Mauritania, Senegal, French Sudan (now Mali), French Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), Dahomey (now Benin) and Niger. French Equatorial Africa was also a federation of French colonial possessions in Equatorial Africa, comprising what are today the countries of Chad, the Central Africa Republic, the Republic of the Congo, and Gabon.

By 1958 France was under increasing pressure due to the war of liberation waged by the FLN in Algeria. In an attempt to defuse the nationalist struggles and rid himself of potential conflict in the French West and Equatorial Africa, Charles De Gaulle, the French

President, decided to conduct a referendum in 1958. As a result, the French Equatorial and West Africa voted YES to the referendum. But Guinea (Conakry), under the leadership of Seko Toure, voted NO to the referendum. The independent Republic of Guinea was thus proclaimed on 2 October 1958, four days after the people voted to reject France's offer of membership in the new French Community.

Other French colonies remained under French rule until 1960. The French colonies that became independent in 1960 were: Cameroon, Togo (both under UN trusteeship), Madagascar (now the Malagasy Republic), Dahomey (Benin), Niger, Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire), Chad, Ubangi Shari (Central African Republic), Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Senegal, French Sudan (Mali) and Mauritania.

Activity 7.3

1. Which French colony in West Africa voted against the 1958 referendum?
2. The former name of the present-day West African country of Benin was_____.
3. 3. Name the two French colonial territories in Sub-Sahran Africa
   A._____ B. _____

C. Portuguese West Africa: Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands

While all the British and French colonies in West Africa had achieved their independence by 1965, it was not until 1973 and 1974 that Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands as well as the other two Portuguese African colonies, Angola and Mozambique, succeeded in overthrowing Portuguese colonialism.

Furthermore, while the struggles for independence in all the other West African colonies were by and large peaceful, in Portuguese Africa, it was a violent, bloody and protracted war of liberation. The key to the explanation of these unique features of the anti-colonial struggle in Portuguese Africa lies in the principles and practices of Portuguese colonialism as well as the nationalist movements that emerged.

Portugal, like France, from the very beginning, considered its colonies not as colonies but rather as overseas provinces of Portugal. The Portuguese maintained the policy of keeping their empire intact by any means.

1. The two Portuguese colonies in Southern Africa were_____.
2. Mention the reasons for the delay of the independence of Portuguese colonies in Africa until the mid-1970s.

7.1.3 National Liberation Movement in East and Central Africa

A. British East Africa

Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania (Tanganyika and Zanzibar) constituted the British Colony of East Africa. In 1962, Uganda attained independence from Britain as a single entity under the prime ministership of Milton Obote, it did so under a coalition government between the royalist Kabaka Yekka movement and the Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC) of Milton Obote.

The British trust territory of Tanganyika won its independence in 1961 under the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) led by Julius Nyerere. Zanzibar also became independent in 1963. In 1964 these two independent states formed a federation called Tanzania.

Kenya's road to independence was not smooth compared with the neighboring British colonies. In Kenya, the peasants who were dispossessed with their lands by the British white settlers organised a revolt known as Mau Mau between 1952 and 1955. However, the movement was suppressed by the British colonial forces. Thousands of its members were imprisoned including its leader, Jomo Kenyatta, by the British.

However, in 1959 the British Officials eased restrictions on Mau Mau and the Kenya African Union (KAU) was resurrected as KANU (the Kenya African National Union) and won 67 percent of the votes in the ensuing election with a still-detained Jomo Kenyatta as the national president. Kenya won independence in 1963 and Kenyatta became its first president.

Activity 7.5

1. Why the road to independence was bumpier in Kenya compared with the neighboring British colonies?
2. The first British East African colony that gained independence was _____.
3. Milton Obote was to Uganda as _____ was to Tanganyika.

B. Belgian Congo

Belgian Congo was a colony of Belgium from 1908 until 1960. The first nationwide Congolese political party, the Congo National Movement, was launched in 1958 by Patrice Lumumba and other Congolese leaders. In January 1959, riots broke out in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa) after a rally was held calling for the independence of the Congo. Violent clashes between Belgian forces and the Congolese also occurred later that year. Belgium, which previously maintained that independence for the Congo would not be possible in the immediate future, suddenly capitulated and began making arrangements for the Congo's independence.

In May 1960, Patrice Lumumba's MNC (Congo National Movement) Party won the parliamentary elections. The party appointed Lumumba as Prime Minister and elected Joseph Kasavubu, of the Alliance des Bakongo (ABAKO) party as the president. The Belgian Congo achieved independence on 30 June 1960, named the Republic of the Congo. Shortly after independence, the provinces of Katanga led by Moise Tshombe and South Kasai engaged in secessionist struggles against the new leadership.

On 5 September 1960, Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba from office. Lumumba declared Kasavubu's action unconstitutional. A crisis between the two leaders developed. On 17 January 1961, Katangan forces and Belgian Paratroopers supported by the United States and Belgium, kidnapped and executed Patrice Lumumba. The Katanga secession ended in January 1963 with the assistance of UN forces.

Figure 7.1 Patrice Lumumba

Activity 7.6

1. The area which attempted to secede from Congo after independence is known as_____.
2. Who were the first prime minister and president of the former Belgian Congo?
3. Why did the USA and Belgium collaborate with the Congolese authorities to assassinate Patrice Lumumba?

C. Rwanda and Burundi

Burundi and Rwanda, along with Tanganyika, became part of the German Protectorate of East Africa in 1890. During the First World War, it was occupied by the British, who received a mandate to administer the greater part of it, Tanganyika Territory, by the Treaty of Versailles. A smaller portion (Ruanda-Urundi), was entrusted to Belgium. The Belgian mandate territories of Rwanda and Burundi became independent by the decision of the

UN in 1962. At independence, Rwanda became a republic. Burundi was made a kingdom until it, too, became a republic as of November 1966.

Activity 7.7

Why were the former German colonies in East Africa handed over to other powers as mandates of the League of Nations?

7.1.4. National Liberation Movement in Southern Africa

Southern Africa was dominated by Great Britain, who colonized Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Nyasaland (Malawi), Bechuanaland (Botswana), Basutoland (Lesotho) and South Africa. South Africa, in turn, after the First World War came to occupy Southwest Africa (Namibia), the German Colony, in the name of the League of Nations. The other colonial power that had colonies in Southern Africa was Portugal, which dominated Angola and Mozambique.

The dominant theme of Southern African history of the 1960s and 1970s was the revolutionary tide of liberation movements and the armed struggle in the settler colonies of South Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola and Namibia.

Kenneth Kaunda was the head of the Zambia African National Congress and its successor, the United National Independence Party (UNIP. In 1962, the UNIP organised a massive campaign of civil disobedience against British rule. Early in 1964, an election based on universal adult suffrage gave UNIP a decisive majority, and it was supported by nearly a third of the white voters. On October 24 the country became the independent Republic of Zambia, within the Commonwealth and with Kaunda serving as executive president.

Similarly, Nyasaland became independent in 1964 as Malawi with Hastings Kamuzu Banda as its president. In 1966, Basutoland (now Lesotho) and Bechuanaland (renamed Botswana) became independent. The British island colonies of Mauritius and Seychelles became independent in 1968 and 1976, respectively.

South Rhodesia's Road to independence also had its challenges. In 1965 the racist white settlers under the leadership of Ian Smith declared what was called the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). This step delayed majority rule in that country. Black Africans and the British government rejected this one-sided declaration of independence. However, the British failed to take military actions to suppress the white minority racist government in South Rhodesia. Thus, the Africans resort to guerrilla

fighting. A long and bitter war was fought by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) led by Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, respectively. This bitter struggle brought the white minority rule to an end. A majority rule was established in April 1980. Robert Mugabe became the first Prime Minister and South Rhodesia adopted the name Zimbabwe.

By the Versailles Peace Treaty, at the end of World War I, South West Africa (present-day Namibia) was taken away from Germany and put under the Republic of South African mandatory rule. After the Second World War, the responsibility of looking after the mandate territories was transferred to the United Nations, (UN Trust Territories). In such a way, Spanish Guinea gained independence in 1968 and was renamed Equatorial Guinea. But South-West Africa entered into a long and bitter war against the Republic of South Africa. The struggle was organised and led by the "South-West African People's Organization" (SWAPO). International diplomatic pressures were also put on South Africa. Finally, South-West Africa won its independence in 1990 and renamed Namibia.

7.1.5. Apartheid in South Africa

Brainstorming

- What is Apartheid?

Two years after South Africa was freed from British rule in 1910, the African National Congress (ANC) was formed in 1912, aimed at struggling for the rights of the black population. Later, the ANC crystallized its demands into a call for "One man, one vote." In 1948, a general election brought the Afrikaner National Party to power. It was a party made up of extreme racist groups. It promoted a policy of discrimination, which came to be known as apartheid. Apartheid means separate development of the races and white domination of the majority blacks by the minority whites. Apartheid denied all political rights to blacks and other non-whites. Under Apartheid eighty-seven per cent of all land in South Africa was reserved for whites.

Added to this, the racist Nationalist party cancelled all the nominal rights the blacks used to have. It passed several laws that deprived Africans of their political and human rights and imposed rigid segregation in sports, recreational areas, schools, hospitals, buses etc. In reaction to such repressive acts, widespread demonstrations and riots were held many times. In 1952 the ANC, led by Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu waged a campaign of passive resistance to the various discriminatory rules.

But the government continued with its repressive policy. On 21 March 1960, police fired on a peaceful and unarmed demonstrator at Sharpeville. 72 people were killed and some 186, including women and children, were wounded. The incident is remembered as the Sharpeville massacre. The act aroused worldwide condemnation. Many nations enacted economic sanctions against the racist government of South Africa. The racist government arrested the opposition leaders, including Nelson Mandela and banned all-black political organizations as illegal. Mandela was in jail at Robben Island until he was released in 1990.

Figure 7.2 Sharpeville Massacre and Apartheid, (source: nikotina72.blogspot.com; globalblackhistory.com)

The struggle of the ANC finally bore fruit. Apartheid was abolished and "one man one vote" was introduced in South Africa. In April 1994, Mandela won the election and held office as the first democratically elected president of the Republic of South Africa. He was able to reconcile blacks and whites in peace. In 1999, he left the presidency for the next democratically elected president, who happened to be his second in command in the ANC. Mandella has left a rich legacy of democratic government in South Africa.

Activity 7.8

1. What happened in Sharpeville on March 21, 1960?
2. Who was Nelson Mandela? What made him prominent in the history of South Africa?
3. When did apartheid end in South Africa?

