

**Abbyssinia/Ethiopia:**

**State Formation and National State-Building Project**

**Comparative Approach**

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## Part I

### On Ethiopian State Formation and National State Building Project

#### Chapter 1: Introduction

##### *1.1 Ethiopia*

The official name of Ethiopia has gone from the Empire of Ethiopia, during the imperial era, to the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, during the reign of the military junta, to Federal Democratic Republic under the rule of Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF): The chameleon nature of Abyssinian (Ethiopian) colonial empire.

The famous or infamous Berlin Conference of 1884/5 was held at the height of the “scramble for Africa/for colonies”. It was at this conference that European colonial powers came together and partitioned Africa among themselves and recognized one another's possessions and defined “spheres of influence”. They further “agreed that in the future any power that effectively occupied African territory and duly notified the other powers could thereby establish possession of it. This gave the signal for the rapid partition of Africa among all the colonial powers, and inaugurated the new era of colonialism “(David Thomson 1966-501). Accordingly, the architect of Abyssinian (Ethiopian) empire, emperor Menelik II, sent a Circular Letter to the Heads of European states in 1891. In his Circular letter Menelik II expressed his desires and ambitions when he claimed large and adjacent territories of non Abyssinian people: “while tracing today the actual boundaries of my empire, I shall endeavor, if God gives me life and strength, to reestablish the ancient frontiers (tributaries) of Ethiopia up to Khartoum, and as Lake Nyanza with all the Gallas (Oromo), .....If powers at a distance come forward to partition Africa between them, I do not intend to be an indifferent spectator. As the Almighty has protected Ethiopia up to this day, I have confidence He will protect her, and increase her borders in the future. I am certain He will not suffer her to be divided among other powers. Formerly the boundary of Ethiopia was the sea. Having lacked strength sufficient, and having received no help from Christian powers, our frontier on the coast fell in to the power of the Muslim-man” (Circular Letter by Menelik II).

Accordingly, European colonial powers respected Menelik's demands and supported him to get the “Lion share” of the Horn of Africa. African states were directly built by Western colonial powers. Abyssinian (Ethiopian) empire was built directly by Abyssinian emperor with the support of Europeans. And has got the status of “independent” and on equal footing colonized non-Abyssinian nations and nationalities while Africa was partitioned by European colonialists.

Before and after colonization African states have shown varying results of national state building processes. The reason for this says Stein Rokkan the new states emerged after decolonization were faced with the “cumulation of critical challenges. Which results in a sudden and often explosive concatenating of critical problems in the majority of forth growing political systems of the twentieth century” (Rokkan 1987: 357). Again in Rokkan’s (1975: 573-74) own words

“this cumulation of critical challenges during the final struggle for secession from the metropolis and the empire has tended to be even more pronounced outside Europe. The exact chronologies of these sequences are obviously subject to a great deal of question: It is difficult to establish equivalent indicators for the ‘peaking’ of the different phases of system development quite particularly, it is difficult to state with anything approaching precision the duration of phase 1: at what point can the central administrative machineries be said to have penetrated throughout the given territory and what criteria could possibly be used as indicators of the completion of this first phase of system building?”

It is with this empirical and theoretical point of departure that I, in this study, endeavor to give an analysis of how the Abyssinian (Ethiopian) empire state was built; a process that started with the Berlin Conference of 1884-5, maintained strictly by coercive means and finally failed in its national state building project.

As I have indicated above, Stein Rokkan’s model will be used as the framework of my analysis. This task concentrates on the challenges facing national state building process, which has in turn implications for building a stable democratic system.

***Therefore, my research question is: Why did Abyssinian (Ethiopian) national state-building project end in failure?***

Nation building, according to Østerud (1991: 195-6), is an “architectural metaphor” – it is a measure or an action taken by a state or government to unite a country by linking its inhabitants together to one “national fellowship.” With the view point of political stability and with the aim of getting support for the unifying institutions; across local, ethnic or religious loyalties. The instruments or measures used varies from communications and economical networks through school systems and military services to status projects, flag and national rituals. The attractiveness and effectiveness of such measures for national state building depends on how deep the shooting trenches are that divide the different social groups from one another. Meaning the degree to which the different social groups are fragmented. Ethiopia was built as an empire through the use of brute force and continues to be sustained strictly by the use of brute force to date. Although it has subsequently achieved external legitimacy, its internal legitimacy has failed to crystallize.