Map 7.1 Year of African countries independence, (source: Contemporary World History@parkmont: African Independence)

7.1.6 Pan-Africanism and the OAU

Pan-Africanism is the idea that peoples of African descent have common interests and should be unified. Pan-Africanism originated in the New World in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as an integral part of the black liberation struggle against white domination and exploitation. For the first time in the history of the pan-African movement, in the Fifth Pan-African Congress at Manchester in October 1945 African delegates' dominated at the Manchester Congress, where the focus of the discussions was the liberation of colonized Africa.

Several delegates, such as Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta, soon left London for Africa and led their peoples into independence.

The pace-setter of this period was Kwame Nkrumah. He also played a pivotal role in the formation of the short-lived and loose regional organization of the Union of African States sometimes called the Ghana–Guinea–Mali Union formed in 1958 by the West African nations of Ghana and Guinea as the Union of Independent African States. Mali joined in 1960. It disbanded in 1963.

Figure 7.3 W.E.B Dubois-Co-Founder of NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)

However, African leaders began to be divided into opposing camps, particularly over the future of the integrationist aspect of the pan-African movement. In 1961 Ghana, Guinea, Egypt, Mali, Morocco, Libya and the Algerian government-in-exile formed the **Casablanca Group**. The remaining former French colonies plus Nigeria, Ethiopia, Liberia and Sierra Leone formed the **Monrovia Group**.

The Casablanca Group favorued a strong political union along the lines of Nkrumah's the United States of Africa. The group consisted of the militant pan-Africanist, socialist and non-aligned leaders of Africa, who believed in centralized continental economic planning and development, a continental defence and security system, and cultural restoration.

The Monrovia Group favorued a loose confederation of independent sovereign African states that would promote voluntary participation and co-operation in cultural exchanges and economic interaction. The Brazzaville group, which included moderate Francophone states such as Ivory Coast, Gabon, Niger, Senegal, Upper Volta,

Mauritania etc joined the Monrovia Group and formed its hard-core. It was by this time members like Ethiopia and Liberia, which were neutral towards rivalry between Casablanca and Monrovia groups came to play a pivotal role to bridge the gulf between the rival blocks. Despite this division into groups, African states came together at Addis Ababa and established the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in May 1963.

Figure 7.4 Listen to Kwame Nkrumah's Iconic Speech about African Unity in Addis Ababa, 1963: We Must Unite or Perish https://youtu.be/-XAlNNcYxCc

Between 22 and 25 May 1963, delegates from 32 African countries convened in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa to establish the Organization for African Unity (OAU). The main objectives of the OAU were to rid the continent of the remaining vestiges of colonization and apartheid; to promote unity and solidarity amongst the African States; to coordinate and intensify cooperation for development; to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of member states and to promote international cooperation.

Figure 7.5 Founding fathers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), 1963

> *Principal Institutions of the Organization*
>
> - ***The Assembly of the Heads of State and Government:*** *the organization's supreme organ which met once a year, in a different capital city, although it could also meet in extraordinary session;*
> - ***The Council of Ministers:*** *normally met twice a year or in special sessions. Subordinate to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the council's principal responsibility was preparing the assembly's agenda;*
> - ***The General Secretariat:*** *headed by a secretary-general, appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. The secretariat was responsible for the administration of the OAU.*

7.1.7 Successes and Failures of the OAU

The OAU had a mixed record. Its greatest success was decolonization. It played a pivotal role in eradicating colonialism and white minority rule in Africa. Overall, the failures of the OAU outweighed its successes. Its major failing was its inability to bring peace, prosperity, security, and stability to Africa. Its powers were too weak and its influence inadequate to deal with the internal and external conflicts, poor governance, human rights abuses, poverty, and underdevelopment from which much of Africa suffered. The OAU was also considered incapable of meeting the challenges of globalization.

Activity 7.9

1. What are the functions and goals of the Organization of African Unity? How did these goals relate to the idea of Pan Africanism?
2. Being in a group debate on the strengths and weaknesses of the OAU.

By the end of the twentieth century, a comprehensive reform became imperative. As a result the African leaders decided to launch a new organization-the African Union (AU). AU was officially launched in July 2002 in Durban, South Africa.

Exercise 7.1

1. Explain the roles of Kwame Nkrumah in the liberation of Africa from European colonial domination.
2. Which African counties waged a guerrilla war of liberation against European colonial domination?
3. Produce a chart showing the organs of the OAU.
4. Discuss the differences between the Casablanca and Monrovia Groups on the eve of the foundation of the OAU.
5. Identify the success and failures of the OAU.

7.2   Struggle for Economic Independence

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- identify the salient features of the post-independence economy of Africa ;
- appreciate attempts made by African leaders to form a regional economic organization to integrate the economy of different regions of Africa.
- list the major regional economic organizations in Africa

While Africa achieved substantial economic growth from 1965 to 1974, there has been a downward trend after that. There was a modest recovery in the second half of the 1990s, but not enough to translate into meaningful increases in per capita incomes or reduction in poverty. The GDP growth has barely kept pace with the high rate of population growth. Achieving and maintaining reasonable real growth rates thus remains a major challenge for sub-Saharan Africa.

Two of the principal factors adversely affecting African developments in the 1980s and 1990s have been international debt and drought. At the root of the problem are the continuing adverse terms of trade. Since the 1960s, Africa's raw material exports have dropped in price ten or twenty times compared to manufactured imports. Running out of foreign exchange, governments have had to turn to the IMF for emergency foreign exchange and for further loans to help pay the interest on loans that were already too large for them to pay off. The trouble is that the IMF and its associate, the World Bank, are financed by the banks of the developed capitalist economies of Western Europe and the USA. Their priorities reflected the interests of the capitalist west, which still regarded Africa primarily as the source of raw materials for its developed industries.

Regional Economic Communities (RECs) are established in different regions of Africa. The purpose of the RECs is to facilitate regional economic integration between members of the individual regions and through the wider African Economic Community (AEC), which was established under the Abuja Treaty (1991). The 1980 Lagos Plan of Action for the Development of Africa and the Abuja Treaty proposed the creation of RECs as the basis for wider African integration, with a view to regional and eventual continental integration. The RECs are increasingly involved in coordinating AU Member States' interests in wider areas such as peace and security, development and governance.

The Major Regional Economic Communities:

- *Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)* is a regional economic community in Africa with twenty-one member states stretching from Tunisia to Swaziland. COMESA was formed in December 1994, replacing a Preferential Trade Area which had existed since 1981.

- *Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)*, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo

- *Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)*, Ethiopia, Sudan, South Sudan, Eritrea, Kenya, Uganda, and Djibouti,

- *Southern African Development Community (SADC),* Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Republic of Congo.

Figure 7.5 Member states of ECOWAS, IGAD, and SADC,(source: shutterstock.com; ResearchGate, https://rr-africa.oie.int/wp-content/uploads/2000/11/kinyanjui.pdf)

Activity 7.10

1. Mention at least two principal factors that adversely affected African development in the 1980s and 1990s.

7.3 Major Issues in Contemporary Africa

Learning Outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- assess the major challenges post-independence African states faced;
- unravel the causes for the impoverishment of Africa.

Brainstorming

- What are the major problems of Africa today?

Most African countries, which were products of colonialism, have stronger ties with their former colonial masters. They are coming to terms with post-colonial challenges ranging from contested boundaries, ethnicity, corruption, nepotism to client-patron relations. The so-called "colonial hangover" is deeply embedded. France, for instance, has always maintained strong ties with its former colonies in sub-Saharan Africa, aimed at sustaining its neo-colonial grip in these countries

Most of the newly independent African countries share peoples, who belong to the same ethnic groups. This has led some African states to try to redraw colonial boundaries following ethnic settlements. As a result, Africa has seen frequent border conflicts.

Ethnic oppression and conflicts within African states have bred civil wars. At the root of the ethnic conflicts have been political, economic and social injustices. Therefore, Africa is a continent that has been continually plagued by the effects of ethnic conflict from the conflict between the southern Igbo and the northern Hausa in the Biafra War to the ethnic cleansings in Darfur and Rwanda, Africa has suffered tremendously as a result of ethnic discord. The Biafra War, also known as the Nigerian Civil War, is an educative example when studying African ethnic conflict. The Biafra War began shortly after Nigeria gained

independence from Great Britain, and as a young inexperienced nation, the divisiveness of ethnic conflict soon engulfed the nascent country.

During British rule, the northern region of Nigeria was largely isolated from the southern and eastern regions. The distribution of wealth was unequal, as the Igbo people of the southeast region had greater prosperity due to palm oil and petroleum resources). In contrast to the Hausa, who occupied the north and Yoruba who occupied the southwest, the south-eastern Igbo were geographically isolated. As a result of their decentralized location, wealth, and religion, the Igbo people were marginalized and labelled as outsiders. As a result of the 1966 military coup, Nigeria was thrown into a bloody civil war, and the Hausa-controlled government mobilized drastic measures to eliminate the Igbo population, which had chosen to secede and form the nation of Biafra.

Similarly, the African country of Rwanda has a long history of ethnic conflict. The most horrific display of violence occurred from April to July of 1994, between two of Rwanda's ethnic groups: the Tutsi and the Hutu. The Rwandan Genocide, as it came to be known, was one of the bloodiest ethnic conflicts in history. The attempted extermination of the Tutsi by the Hutu people resulted in 800,000 deaths, the majority being Tutsi.

For further information listen to the following documentary produced by the BBC about the Rwandan genocide titled: "How could the Rwandan genocide happen? - BBC Africa." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SVnOGsJY5RQ.

Poverty was another problem that Africans faced during the post-colonial period. Extreme poverty in Africa has many reasons, some of which are closely linked. The key causes of poverty in Africa and the suffering of millions of people include:

Growth of Population

Population growth on the African continent is rapid, despite numerous prevention and education campaigns. Developmental success and economic growth cannot keep pace with this. In other words, first of all, rapid population growth is likely to reduce per capita income growth and well-being, which tends to increase poverty. Second, in densely populated poor nations with pressure on land, rapid population growth increases landlessness and hence the incidence of poverty. Finally, the adverse effects of rapid population growth on child health, and possibly on education, will likely increase poverty in the next generation.

War and Crises

Of the world's 20 war-related conflicts in 2013, 11 alone were fought on the African continent-all in sub-Saharan Africa. This includes the wars in Sudan and South Sudan,

Somalia, Nigeria, Mali, the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central African Republic. In crisis regions, agricultural production usually comes to a standstill. Many people flee, are forcibly expelled from their homes and are dependent on outside help. Poverty in Africa is increasing as a result of these wars.

Climatic Conditions

The African continent has been suffering more and more from climate change in recent decades: devastating floods and extraordinary drought periods lead to crop failures. The consequences are regular hunger crises and famine in Africa. Particularly affected are East Africa and the Sahel region.

Diseases

Diseases such as AIDS, malaria and Ebola are the cause but also the result of poverty in Africa. A low level of education and inadequate medical care in many regions means that diseases spread faster and cannot be treated. The average life expectancy of the population is decreasing and the number of orphans is increasing. Loss of labour is particularly noticeable in agriculture and leads to reduced food production.

Inadequate agricultural infrastructure

In many regions of Africa, agriculture lacks both infrastructure and expertise such as roads, wells, irrigation systems, storage facilities, and agricultural machinery. That's why local self-help is so important in helping to fight poverty in Africa.

Despite negative impressions about Africa as the arena of dictators and despots, there are glimmers of hope and optimism. The past two decades have no doubt seen a steady expansion of the frontiers of liberal democracy in Africa. In Africa, for instance, by the 1990s profound democratic reforms had swept across the entire continent, including South Africa where the white-settler apartheid system collapsed in favour of multi-party democracy. From Algeria to DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo) and from Benin to Kenya, democratic reforms led to the collapse of decades of single-party dictatorships and military rule. Africa's democratic wave of the 1990s and 2000s has been termed "second independence", reminiscent of the anti-colonial struggles of the 1950 and 60s, which led to the end of European colonial projects in Africa.

Activity 7.11

1. Identify and put in rank the major challenges post-colonial African states encountered.

2. What are the major causes of the impoverishment of Africa?

3. List the causes of the Rwandan genocide of 1994 and the lesson the world Community in general and African counties, in particular, should learn from this tragic incident in the modern history of Africa.

4. What was Africa's Second Independence/Liberation?

Unit Summary

The unit explored how different African countries got their independence from European colonial domination. Most African countries got their independence through the non-violent passive resistance movement.

However, the road to independence was more difficult in the colonies where a large number of Europeans settled, for instance, Algeria and South Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The latter, therefore, were compelled to wage guerrilla wars of liberation to attain their independence.

There is no shadow of a doubt that Pan-Africanism and of course, the OAU, the culmination of the Pan-African movement, played an irreplaceable role in the liberation of Africa from European domination in general and white minority rule in particular. However, the OAU failed to bring peace, prosperity, security, and stability to Africa.

For this reason and others, by the beginning of the twenty-first century, the OAU was dissolved and replaced by the AU.

Despite widespread optimism in Africa by the end of colonial rule, the newly independent African countries were troubled by ethnic and border conflicts, debt, drought and famine. These problems reached a climax in the 1980s, often known as the lost decade.

Exercise 7.2 : Unit Review Questions

Part I: Multiple Choices. Choose the correct answer from the given alternatives

1. The First country that gained independence in North Africa was

   A. Tunisia   B. Morocco   C. Libya   D. Algeria

2. Which factor was the main cause of the mass killings in Rwanda in the mid-1990s?

   A. ethnic conflict

   B. isolationist policies

   C. dictatorial rule

   D. religious fundamentalism

3. The wars that took place in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Nigeria in the 1960s, and in Rwanda and Somalia in the early 1990s are similar in that these wars were caused in part by disputes:

   A. over water sources

   B. over oil and mineral rights

   C. between ethnic groups

   D. between Communist and non-Communist forces

4. The North African country which became independent after the guerrilla war of liberation was:

   A. Algeria   B. Tunisia   C. Egypt   D. Morocco

5. The first British Colony that gained independence in sub-Saharan Africa was:

   A. Gold coast   B. Nigeria   C. South Rhodesia   D. the Gambia

6. Identify the **Odd** one:

   A. ANC - South Africa

   B. UGCC- Gold Coast

   C. MNC- Zimbabwe

   D. NCNC – Nigeria

7. Which of the following was not among the challenges that post-independence African countries faced?

   A. Rapid population growth

   B. The HIV/ AIDS Epidemic

   C. Ethnic conflicts

   D. Overproduction of food crops

Unit 8

POST- 1991 DEVELOPMENTS IN ETHIOPIA

Unit Introduction

The unit focuses on post 1991 developments in Ethiopia. It explores the downfall of the Derg regime and the formation of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia; the 1995 Ethiopian constitution and the formation of FDRE; Hydro-politics of the Nile.

Unit learning outcomes

At the end of this unit, the students will be able to:

- distinguish the salient features of the transitional period ;
- debate on some articles of the 1995 FDRE Constitution;
- identify the Nile Basin riparian states and the existing relationship.
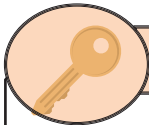
Key Terms

- Transitional Charter
- The 1995 Constitution
- Regional States
- FDRE
- Self-determination
- EPRDF

8.1 TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA (TGE)

Learning outcome of the lesson

At the end of this section, the students will be able to:

- identify the coalition of ethnic-nationalist forces that toppled the *Derg* regime;
- explore major issues incorporated in the Transitional Charter;
- unravel the major articles included in the 1995 Ethiopian constitution;
- point out the unique features of Ethiopian Federalism.

Brainstorming

- What do you know about the 1991 Charter?
- Do you think the 1991 transitional period charter contained better and democratic concepts and values compared with the previous constitutions of the country?

8.1.1 The 1991 Transitional Charter and the Formation of TGE

In 1991, following the end of the decades-long civil war, Ethiopia began a new chapter in its contemporary political history. The Marxist military junta was toppled by a coalition of ethno-nationalist forces, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Front (EPRDF), dominated by the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). Other members of the EPRDF were the Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Movement (EPDM), the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO) and the Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (SEPDM) which joined the coalition in 1992.

The May 1991, London Conference was sponsored by the United States of America and attended by the Ethiopian government headed by Tesfaye Dinka, the EPLF under Isaias Afwerki, the EPRDF under TPLF leader Meles Zenawi, and the OLF under its deputy secretary-general, Lencho Letta.

The United States Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, served as a mediator. The conference was supposed to explore ways to set up a transitional government in Addis Ababa. However, it was soon overtaken by events on the ground and Addis Ababa was occupied by the insurgents on May 28, 1991.

As a result of the occupation of Addis Ababa by the insurgents, talks with government representatives broke down almost immediately, leaving the Eritrean and Tigray rebel leadership to plan the next step with Herman Cohen. A national conference was convened two months later in Addis Ababa to prepare for the transitional phase. An agreement to hold a referendum on independence in Eritrea in two years had been agreed already.

The Ethiopian Democratic and Peaceful Transitional Conference convened in the first week of July 1991. The conferencewas held in accord with agreements reached by the leaders of EPDRF, EPLF, and OLF at the United State borkered peace talks held in London. The number of seats occupied by each group varied according to the size of the ethnic group it represented. Chaired by Meles Zenawi, the meeting followed the agenda prepared by its sponsors. For instance, Herman Cohen, who chaired the meeting in London, announced that the EPRDF would lead an interim government in Addis

Ababa, hold a national conference including all existing political and ethnic organizations in the country and afterward form a coalition government. The 'nationality issue' figured prominently in it, and a heated discussion took place on the issue of secession.

The *de facto* acceptance of Eritrean secession implied in the provision for a referendum on the issue limited to Eritreans passed with only one vote against and four abstentions. The EPLF sweetened the pill by offering Assab for the use of Ethiopia as a free port.

The reorganizing of the Ethiopian state as a federation on an ethnic basis by giving nationalities the right to 'administer their affairs within their own defined territory' was passed with a minimum of reflection. Whether the participants realized the importance of the issue is open to debate.

The new government included an 87-member Council of Representatives and a National Charter that functioned as a transitional constitution. There were 32 political groups represented in the Council of Representatives, but EPRDF-allied groups held 32 of the 87 seats. The TGE included a 17-member, ethnically mixed Council of Ministers. The OLF held four ministerial positions. The Council of Representatives elected Meles Zenawi as chairman of the Council of Representatives and president of Ethiopia.

Despite the participation of various political and ethnic groups in the TGE, violent clashes occurred throughout many parts of Ethiopia. This instability had resulted mainly from the dominance of the EPRDF and its allies in the TGE. Nearly a year after the formation of TGE, the OLF withdrew from the government. In March 1993, the TGE expelled members of the Southern Ethiopia Peoples' Democratic Coalition. Despite these developments, President Meles pledged to oversee the formation of multiparty democracy. In June 1994, there were elections for a 547-member Constituent Assembly that adopted the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

Moreover, the Transitional Charter also established 14 "self-governing regions" of "nations, nationalities, and peoples". Thus from 1991 to 1995, Ethiopia was gradually evolving into a federal system of government.

Activity 8.1

1. What were the major problems of the Transitional Period, and how were they solved?
2. Identify major political parties that participated in the conference drafting of the 1991 Transitional Charter.

8.1.2 The 1995 Constitution and the Formation of the FDRE

The 1995 constitution, which established the country as a federation of the multi-ethnic nation, identified nine states as the sub-national entities that constitute the Ethiopian federation. Ethiopia has been viewed by many commentators as "ethnic" or "ethnical" federalism, perhaps as a result of the ethno linguistic nature of the basis of state formation. The 1995 Federal Constitution was a compact document with a notable degree of clarity and simplicity. It is a document of 106 articles contained in eleven chapters. Principles of rule of law, self-determination, popular (or ethnic) sovereignty, inter-ethnic and inter-religious equality and gender equality are high in the list of priorities.

Moreover, the principles of constitutional supremacy, respect for fundamental rights and freedoms, secularism, and accountability and transparency of government are stipulated as the basic principles of the constitution.

The principle of sanctity of human rights and freedoms is further elaborated by the incorporation of a host of rights in 31 articles (Articles 13-44). Classical civil liberties of individual rights and economic and socio-cultural rights are all recognized. Right to peace, development and environment, too, are granted constitutional recognition.

Group rights (or collective rights as they are also known) are stressed. Thus the right of ethno national communities to self-determination (political, cultural, as well as economic) is rather gratuitously recognized. Ethno-national communities in Ethiopia not only have the right to promote their cultures, develop their languages, preserve their identity and history, they also have the right to "a full measure of self-governance" and even the right to secede from the Ethiopian polity (Article 39).