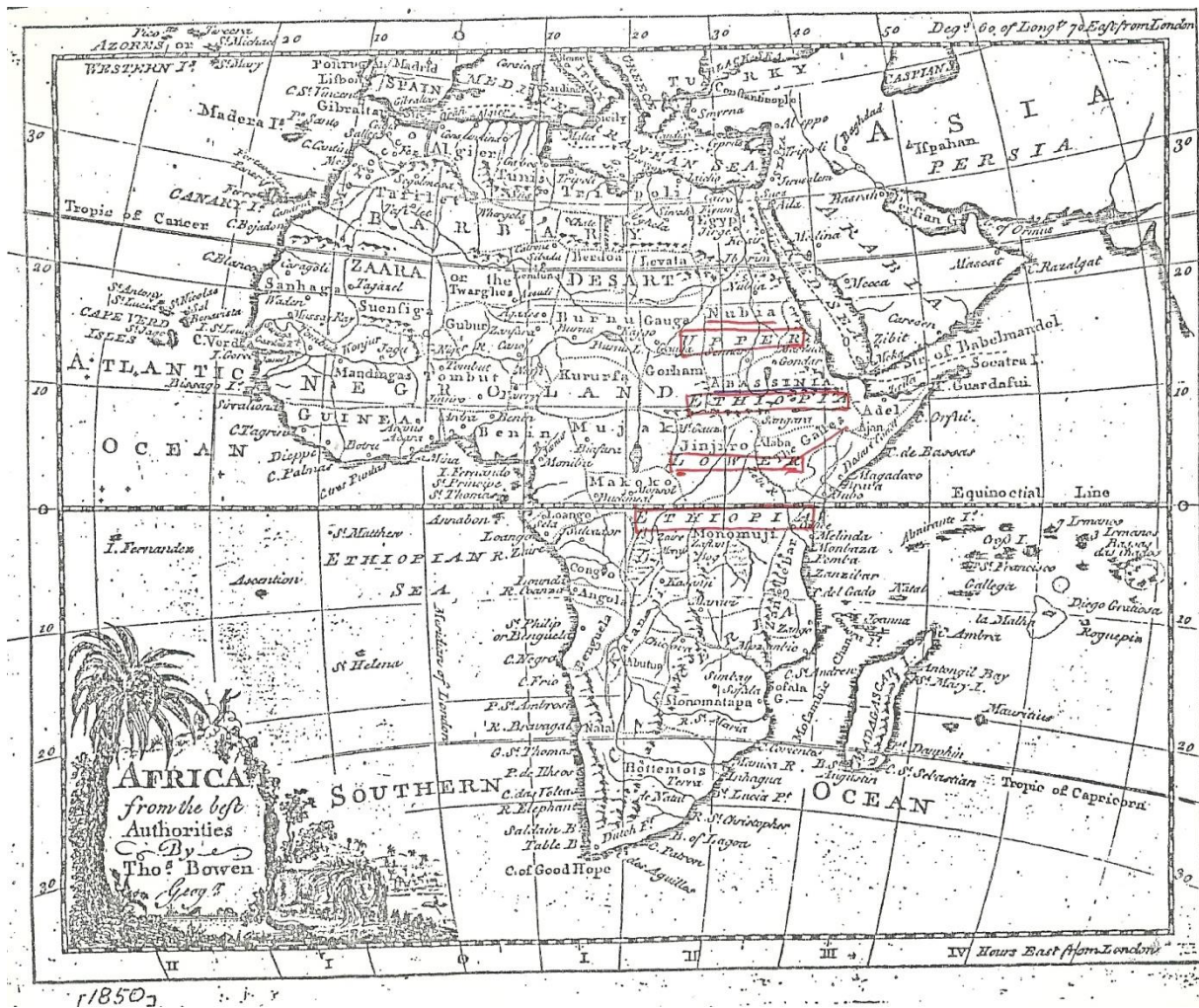


Political science studies of the 1950s and 1960s present national state building as political development through phases: First (i) the center or state power penetrates its periphery through power, administration, taxation and communication; (ii) next language and cultural standardization through school system and the assimilation of minorities; (iii) then political participation of the periphery and lower social classes through franchisement and entitlement of citizen rights; (iv) at last not least further national integration through public redistribution and welfare politics.