The federal constitution established a parliamentary system of government with the House of Peoples' Representatives (HPR) as the supreme political organ in the country. The HPR is a legislature whose members are elected for a term of five years.

As such, it is the institution that enjoys the decisional, control and representative powers of legislatures elsewhere. The Upper House, called the House of Federation (HoF), is a representative body whose members are representatives of each "Nation, Nationality, and People". Its main task is constitutional interpretation (Article 62).

The constitution also recognized the establishment of an independent judiciary with the Federal Supreme Court at the top of a three-tier judicial hierarchy. Although the courts are free to decide overall justiciable cases including those in which constitutional rights of citizens stand tall, they have an equivocal position about the power to interpret the constitution as the ultimate interpretive power is explicitly given to the HoF.

The federal constitution makes contemporary Ethiopia a composite of nine states and two city administrations (Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa). The nine states thus established were 1.Tigray; 2.Afar; 3.Amhara; 4.Oromia; 5. Somali 6. Benishangul-Gumuz;; 7.Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' State (SNNPRS); 8. Gambella; and 9. Harari .

Although the states have an ethnic configuration, none of them is homogeneous. Some are even extremely heterogeneous. The SNNPRS, having around 56 different groups, is so diverse and complex that one is prompted to think of a form of "federation within a federation". Benishangul/Gumuz and Gambella have 4-5 ethnic groups within their territory. Afar, Somali, and Oromia, which to many observers seem to be homogeneous, also have considerable numbers of and even pockets of non-Afar, non-Somali, and non-Oromo in their territory. Tigray, another state viewed as entirely homogeneous by many, is also a composite of the dominant Tigray, the Erob and the Kunama.

The Amhara State has the Agaw, the Oromo and other minorities in addition to the dominant Amhara. The Harari State has a large number of Oromo inhabitants, there by necessitating the formation of a coalition government at the state level. In this way, Ethiopia's constitution-makers have tried, or so they claimed, to forge a type of multi-ethnic federation.

In terms of the size of the member states, Oromia State accounts for one-third of the country's total landmass, whereas the Harari State is by far the smallest at only 340 square kilometers. While the State of Somali, the State of Amhara and the State of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples are also large, the rest of the member states are smaller, signifying the asymmetric nature of the Ethiopian federation. Likewise, the ethnic composition of the federation reveals that together the Oromos and Amharas constitute around 70 per cent.

Amharic was chosen as the working language at the federal level, although all languages are declared equal. States have the liberty to choose their working languages within their territory. Thus Tigray has chosen Tigrigna; Oromia has chosen Afaan Oromo; Somali has chosen Somali; Harari has chosen Harari, Afaan Oromo and Amharic. Afar has chosen Amharic until its own Afar language has developed in its script form to effectively meet the needs of the bureaucracy.

Benshangul/Gumuz, Gambella and SNNPRS have chosen Amharic as their working language at the state level primarily because Amharic is more neutral to all of the diverse groups inhabiting their states. In all of these states, ethnic groups are free to use their

languages in schools, local councils, courts, administration and of course in their dealings with the federal government.

> **!** *The Ethiopian federation is designed as a framework within which the Ethiopian ethnic groups can protect their rights and within which they are stimulated to develop a cooperative relationship. To put it differently, the constitutional objective of the federal structure is the creation of 'unity in diversity.*

The major challenges the Ethiopian "brand" of federalism has posed to legal and political actors in contemporary Ethiopia include: a) the threat of secession and internal fragmentation; b) managing extreme inter-state imbalances; c) the task of state-building especially in the economically impoverished and historically underserved states; d) power-sharing in the executive offices; e) choice of capital cities (both at thefederal level and the state level); f) the quest for having more than one working languages at the federal level, and g) the promotion of a uniform human rights standard in the face of an intensely pluralized legal system.

Activity 8.2

1. Among the articles of the 1995 constitution which one do you think is controversial? Why?
2. Mention the regional states that formed the FDRE.

8.2 Hydro-Political History of the Nile (Abay) Basin and Development Issues

Learning outcome of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:
- identify the major tributaries of the Nile River;
- stipulate major agreements signed on the use of the Nile River;
- distinguish major Challenges of democratization in Ethiopia.

### 8.2.1 Hydro-Political History of the Nile (Abay) Basin

The Nile is the world's longest river which flows south to north for about 6825kms. The river crosses over 35 degrees of latitude (the 40S to 310N). It traverses through countries with various climates and natural formations that range from mountainous highlands like

Ethiopia to barren deserts like Egypt.

The Nile has three major tributaries: the Blue Nile (Abay) and the Tekeze (Atbara) which flow from the highlands of Ethiopia, and the White Nile-the headstreams of which flow into Lake Victoria. It traverses eleven countries in Africa, namely, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, and South Sudan. These countries are known as the Nile riparian countries.

The Blue Nile originates from the highlands of Western Gojjam from a kebele named Sekela 100 km South of Lake Tana. From its source to Lake Tana, it bears the name Gilgel Abay meaning smaller Abay and is fed by many smaller tributaries. The Blue Nile joins the White Nile in Khartoum. It contributes about 86% of the annual volume of water to the Nile.

Tekeze River originates from the Siemen Mountains, north-east of Lake Tana, and flows to Sudan bordering Ethiopia and Eritrea. After entering Sudan around Gallabat, Tekeze bears the name Atbara, and flows to Lekahshim al-Gibran Dam. Atbara passes through the valley 290kms north of Khartoum. From January to June, the size of the river decreases greatly and disappears in the deserts of Sudan before reaching the Nile.
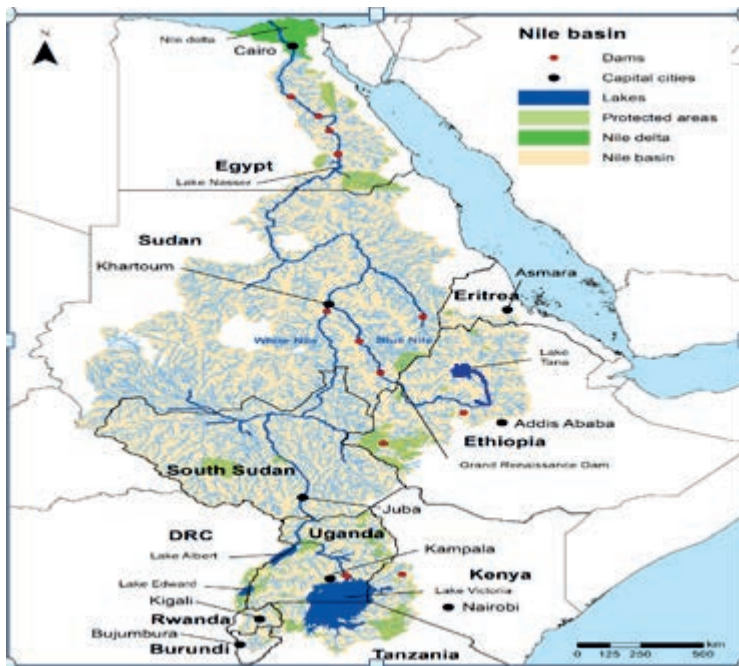
Map 8.1 The Nile Basin Countries, (source: science.org)

From time immemorial until the present, the most extensive user of the Nile water has been in Egypt. Egypt has utilized more water than all other riparian states altogether. The better utilization of the Nile in Egypt is borne out of the necessity that life in the country and settled agriculture are dependent on it. That is the reason why life and agricultural activities in Egypt are completely confined to the Nile valley and its Delta.

On the contrary, although Ethiopia contributes about 86 per cent of the water of the Nile, and its catchment areas occupy more than 60 per cent of the total area of the country, it utilizes less than 1 per cent of the Nile up until recent times.

The agreements signed in the twentieth century, both during and after the colonial period reserved the whole waters of the Nile for the lower riparian counties of Egypt and to some extent Sudan. The first important agreement was the 1929 Agreement between Great Britain, on behalf of the Sudan, and Egypt.

The agreement gave Egypt the right to veto any project on the Nile that could adversely affect its interests. Nevertheless, the agreement could not have any binding effect since it did not include any of the upper riparian states of the Nile.

This agreement was challenged by Sudan soon after its independence. The Sudanese argued that the agreement was no longer valid because it was signed by Britain and Egypt without consulting with them and had discriminated against Sudan by granting it only 4-billion-meter cubic water of the Nile. Thus, Egypt and Sudan signed the 1959 agreement after three consecutive years (1956-1958) of deadlock or no-peace no-war kind of relationship that has been created along their common boundaries.

The 1959 Agreement granted Egypt 55.5 billion cubic meters per annum while Sudan's share increased to 18.5 billion cubic meters. Therefore, the 1959 Agreement was a watershed in the hydro-political history of the Nile valley, it strengthened a monopoly on the waters of the Nile by Egypt and Sudan.

The agreement ignored the natural and legal rights of the remaining riparian states to the bounty of the Nile water resources and left no room whatsoever for the other co-basin countries, including Ethiopia, which contributes 86 percent of the total annual flow of the Nile.

Following the coming of the EPRDF to power, attempts were made to resolve differences in the use of the Nile waters between Ethiopia and Egypt. As a result, an agreement known as Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA) was signed between the two countries, Ethiopia represented by Meles Zenawi and Egypt by Hosni Mubarak. It was an agreement for general cooperation in the utilization of the Nile waters corresponding to

international law. It was only a talk to further talk on the Nile water question, which can neither be considered as a treaty or an agreement nor even a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU).

It mentioned neither the 1959 Agreement nor the principle of 'fair and equitable utilization of the Nile waters, which Ethiopia has all along been calling for. Instead, the 'no harm principle' that protects the interests of Egypt was mentioned in the accord. Even then, however, the then President of Ethiopia, Meles Zenawi, reiterated in the meeting that the status quo concerning the Nile cannot be maintained indefinitely.

The most important agreement signed so far is what is known as the Nile Basin Initiatives (NBI). It was a plan signed between the Nile riparian states, represented by their ministers of water development, in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania). For the first time in the Basin's history, an all-inclusive basin-wide institution was established, on 22nd February 1999, to provide a forum for consultation and coordination among the Basin states for the sustainable management and development of the shared Nile Basin water and related resources for win-win benefits.

As indicated above, the agreements signed so far did not recognize the interests of the upper riparian states regarding the Nile water. As a result, some Nile riparian countries have asserted their development ambitions on the river over the last two decades and pushed for a new agreement to enshrine equitable rights and harmonious use of the water. One such country is Ethiopia. As a result, Ethiopia has embarked on the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) in the Benishangul-Gumuz region of Ethiopia on the Abay River.

Construction of the Grand Renaissance Dam started in April 2011 and is a central part of Ethiopia's ambitions for economic prosperity. It is largely self-financed and will have a capacity of 74 billion Cubic meters when completed, enough to provide abundant cheap energy to power both national and regional developments. Currently, more than half of Ethiopia's 110 million people do not have access to electricity, but demand is increasing by 30 per cent annually.

Figure 8.1 The Under Construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, (source: countryhighlights.com)

Dispute between downstream states of Egypt and Sudan and upstream Ethiopia escalated when the latter unilaterally commenced the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) on the Blue Nile in 2011. Soon upon the announcement of the beginning of its construction, the three riparian states have embarked on difficult negotiations that stretched over a decade and ended in a political deadlock.

Activity 8.3

1. Mention the major tributaries of the Nile River.
2. Identify the major terms of the 1929 and 1959 agreements signed pertaining to the use of Nile waters.
3. What is GERD?
4. What makes the NBI different from the agreements signed on the use of the Nile River?

8.2.2 Development Issues and Challenges of the Democratization Process in Ethiopia

Despite its proud history and vast natural resources, Ethiopia remains one of the poorest countries in the world. In 1992, immediately after assuming power, the new Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) adopted a free-market economic model as the guiding principle- a clear departure from the socialist economic model pursued under the previous regime for over a decade.

Several reform measures were introduced that aimed to improve the conditions of the war-ravaged economy. Among these, the Agricultural-led Development of Industrialization (ALDI) strategy was adopted to try and industrialize the predominantly agrarian economy of the country. The rationale was that by improving the productivity of the agricultural sector transformation to an industrialized economy could be achieved.

The reasoning was that inducing a surplus in the agricultural sector would stimulate consumerism and create the foundational demand for industrial growth.

The country's economy has grown steadily from the baseline of 0.5% per annum from 1981 to 1991 to 5.1% per annum from 1992 to 2004 to impressive levels of around 10.9% per annum from 2005 to 2015. These growth rates are some of the fastest, in the world, for a non-oil producing country.

Ethiopia has also made significant improvements to its internal infrastructure and in its ability to attract foreign investment. Two good examples of infrastructure development are expansions made to the nation's road network and the construction of the 'Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. The road network has grown from 18,000Km in 1991 to over 120, 000Km nowadays-a significant increase of 70% over 25 years.

Despite the steady economic growth in the 1990s, followed by rapid, sustained, growth between 2004/5 to 2015, and a concurrent improvement in socio-economic conditions, the country remains one of the poorest in the world. About 25 million people, around a quarter of the population, still live below the poverty line (living on less than 1.25 dollars. Every year, before and after the economic boom of 2005, between 5 and 18 million Ethiopians have had to depend on food aid. Levels of food insecurity massively increased in 2015 when one of the country's worst droughts occurred.

Moreover, the development of the infrastructure and the economic growth registered are characterized by the lack of fair distribution among the regional states and the concentration of wealth among the few rich.

The FDRE constitution itself is still contested for its content and how it came about. It was

seen more as a formalization of the EPRDF's

political program than the supposed document of supreme importance that would mark a fresh political start based on lofty ideals. The period from the promulgation of the constitution to the present day has unfortunately been marred by recurrent political upheavals, particularly in the aftermath of certain political events such as elections.

The constitution, supposed to protect the rights of the citizens, was grossly violated by the government. These were outbreaks of ethnic-based clashes in different parts of the country instigated by groups affiliated with the governing bodies and the imprisonments of leaders of the opposition and human rights activists. Though there was some attempt to allow a degree of freedom of expression, it was severely curtailed.

The path of the five regional and national elections held in 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2015 reveal the country's uncomfortable political road. The ruling party, though it expressly declared its commitment to the establishment of multi-party democracy, preventing the appearance   or existence of a strong opposition party. Those who were able to survive were targets of harassment at times of election. As a result, the first two elections were largely boycotted by the opposition, thereby undermining the legitimacy of the political process and the EPRDF as a ruling party.

The EPRDF, therefore, won the first two elections without facing many serious challenges. In the third election (2005), the opposition forces regrouped and seriously participated. The initial optimism surrounding the election, which most observers saw as a genuine multiparty exercise, was soon replaced by disappointment as the ruling EPRDF and the major opposition alliances, the Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD) and the Union of Ethiopian Democratic Forces(UEDF), declared themselves the winners before all the votes had even been counted.

However, the opposition did make significant gains in the country's urban areas and some regions (Oromia, Amhara and the Southern Nations and Nationalities) winning up to 173 out of the 547 seats.

In the capital, Addis Ababa, the opposition won all the Federal parliamentary seats as well   as those of the city administration council. The controversy surrounding the election process sparked violent protests that claimed the lives of more than 200 protesters. Furthermore, members of the CUD coalition refused to take up their seats in parliament and consequently, its leaders ended up in jail. Journalists and some civil society leaders were also imprisoned alongside CUD leaders.

Activity 8.4

1. What is the Agricultural Led Development of Industrialization (ALDI)?
2. Mention some of the challenges that the FDRE encountered in the process of democratization.

Unit Summary

The coming to power of the EPRDF, the ethnic-nationalist coalition dominated by the TPLF, marked the downfall of the *Derg* regime and the conclusion of a civil war that mainly ravaged northern Ethiopia.

The Transitional Government of Ethiopia had an 87-member Council of Representatives, which drafted a National Charter that functioned as a transitional constitution. The Charter established 14 "self-governing regions" of "nations, nationalities, and peoples" and laid the foundation for the Federal form of government.

The 1995 constitution established the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE), which is composed of nine regional states and two city councils. The constitution established a parliamentary system of government with the House of Peoples' Representatives (HPR) whose members are elected for a term of five years and the House of Federation (HOF), which is a representative organ whose members are representatives of each "Nation, Nationality, and People".

Ethiopia is a source of two of the three major tributaries of the Nile River, namely Abay (Blue Nile) and Tekkeze (Atbara), and it contributes about 86 percent of the Nile Waters. However, from time immemorial to the present time, the most extensive use of the Nile water has been in Egypt.

According to the 1929 and 1959 agreements, all the water of the Nile has been shared by two lower riparian countries, namely Egypt and Sudan. The agreements ignored the natural and legal rights of the remaining riparian states to use the Nile water.

However, in recent years the upper riparian counties in general and Ethiopia, in particular, have asserted their development ambitions on the river and pushed for a new agreement to enshrine equitable rights and harmonious use of the water.

Exercise 8.1 : Unit Review Questions   ?

Part I: True or false Items. Say "True" for correct statements and "False"
         for incorrect ones

1. Harar and Jimma are the two city administrations according to the 1995 constitution.
2. The first agreement signed between Egypt and the Sudan on the Nile river was the 1995 Agreement.
3. The FDRE constitution has thirteen chapters.
4. The first president of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) was Negaso Gidada.
5. Following the 2005 Ethiopian Elections, the opposition parties won about 173 out of the 547 seats of the House of Peoples' Representatives.

Part II: Multiple Choices. Choose the best answer from the given alternatives

1. Which one of the following political parties was not a member of a coalition known as EPRDF?

   A. TPLF   B. EPDM   C. OLF   D. OPDO

2. The May 1991 London Conference aimed at mediating the *Derg* regime and the insurgents was made under the auspices of

   A. Great Britain

   B. USA

   C. USSR

   D. France

3. The London conference of 1991 was said to have been ended before it began because

   A. The representative of the *Derg* was not ready to negotiate with the insurgents

   B. The Insurgents entered Addis on the day of the launching of the conference

   C. It was dictated by Isaias Afeworki of Eritrea

   D. The EPRDF left as soon as the conference kicked off

4. The 1995 Ethiopian Constitution was different from the previous Ethiopian constitution because

   A. The 1995 constitution was the first written constitution in the history of the country

   B. It was the first constitution to endorse the federal form of government

   C. It was the first construction that endorsed the bicameral house of parliament

   D. All of the above

5. The First president of the transitional Government of Ethiopia was

    A. Negaso Gidada

    B. Meles Zenawi

    C. Mengistu Haile Mariam

    D. Girma Wolde

6. The largest regional state of the FDRE Ethiopia is

    A. SNNPRS

    B. Afar Regional State

    C. Oromia Regional State

    D. Amhara Regional State

Unit 9

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE AND HERITAGES OF ETHIOPIA

Unit Introduction

This unit deals with indigenous knowledge and heritages in Ethiopia. Ethiopia is endowed with diverse kinds of cultural and natural heritages as well as tangible and intangible heritages. The intangible heritages, which include songs, recipes, languages, dances, and many other elements, attest who we are and how we identify ourselves. They are important as historical buildings and archaeological sites of tangible heritages. Our heritage is our inheritance-what the past has passed to us, what we value in the present and what we choose to preserve for the future generation. This unit contains the following major lessons:indigenous knowledge and its role in sustainable development, characteristics of indigenous knowledge, specific and unique knowledge systems within a particular cultural group and region, the role of indigenous knowledge for overall development,heritages of Ethiopia, values of heritages, and types of heritages.

Unit learning outcomes

At the end of this unit, the students will be able to:

- respect others through exposure to a way of life different from their own;
- differentiate tangible and intangible heritage;
- evaluate the effectiveness of indigenous conflict resolution systems in Ethiopia.

🔑 Key Terms

- Indigenous knowledge
- Heritage
- Tangible Heritage
- Intangible Heritage

9.1 Indigenous Knowledge

Learning outcomes of the lesson

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- identify the essence of indigenous knowledge;
- appreciate the role of indigenous knowledge in development.

Brainstorming

- What do you know about indigenous knowledge?
- Do you think that indigenous knowledge is significant to sustainable development? If yes/no, how?

Indigenous knowledge is the knowledge that assists society in making judgments regarding activities that are compatible with their way of life. It is the knowledge that locals utilize to earn a living in a certain setting. It is often known as "local knowledge," and it is what indigenous people have passed down from generation to generation through oral tradition and practice. Indigenous knowledge shapes people's worldviews and gives guidance for their social, economic, political, and spiritual survival. Indigenous knowledge can take the following forms: indigenous laws, rituals, local classification and quantification systems for plants, animals, soils, water, air, and weather; indigenous methods of counting and quantifying; learning systems-indigenous educational methods, indigenous agricultural farming and crop systems, indigenous medicine, pest management systems, and so on.