## **1.2 Concept Clarification**

### **1.2.1 Ethiopia**

Ethiopia is “derived from the Greek word ‘Aithiops’ meaning the land of the people of the ‘Burned-faces’ or simply the country of the blacks. Several references were made to this term in ancient Greek literature like the works of Homer, Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo, etc.” (Gadaa Melbaa) 1988: 39). Originally the name Ethiopia did not refer to the “Abyssinians at all, but the natives of Upper Nubia and Island of Meroë, and the negroes and negroid peoples who inhabited the hot, moist lands which extend from southern Abyssinia to the equator” (Budge 1928: viii). Abyssinians, on the other hand, originated from Semitic migration from Yemen. As Trimmingham (1976: 2) writes “The main Semitic influx was around the seventh century B.C. The most important group was the Habashat who, migrating from the Sahartan province of Yemen, gave their name to the whole country affecting by the settlement and occupied the northern parts of Tigrāi. Another important group was the Ge’ez, whose language was to become the literary vehicle of Christianity, who settled in the Shimezāna, Akelē-Guzāi, and Agamē.” As Budge (1928: 38/39) states it “It is not certain who first gave the name of ‘Ethiopia’ to Abyssinia, but it is clear that the Syrian (?) monks who translated the Greek Bible into Ge’ez (i.e. Ethiopic) identified Kush, or Nubia, with Abyssinia, and generally translated the name of Kush by ‘Ethiopia’. . . . Abyssinia under the name of Ethiopia, made by the translators of the Ethiopic version of the Bible in the 5<sup>th</sup> (or 6<sup>th</sup>) century, has, for many centuries been accepted by the Abyssinians. And to this day the Abyssinian reciting Psalm (lxviii (v. 31) says ‘Ethiopia shall make her hands reach unto God’”. The name Ethiopia crops up in numerous places in the Bible which was often translated as Cush. For example, the New International Version, the English Standard Version and Webster’s Bible Translation all use the term Cush instead of Ethiopia. This clearly shows that Biblical Ethiopia has no relations with Abyssinia. The attempt to render Ethiopia and Abyssinia synonymous is nothing else but the perpetration of a historical and political larceny. Therefore, “. . . the ‘Ethiopians’ whose manners and customs have been so fully described by Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny and others were not Abyssinians at all” (Budge 1928: viii).



### 1.2.2 Abyssinia: Functional Differentiation

The proper place to start such an undertaking should be by drawing a distinction between Ethiopia and Abyssinia as well as by briefly stating the distinguishing features of the Oromo society. Writing in the early 1960s, Herbert Lewis (2001: xiii) puts this distinction succinctly by stating the “Empire of Ethiopia, as it exists today, is an amalgamation of the ancient kingdom of Abyssinia with a host of other ethnic groups, tribes, and kingdoms. One hundred and fifty years ago the Abyssinians occupied most of the land north of the present-day Addis Ababa, but the territory to the south, from the Sudan to the Somalilands, was independent.” And he defines the Abyssinians as “the Semitic-speaking peoples of the northern regions, especially the Amhara and Tigre of Eritrea, Tigre, northern Shoa, Gojam, Lasta and Begemder” (Lewis 2001: 19). Various theories are forwarded on the origin of the Abyssinians. The most dominant one posits that they immigrated into Northeast Africa from Arabia, most likely Yemen. Although foreigners called them Abyssinians they refer to themselves as Habasha likely from the Yemeni tribal name Habashat. The initial settlement was centered on Axum from where they steadily spread southwards by conquering neighboring societies. One of the earliest

victims of their aggressive policy happen to be the Agaw people whose remnants still exist as pockets amongst the Abyssinians.

A Christian kingdom called Abyssinia claims to have existed in Northeast Africa for years. The population of the kingdom is largely made up of Amharic and Tigrinya-speaking Orthodox Christians although other indigenous minority groups also inhabit the area. Despite the history of a state “lasting three thousand years”, the Abyssinians never succeed in overcoming the cumulation of critical challenges and build their own national state.