9.1.1 The Role of Indigenous Knowledge for overall Development; Characteristics of Indigenous Knowledge

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- give concrete examples of the significance of indigenous knowledge to the overall development of the country;
- identify the characteristics of indigenous knowledge.

Indigenous knowledge provides problem-solving strategies for local communities. It represents an important component of global knowledge on development issues. Learning from indigenous knowledge can improve understanding of local conditions. Indigenous people can provide valuable input about the local environment and how to effectively manage the natural resources. Indigenous knowledge systems and technologies have been

proven to be socially desired, economically viable, and sustainable, posing little danger to rural farmers and producers, and, most importantly, conserving resources. Learning from indigenous knowledge can improve understanding of agriculture, healthcare, food security, education and natural resource management issues. Preserving indigenous knowledge contributes to the cultural and political self-reliance.

Activity 9.1

Group work:

1. List down specific examples of indigenous knowledge in your locality (e.g. indigenous medicine, indigenous social institution, etc.,) and explain the use and practices of the indigenous knowledge.

9.1.2 Characteristics of Indigenous Knowledge

Brainstorming

- Do you think indigenous knowledge help us to solve problems? Give reasons?

Indigenous knowledge is simple and practical. It links the survival of every human being to the wholeness of nature and its elements that support life. It provides the concrete situations of communities regarding the environment and provides practical solutions to the problems of the people. This knowledge deals with simple but applied education, economics, politics, religion, sciences and technologies of indigenous societies. It provides basic and rich ground for the development of modern society.

Indigenous knowledge developed over a long period. Its patterns are based upon local knowledge systems and it is expressed in local languages. In many cases, this knowledge has been passed from generations to generations orally. Some forms of indigenous knowledge are expressed through stories, legends, folklore, rituals, songs, and even laws.

Exercise 9.1

Write a short answer for the following question

Explain briefly the characteristics of indigenous knowledge.

9.1.3 Some Specific and Unique Knowledge Systems in Ethiopia Among a Particular Cultural Groups and Regions

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:

- identify indigenous conflict resolution methods used in their locality;
- appreciate the different roles elders play in their community.

Brainstorming

- Mention any indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms you know

Indigenous knowledge is manifested in numerous ways. Some of these are management strategies, decision-making procedures, dispute resolution practices, indigenous laws, and rights. In Ethiopia, indigenous conflict resolution is one of the most popular techniques of conflict settlement.

Local leaders, chiefs, religious leaders, healers, and elders lead the process of resolving problems using indigenous techniques. These authorities are respected for their extensive understanding of local customs, traditions, history, and contending parties' relationships. They have a wealth of conflict resolution expertise, and their ability to understand symbols of reconciliation, as well as their oratory abilities and social capital as community leaders, enable them to negotiate a settlement to the issue.

The indigenous dispute resolution mechanism is an informal way of resolving conflicts. Indigenous or informal dispute resolution mechanisms are old collections of techniques found in all communities. They resolve conflicts through arbitration and mediation. The main aim of this mechanism is to come up with a solution based on the recognized customs and morality of the society. This mechanism helps to restore a good relationship among the conflicting parties.

In every corner of the country, there are age-old, culturally deep-rooted mechanisms of conflict resolution. These indigenous institutions in Ethiopia have their custom of settling conflicts. The following are examples of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms and knowledge systems in Ethiopia.

Mada'a and *Dagu* of Afar People

The Afar are predominantly pastoral community who inhabit the northeastern part of Ethiopia. The indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution among the Afar is known as *Mada'a*. Elders and clan leaders have been playing a pivotal role in conflict resolution in the context of indigenous law. It is an unwritten law that is transmitted orally from generation to generation. Elders of the *Mada'a*, not representing members in disputes, are selected from different clans. The decisions by the council of elders are effective based on the tradition of forgiveness, respect for elders, and the transfer of resources as compensation.

Because of their predominantly pastoral way of life, they have an indigenous, unique information exchange system called *Dagu*. This indigenous communication network is an age-old system of information management, which involves the process of passing as well as receiving information or news about what two or more individuals have seen or heard. It is a news medium that serves all members of society virtually equally regardless of their social status. It is through *Dagu* that they learn of any newcomers to their desert realm, of the conditions of water holes and grazing lands, of missing camels and caravans. Moreover, it helps them learn about weddings and funerals, new alliances and betrayals, the latest battles fought, and the conditions of the trail ahead.

Figure 9.1 *Dagu* of Afar people

Jaarsuuma, Sinqe institution, Guma

In grade nine, you learned about the *Gadaa* system. *Gadaa* is the indigenous democratic system of governance of the Oromo. In the *Gadaa* system, the people are grouped and organied into five *Gadaa* classes that succeed each other every eight years in assuming economic, political, military and social responsibilities. The foundation of the *Gadaa* system is rooted in the informal or customary Oromo institutions of *aadaa* (custom or tradition), *seera* (laws), *safuu* (a moral category that prescribes what human actions and behaviors ought to be). It is the Oromo concept of Ethics) and *heera* (justice). These institutions form indigenous systems of knowledge and include the rules and regulations that determine access to natural resources. They are also conflict-resolution institutions uniquely placed to assist in tackling the interlinked problems of the environment, welfare, and conflict.

In most Ethiopian traditions, community elders are key decision-makers and conflict mediators. The other important informal institution of conflict resolution is the institution of araara (reconciliation). The process of reconciliation between conflicting individuals or groups by a group of *Jaarsaas* is *jaarsummaa*. Individuals or groups who are involved in the conflict are more likely to accept guidance from these mediators than from other sources because elders' decision is highly respected and supported by society.

The term *jaarsa* is the Oromo version of elder, and *jaarsummaa* is the process of reconciliation between conflicting individuals or groups of *jaarsaas* (elders). The decision of the elders emphasizes the need for cooperation and a win-win solution instead of unconstructive competition among the disputants, resulting in a win-lose situation. The following Oromo proverb describes why a win-win is desired: "*Akka Haroon hin gognee akka raachi hin dune*" (for the lake not to dry, for the frogs not to die).

Figure 9.2 *Jaarsuummaa* of the Oromo people

Gumaa is the other widely practised indigenous way of resolving conflicts relating to homicide or murder. It refers to the blood money paid to the slain's family or the payment made to the seriously injured individuals. It is vital to settle disputes, especially when serious cases like murder happen. The *gumaa* system is capable of creating an environment conducive to justice through narrations of and reflections on past experiences related to the conflict.

The legitimacy of the system becomes credible through the nomination of elders who are mature in years, knowledgeable about the process, and rich in their practical experiences. Compared to the formal justice systems, the indigenous conflict resolution system is also free from corruption and politicization.

The nominated elder examines whether the procedures followed are in line with the heera (customary law and justice procedure.) In the gumaa system, decisions are made after close examination of data obtained from witnesses, and the conflicting parties express repentance. This mechanism also has its system of secretly investigating crimes committed against human life or property.

The instrument through which women's rights are duly respected among the Oromo is known as *Siinqee*(*Siiqee*). *Siinqee*(*Siiqee*) is a stick (*Ulee*) symbolizing a socially sanctioned set of rights exercised by women.

Siinqee (*Siiqee*) is a special stick that a woman who gets legally married receives on her wedding day. It is also important to note that *Siinqee* (*Siiqee*) is not merely a term

for a material symbol, it also refers to an institution, namely a women's organization that excludes men, and has both religious and political functions. Women use their *Siinqee* (*Siiqee*) in various religious, social, political and economic contexts to protect their property rights, to assert control over sexuality and fertility, protect their social rights and maintain religious and moral authority.

Women in the Oromo society are considered symbols of mediation and peace building and are respected by the community. As an institution of conflict resolution, *Siinqee* (*Siiqee*) helps to resolve conflicts between different social groups, like between spouses, mother and son, the Oromo and other ethnic groups and so on.

Whenever a woman's right has been violated, the women ululate to notify to each other. Upon hearing the sound, women respond by moving to the place carrying their *Siinqee*. Every woman is obliged to respond to the call. Then, the women go to the *Gada* Council singing a song in which they announce the specific activities which led to the breach of thier rights.

At the council, they are welcomed respectfully and invited to speak out about the wrongdoing. Afterwards, the person accused of wrongdoing was brought to justice and the appropriate punitive measures would be taken against him.

Figure 9.3 *Sinqee*, the ritual stick of Oromo woman

Shimgelina

Among the Amhara people, the main indigenous conflict resolution mechanism is *Shimgelina*, which is comparable to the *Jarsuumma* of the Oromo people. In this indigenous conflict resolution mechanism, five *Shimageles* (elders) would be appointed by the disputing parties themselves based on their choice. They are recognized as solution makers since they have the power to make binding decisions and impose

solutions on behalf of the parties. They can sanction social measures in case one of the parties fails to comply with the ruling or agreement. The *Shimageles* often follow up on agreements and strive to improve relationships in post-meditation sessions.

Figure 9.4 *Shimegilena*, cultural peace building process in Ethiopia

Shimegilena is preferable due to its accessibility, low cost, and trust. In most cases, a priest of the local church serves as chairman to make the system more acceptable to society. There are different types of activities that are performed by the disputants as part of the ceremony celebrating the resolution of the conflict. These include exchange of assets, prayers and sacrificing to GOD and habitual activities such as jumping over the rifles, drinking and eating jointly, playing and dancing or consuming some drugs.

Activity 9.2

Pair work:

1. What are the significances of *Dagu* of Afar people, *Jaarsumma* of Oromo people or *Shimgelena* of Amahara people?
2. Explain the role of the *Sinqee* institution in the indigenous conflict resolution mechanism of the Oromo people.

The Sidama *Luwa* system is an age-related institution performing ritual, cultural and political roles. It is administered by an age grade system where each grade rotates every 8 years. There are five rotating age grades in the *Luwa* system: *Darara*, *Fullassa*, *Hirobora*, *Wawassa* and *Mogissa*.

The *Luwa* system has two important objectives. The first and the most important one is the recruitment and training of the able bodied men for the defence of the nation. The second objective is the development of potential elders who will have authorities to replace the current elders (Cimeeyye).

The cyclical feature of the luwa system means that all males progress from a youth status of providing service to senior positions of redistributing wealth and knowledge. The youth learn skills by attending council meetings where elders make decisions. Hence, elders have a direct influence on the youth, who constitute the productive forces and the basis of wealth creation.

There were also other independent socio economic institutions which reflect a unique and egalitarian culture of the Sidama society. Among such institutions the most notable one is *Seera*.

The Sidama Seera system is divided into two: the first refers to the broad concept of Seera as a social constitution which governs the Sidama social life based on the Sidama moral code of halale (the ultimate truth). The Sidama moral code halale, provides the basis for distinguishing "good" and "evil" and in the broadest sense the term refers to ´the true way of life.´

In Kambata and Hadiya culture, the basis for political administration, social involvement, and dispute resolution processes is *Seera*. *Seera* refers to the code of behaviour that is followed and internalized by the people. It governs the interactions of people, clans, and territorial groups. Some of the topics governed by the *Seera* are activities that bind all love affairs, marriage and family connections, peer group organizations, work and enjoyment parties, games and sports, hunting bands, and so on. *Seera* recommends how farmers interact with the environment, youth with the elderly, and women with men. Peace, correction, and reintegration are the goals of Seera governance. *Seera* administration is overseen by the village elders, who are often regarded as wise and patient and have wide-ranging knowledge of justice and peace

Activity 9.3

Pair work: Discuss in group and answer the following questions

1. Write a short essay of one page on one of the indigenous conflict resolution methods in your local area.

9.2 Heritages of Ethiopia

At the end of this lesson the students will be able to:

- advocate for indigenous knowledge systems and national heritages;
- categorize heritages of the local area based on their types and forms

9.2.1. Meaning and Values of Heritages

Brainstorming

- Mention any indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms you know

Heritage is something that can be passed from generation to generation, something that can be conserved or inherited, and something that has historic or cultural value. Heritage might be understood to be a physical 'object': a piece of property, a building or a place that can be 'owned' and 'passed on' to someone else.

Besides these physical objects and places of heritage, there are also a variety of heritage practices that are preserved or passed down from generation to generation. Language, culture, popular song, literature, and dress, for example, are just as significant in helping us comprehend who we are as the physical artifacts and buildings that we are more accustomed to thinking of as 'heritage.'

The term 'heritage values' refers to the meanings and values that individuals or groups of people bestow on heritage (including buildings, archaeological sites, landscapes and intangible expressions of culture, such as traditions). There are many classifications of values, including historical, aesthetic, economic, social, scientific and an array of other types.

9.2.2. Types of Heritages

At the end of this lesson, the students will be able to:
- identify the heritages of Ethiopia registered by UNESCO;
- communicate Ethiopian heritage centres to the world using IT.

Brainstorming

- Mention heritages of Ethiopia registered by UNESCO.
- Mention any tangible or intangible heritage in your local area.

There are different types of Heritages. These include Natural, tangible, and intangible heritages.

A. Natural Heritage consists of

i. Physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view.

ii. geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas, which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding value from the point of view of science or conservation;

iii. natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty.

B. Intangible heritage: refers to those practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills, instruments, objects, and artefacts.

These are manifested in the following domains:

* oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
* performing arts;
* social practices, rituals and festive events;
* knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
* indigenous handcrfts.

C. Tangible Heritage: Tangible Heritage refers to physical artifacts produced, maintained and transmitted from generation to generation. It includes artistic creations, buildings and historic places, monuments, artifacts, etc., which are considered worthy of preservation for the future.

The heritages of Ethiopia registered by UNESCO include the following:

1. **The Stelae of Axum** in Tigray National Regional State, symbolizes the wealth and importance of the civilization of the ancient Aksumite kingdom. Due to its historical value, Axum and its archaeological sites were included in the List of World Heritage Sites in 1980.

2. **The Rock-hewn Churches of Lalibela** are found in the Amhara National Regional state. The churches were carved out of a singed rock. It was registered by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site in 1978. All eleven churches represent a unique artistic achievement, in their execution, size and the variety and boldness of their form.

3. **Fasil Ghebbi (the Premise of King Fasiledes):** This heritage is found in Gonder town. As true evidence of an architectural beauty deeply marked by the country's ancient civilization, the Royal enclosure (Fasil Ghebbi) was registered by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site.

4. **The Simien Mountains National Park:** This Park is found in Amhara National Regional State North Gondar Administrative Zone. The Park is home to some extremely rare animals such as the Gelada baboon, the Simien fox and the Walia ibex. The Park is

one of the first sites to be included in the list of World Heritage in 1978.

5. **The Lower Valley of Awash:** The Lower Valley of Awash is located 300 km northeast of Addis Ababa in Afar Regional State. This is a site of Paleo-anthropological research. The Lower Valley of Awash was included in the list of World Heritage sites in 1980.

6. **The Lower valley of Omo**: Located in South Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. The discovery of many human and animal fossils and stone tools in the valley has been of fundamental importance in the study of human evolution. It was listed as a World Heritage Site in 1980.

7. **Tiya**: It is found 90km South of Addis Ababa, in the Soddo Region of Ethiopia. The site contains 36 monuments, including 32 carved stelae covered with symbols. This archaeological site was listed as a World Heritage Site in 1980.

8. **Harar Jugol**: The fortified historic town of Harar is located in the eastern part of Ethiopia, 525 km from Addis Ababa. The wall (Jugol) was built during the time of Emir Nur Ibn Mujahid in the 16th century. In recognition of its cultural heritage, the Historic City of Harar (Jugol) was registered by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site in 2006.

9. **Konso cultural landscape**: Konso Cultural Landscape is an arid property of stone-walled terraces and fortified settlements in the Konso highlands of Ethiopia, which was inscribed on the world heritage list in 2011.

10. ***Mesqel Demera* ceremony (the Finding of the True Cross)**: Meskel, the commemoration feast of the finding of the True Holy Cross of Christ, was inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2013.

11. ***Gadaa***: The *Gadda* system is an indigenous democratic socio-political system of the Oromo people. *Gadaa* was inscribed on the representative list of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity in 2016.

12. ***Fichee-Chambalaalla*-** is a New Year celebration and stands out as one of the most important holidays of the Sidama. *Fiche-Chambalaalla* was inscribed on the representative list of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity in 2015.

13. ***Timket, Ethiopian Epiphany***: The festival of Timiket or Epiphany to commemorate the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan River is celebrated across Ethiopia on January 19th or 20th in the leap year. This festival is best known for its ritual reenactment of baptism. It has become the fourth for Ethiopia in the list of UNESCO intangible cultural heritage lists in 2019.
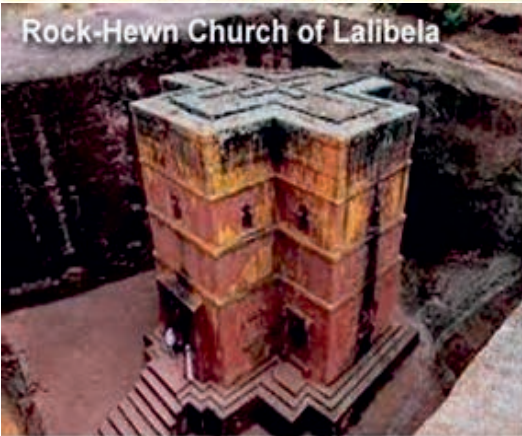
Figure 9.5 Some tangible Heritages in Ethiopia

Festivals are classified under intangible heritages. Some of the most important cultural and religious festivals in Ethiopia include *Ashenda, Ashendiye , Shadey* or *Solel*. The festival known as *Ashenda ,Ashendiye*, *Shaday* or *Solel* is the biggest and unique religious and cultural festival in Tigray and Amhara regional states that is solely for girls and young women.

Religious belief has been a vital aspect of human existence. Man has always been in search of purpose and meaning, and thus, has birthed many different religions with their unique way of celebrating. One of these festivals is *Irrecha*. *Irreecha* (also called *Irreessa*), is the annual thanksgiving day of Oromo celebrated every year at the beginning of *Birra* (spring), the new season, near the river bank or water and tree. *Irreechaa* is celebrated every year in September at Bishoftu Hora Harsadii and other Oromia major cities.

Manuscripts

Ethiopia is exceptional in sub-Saharan Africa, it has a written tradition in the Gé´éz language. After the introduction of Christianity in the 4th century, Ethiopian manuscripts flourished as a result of support the writers got from the state. Hence, Ethiopia has a considerable number of manuscripts.

There were special schools for calligraphy in Gondar and Shewa. There was a school for bookbinding. The trainers were assigned to the royal court to record events. The writing materials have always been parchment from goatskin, ink-both black and red, from different plants and minerals. Pens are made from a few local sorts of reed or bamboo.

Figure 9.6   Manuscripts written in Ge'ez

Temples

Ethiopia has several temples which can be classified as tangible heritages. Some of these temples date back to the Pre-Christian era. The well-known ones are the temple of Yeha, the old cathedral of St. Mary of Zion at Aksum, Rock-hewn Churches of Lalibela, monasteries and others. The Temple of Yeha is located in Yeha, northeast Adwa. This is a tower built in the Sabaean style and dated through comparison with ancient structures in South Arabia to around 700BC.

Figure 9.7   Temple of Yeha

Mosques

Following the introduction and expansion of Islam in Ethiopia, many mosques were built in different parts of the country.

Figure 9.8   Mosque of Negash, Tigray and the Grand Anwar Mosque, Addis Ababa

Palaces

The well-known palaces in Ethiopia are the Palace of King Fasilidas, Grand palace of Menilek, Palace of Jimma Abba Jifar II, Palace of *Ras* Ali, the palace of Kumsa Moreda and others.

Figure 9.9 Palaces of Abba Jifar II of Jimma (left) and Kumsa Moreda of Nekemet (Right)

Caves, houses
Sof Omar

It is one of the most remarkable and extensive underground caves in the world. The Sof Omar cave system was formed by the Weyb River, as it changed its course in the distant past and carved a new channel through limestone foothills.

Figure 9.10   Sof Omer caves

Halala Keela (Halala kab) of Dawuro

The Dawuro wall was constructed on strategic defense positions, bordered by the Omo and Gojeb Rivers. The construction of these dry-stone walls might have begun in the second half of the the16[th] century and was completed probably in the second half of the 18th century during the reign of King *Halala*. The wall started from somewhere in the area where Gofa, South Omo Zone, Konta Special Woreda and Kafa Zone come in contact in the south and extends up to some places in Jimma Zone.