Politically, however, they tended to be divided prompting one scholar to observe that Abyssinia is “a country accustomed to fraction (Marcus 1994: 57). This internal division among the Abyssinians reached its maximum during the period known as the Zemene Mesafint (era of the Princes). The Zemana Mesafint set in after a Tigrean warlord, called Michael Sihul, captured the capital and killed the incumbent ruler in January 1769 and lasted until 1855. During this period lasting almost ninety years, Abyssinia was divided into Gondar, Tigray and Gojjam. The rulers of these three centers were pitted against each other as well as against their internal competitors. The overall result of these rivalries is the intensification of a culture of conspiracy and intrigue. A small Abyssinian detachment from Gonder “in about 1300, --- infiltrated into the north- east of present Shawa (mountainous region called Ankober and later called Menz) and later established the Abyssinian kingdom of the Shawa dynasty. This was to be used as a base for their conquest of the south during the coming centuries” (Melbaa 1988:43). The Shawan dynasty was “founded by Negasi Kristos (1696 – 1702)”, and “grew strong under the Gonder throne” (Melbaa 1988: 45).

Italy declared the formation of its colony named Eritrea, which included part of Tigree and other nationalities living on western Shore of Red Sea, on 1 January 1890. Nevertheless, the aspiration to reunite the Tigre part of Eritrea with the remainder of Abyssinians lingered in both communities. Reunification became a reality in the 1950 when the United States supported a UN resolution that federated Eritrea and Ethiopia. The Imperial Ethiopian Government of Emperor Haile Selassie ultimately revoked Eritrea’s federal status and annexed it to become just one of its provinces in 1962. By then those sectors of Eritrean population who have opposed the federation from the very outset, particularly the Muslims of the western lowland, had already launched an armed struggle for independence. The sector seeking independence continued to rise as even the Christian highlanders who originally supported union with Ethiopia got increasingly disillusioned and joined the ranks of those already conducting armed struggle. The struggle for independence was ultimately capped with success in 1991 thereby once again dividing Abyssinian society.

Eritrea’s independence could be attributed to the failure of the successive Ethiopian regimes’ nation-building strategies.

Why the nation-building strategies of previous regime so utterly failed in integrating the very closely related societies of northern Ethiopia and highland Eritrea hence becomes a pertinent question. Whether the strategy of the present rulers could potentially fail even more disastrously also needs to be investigated. The fundamental cause of the failure has already become a reality and potential one needs to be investigated and identified in order to suggest an alternative course of action. Seeking answers to these questions constitutes the core of this thesis.

### **1.2. 3, Religion**

Abyssinians share a common religion (Orthodox Christianity) and the myth of descending from the illegitimate son of King Solomon of the Israelites. And the merger of this myth with religion resulted in the formation of a type of Christianity that is unique to the Abyssinians, called *tabot* Christianity by Teshale Tibebe. He continues, “By *tabot* Christianity is meant not only a Christianity whose emblem is the *tabot*, but also all the other Judaic practices found only in Ethiopian Christianity. It is different from the Christian West’s self-definition as Judeo-Christian culture . . . the cultural universe of Ethiopia’s *tabot* Christianity is one of indissoluble linkage between Judaism and Christianity in which a church is identified more by the *tabot* inside it than by the Cross sign on the rooftop of its building” (Teshale Tibebe 1995: 7). Based upon this he concludes, “The cultural uniqueness of the Ge’ez civilization resides in its *tabot* Christianity, a Christianity to be found nowhere in the world of Christendom. From the monasteries of Alexandria and Ireland to the liberal polygamy of the Mormons, one finds no culture resembling Ethiopia’s *tabot* Christianity” (ibid). As I was told, the *tabot* is an ark-like wooden carving representing the various saints stored in the central holy of holies of the Church.

### **1.2. 4, Language**

The Abyssinians use a dead language known as Geez for liturgical purposes out of which two other languages currently in use, Amharic and Tigrinya, differentiated. The sabean alphabet is used to write all three languages. Moreover, Amharic was recognized as the language of the court and is often described as “*lisane negus*” (the king’s tongue).

### **1.2. 5, Economic Foundation**

The economic foundation of Abyssinian society is the plow agriculture. And in a typical feudal fashion the society is divided into the three section of those pray (the clergy), those who fight (the aristocracy) and those who produce (peasants). The former two live at the expense of the peasant cultivators. Land tenure in large parts of Abyssinia follows the *risti* system in which a person claims right to land by tracing descent on both sides of his parents. The noblemen and higher clergy are awarded *gult* (tribute) from the peasants of the designated locality by either the Emperor or some other official who is entitled to awarding



such privileges. The *gult* beneficiary receives tribute in kind, mostly grain and animals, from the peasants.