Figure 9.11 *Halala Keela (Halala Kab) of Dawuro*

Unit Summary

Indigenous knowledge helps society make decisions about activities that are acceptable to theirways of life. It is a knowledge used by local people to make a living in a particular environment, inherited from earlier times via the oral tradition.

Indigenous knowledge is implemented in the practical life of society in various forms. These include management practices: decision-making processes, conflict management practices, indigenous laws, rights.

Heritage include everything that people want to save, including material culture and nature. It is the full range of our inherited traditions, monuments, objects, and culture.

Our heritage includes those places with natural, indigenous or historic values that we have inherited and want to pass on to future generations. Heritage provides an important context for our perception of ourselves as Ethiopians and is part of the social glue that binds communities together and expresses identity.

Exercise 9.2 : Unit Review Questions

Part I: Multiple Choices. Choose the correct answer from the given alternatives

1. Which of the following is an example of intangible heritage?
    A. Steal of Aksum
    B. Palace of Jimma Abba Jifar II
    C. Jugol of Harar
    D. Fiche-Chamballala

2. Which of the following is not correct about indigenous knowledge?
    A. transmitted orally from generation to generation
    B. provides problem-solving strategies for local communities
    C. generated within a community in location and culture
    D. expressed in universal languages

3. Among the following, the one which represents the role of women in defending their rights is
    A. Siinqee institution
    B. Bayito
    C. Dagu
    D. Ashenda

4. The most important function of the *Dagu* of Afar is
    A. to settle conflicts among the community
    B. to strengthen economic support and aid
    C. to exchange information
    D. to perform annual festivals

5. Tangible heritages include all, except
    A. buildings
    B. handicrafts
    C. paintings
    D. songs

6. The indigenous democratic socio-political system of the Oromo people is known as
    A. *Sinqee*   B. *Irrecha*   C. *Gadda*   D. *Heera*

7. Which one of the following has been inscribed on the representative list of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity by UNESCO?
    A. Jugol of Harar   B. *Dagu*   C. Tiya   D. *Gadaa*

GLOSSARY

Abolition: the ending of slavery.

Absolute monarch: supreme ruler (King, queen, emperor or empress) with unlimited power.

Absolutism: a form of government under which the ruler has unlimited, or absolute power.

Aggressive: ready and willing to fight, violent.

Alliance: close relationship between two or more nations for a common purpose or mutual advantage.

Allied: joined in alliance by compact or treaty.

Anarchy: the absence of any form of government.

Apartheid: south African policy of strict racial separation.

Appeasement: policy of yielding to the demand of the aggressor in the hope of preserving peace.

Aristocracy: form of government that is headed by a privileged ruling class holding hereditary titles (Kings and queens, princes and princesses).

Armament: a military or naval force, weapons, arms.

Armistice: an agreement for the cessation of active hostilities between two or more belligerents

Artefacts: objects, such as tools and weapons.

Artisan: a skilled worker skilled in a particular craft.

Autocracy: a form of government in which a person holds absolute power Anarchy- a state of lawlessness and disorder.

Autocratic: characteristic of an absolute ruler or absolute rule; having absolute sovereignty.

Autonomy: freedom from external restraint, self-government.

Blitzkrieg: the German word for "lightening war".

Blockade: the shutting off of an enemy port or region to prevent goods from coming in or going out.

Bolsheviks : members of a highly disciplined Marxist party founded in 1903, and seized power in October 1917.

Bourgeoisie: the term used to describe the city dwelling middle class (the capitalist class), who own most of the wealth in a capitalist system.

Boycott: withdraw from commercial or social relations with (a country, organization, or person) as a punishment or protest.

Capitalism: is an economic system featuring the private ownership of business wealth and free trade markets.

Caravans: groups of people banding together for safety while journeying through dangerous or hostile regions.

Central Powers: in World War I the alliance of Germany and Austria-Hungary and other nations allied with them in opposing the Allies.

Century: a period of 100 years.

Chancellor: the person who is head of state (in several countries).

Chronological: relating to or arranged according to the order of time.

Civilization: an advanced society with complex technical skills, highly developed group living, division of labour, and advanced intellectual achievements.

Clergy: the entire class of religious officials.

Coalition: a temporary alliance between two or more political parties or groups.

Cold war: conflict between communist and non-communist nations after WWII that was waged by political and economic means rather than with weapons.

Colony: an area in which a foreign nation gained total control.

Colonialism: the policy of establishing and maintaining colonies.

Commercial capitalism: early phase of capitalism in which capital was used mainly to buy, sell and exchange goods.

Communism: a system and belief based on the writings of Karl Marx. It advocates an economic and political system based on public ownership of the means of production.

Confederation: when a group of people or nations form an alliance, allowing each member to govern itself but agreeing to work together for common causes.

Conservatism: a political or religious orientation that favours tradition and oppose radical changes.

Constitution: a document outlining the fundamental laws and principles that govern a nation.

Constitutional Monarchy: form of government with a king or queen whose powers are less than absolute and are defined in written constitution (also called limited constitutional monarchy).

Condominium: a region ruled by two nations as partners.

Containment: the United States policy, adopted in the late 1940s, aimed to stop the expansion of communism.

Coup d'état: it is an illegal seizure of power by a political faction, rebel group, military,

or a dictator.

Demarcation of boundary: the process of deciding on or marking the border between two areas of land.

Dejjazmach: a "commander of the gate", a politico-military title below *Ras*.

Delimitation: a line that indicates a boundary.

Diarchy: dual rule.

Dictator: a ruler with complete power.

Dynasty: family of rulers in which the right to rule is passed from one generation to the next.

Economic sanctions: commercial and financial penalties applied by one or more countries against a targeted self-governing state, group, or individual.

Elite: a group of persons who by virtue of position or education exercise much power or influence

Empire: a form of government that unites different territories and peoples under one ruler.

Encroachment: any entry into an area not previously occupied.

Enlightenment: intellectual or philosophical movement in Europe during the 1700s that was characterized by the scientific attitude, rationalism, and belief in natural law.

Entente: a friendly understanding or informal alliance between states or factions.

Era: a period marked by distinctive character.

Explorer: one who travels across the sea and /or oceans to discover new lands.

Export: refers to a product or service produced in one country but sold to a buyer abroad.

Factory: building in which workers and machines are brought together to produce goods.

Fascism: dictatorial system of government in which the state is supreme and individuals are loyal to it.

Federal system: a system of government is one that divides the powers of government between the national (federal) government and state and local governments.

Federation: an organization made up of smaller groups, parties, or states.

Fitawrari: a "commander of the vanguard", a title below dejjazmach.

Glasnost: a Russian word meaning "openness", used by Mikael Gorbachev.

Great Power: a state powerful enough to influence events throughout the world.

Gebbar:tribute-paying peasant.

Gasha:a unit of measurement; equivalent to 40 hectares.

Gibir: agrarian tribute, invariably paid in kind, tax.

Grazmach: a "commander of the left".

Guerrilla warfare: military technique that uses raids by small bands of soldiers, called guerrillas.

Hegemony: influence or control over another country, a group of people, etc.

Hierarchy: a series of ordered groupings within a system.

Holocaust: the systematic destruction of Jews by the Nazis.

Imperialism: the practice of establishing colonies in order to control raw materials and markets. Empire building, the gaining of colonies.

Import: a commodity, article, or service brought in from abroad for sale.

Incorporate: to include as part of something else.

Industrial capitalism: period of capitalism in which capital was used chiefly for producing and manufacturing goods.

Industrial Revolution: name given to the wide spread social and economic changes that occurred after machines and factories replaced manual labour.

Inflation: an economic situation characterized by a rise in the general level of prices.

Iron curtain: term, first used in 1946 by Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain, to describe the dividing line in Europe between East and West.

Junkers: Aristocratic landowners in Prussia.

Kaiser: title of the ruler of the German Empire.

Kingdom: a government or country headed by a king or queen; also known as a monarchy

Legislative: one of the three great branches of government, that makes laws.

Liberalism: political and economic movement in Europe in the 1800's that had as its aim the protection of individual rights and freedom.

Mandate: area taken in trust by the League of Nations after WWI, to be administered by a League member.

Manufacturing: the act of making something (a product) from raw materials.

Manufacture: the process of making products, especially with machines in factories.

Migration: the movement of groups of people from place to place.

Monarchy: a government headed by a king or queen, autocracy governed by a ruler who usually inherits authority.

Monopol: complete control of a commodity, a service, or a market.

Nation: a people bounded by strong common bonds such as tradition, history, religion, ethnicity, and language; sometimes used as synonym for the state.

Nationalism: feeling of patriotism and loyalty to one's country.

Neo-colonialism: the use of economic and other means of exerting influence over countries that are no longer colonies.

Nobility:refers to a privileged class of people-often receiving hereditary titles-also called the aristocracy.

Non-aligned: not linked with the two rival power blocs(the East-West rivalries).

Patriotism: love of country and willingness to sacrifice for it.

Plantation: is a large agricultural property dedicated to planting a few crops on a large scale.

Propaganda: information that is spread to promote some cause.

Radicals: those who seek extreme, far reaching changes in existing conditions.

Reactionary: backward-looking, opposed to change.

Referendum: the act of referring a proposed law or constitutional amendment to the voters.

Revolution: a violent attempt to change the structure of a country, government, and society.

Republic: a form of government whose head of state is freely and democratically elected by the people, as opposed to a dictatorship or monarchy.

Resistance: the action of opposing something that you disapprove of or disagree with.

Risorgimento: name given to the nationalist movement in Italy during the 1800's.

Rural: living in or characteristic of farming or country life.

Satellites: communist countries of Eastern Europe subordinate to the Soviet Union.

Segregation: the act of keeping apart.

Socialism: Political and economic system under which the means of production are owned publicly and operated for the welfare of all.

Sovereignty: Supreme power.

Soviet: council, committee. Since 1905 in Russia, commonly associated with revolutionary purposes.

Sphere of influence: a region in which one nation has special economic and political privileges.

Superpower: a nation possessing military and economic power far greater than those of most other nations.

The Ems telegram: a communication between the Prussian King William and Bismarck over a diplomatic issue .

Totalitarianism: a form of government in which the ruler is unrestricted.

Unification: the bringing together of two or more parts so they become a single unit.

Veto: a vote that blocks a decision.

War Indemnity: is protection against loss or harm- it is most often used in insurance.

Zionism: a movement that sought to resettle Jews in Palestine.

Zollverein: customs union set up among most of the German states in the 1800's.