### **1.2. 6, Law and Culture**

The outstanding feature of Abyssinian culture stems from its highly hierarchical system. Every individual is aware of his position in this hierarchy and either takes pride in it and protects or endures it and tries to subvert. What Donald Levine says (1965: 253) “Perhaps the most characteristic form of interaction among the Amhara is that of domination. The Amhara is at his happiest when he is in a position to order someone about. The sense of domination is marked not only in relations between nobles and commoners, officers and soldiers, masters and servants but also between husbands and wives, and parents and children.” Furthermore, “the organization of Amhara society does not rely to a significant extent on co-operative arrangements or the machinery of consensus nor does it involve, on the basis of either a division of labor or the sharing of diffused organizations, the customary performance of numerous functions on behalf of territorial communities or other collectivities. Its main axis of organization, rather, is that of a highly personal relationship between superior and subordinate, with the subordinate existing essentially as an extension of the ego of the superior. . . . Within the segments of superior-subordinate relations – husband-wife, father-son, master-servant, teacher-pupil, confessor-confessant, lord-retainer, elder-youth – domination is virtually unlimited. Thus the main social restraints are in the form of repressive obligations more or less ‘forced’ labor, payment of heavy revenues, fasting-enjoined by figures of authority.” This kind of domination pervades all of Abyssinia.

As Asafa Jalata (1993: 40) rightly states, in Abyssinian society “social order, which is good, can be created and maintained only through hierarchical, legitimate control, a control that ultimately must be authorized by God.” Two mythical writings, the *kebra negast* (glory of the kings) and the *fetah negast* (the law of the kings) provide justification for this hierarchical order. It stipulates that the Abyssinians became the new chosen people after they converted to Christianity while the Jews lost such a status for failing to accept Christ. The “*Glory of the Kings* [Kebra Negast], which contains the story of the Queen of Sheba, Solomon, and their offspring, Menelik I, legendary first king of Ethiopia [Abyssinia]; the *Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth*, a compilation of occult theology and numerology, with a Miltonic account of the struggle between Michael and Satan” (Levine 1965: 19). Furthermore, “the effect of the Kebra Negast is to make the Ethiopian emperor both physical descendant and spiritual successor to the kings of Israel. The genealogical tie is argued by the legendary union of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon, whose offspring, Menelik I, is held to have fathered the line of royalty which allegedly ruled at Axum and was restored in the thirteenth century” (Levine 1965: 151). According to Fetah Negast, subordination and slavery are sanctioned by law as it states: “All men share liberty on the basis of natural law. . . . War and

the strength of horses bring some to the service of others, because the law of war and victory, makes the vanquished the slaves of the victors” (quoted in Teshale Tibebu 1995: 56). Another medieval writing is known as *Kebra Negast* (the Glory of Kings). As Donald Levine states (1965: 269), “the *Kebra Negast*, the Ethiopian national epic, has served chiefly to legitimate the royal line that came to power in the thirteenth century and to cement once and for all the union of monarchy and the church.” Margery Perham (1969: 69) writes “the legend was a most bold and ingenuous invention. It allowed the Ethiopians, ignoring the pagan condition from which they have been converted to Christianity, to claim all the prestige and the specific divine selection which belonged to the Jews. This was not all. The alleged relationship to the royal house with Solomon brought the Ethiopian Emperors into a blood relationship with Christ and the house of David.”

### **1.2.7, End of Zemana Mesafint (Era of the Princes)**

The Zemana Mesafint came to an end in 1855 when a former bandit from Gondar called Tewdros ascended the throne and started to centralize power by defeating the rulers of Gojjam and Tigray. His reign was characterized by brutality thus alienating an ever increasing sector of Abyssinian society. His hatred and brutality towards the neighboring Wallo Oromos was even worse. As he himself declared “My fathers, the Emperors having forgotten the Creator, he handed over their kingdom to Gallas and the Turks. But God created me, lifted me out of dust, and restored this empire to my rule. He endowed me with power and enabled me to stand in the place of my fathers. By this power I drove away the Gallas” (Oromos) (from his letter to Queen Victoria) (Mooreland 1962: 214). This was from the letter he wrote to Queen to satisfy his obsession to acquire modern arms. He wrote similar letters to European leaders for the same reason as well as asking them to send him gunsmiths and other technicians. When his letters went unanswered, he felt snubbed and imprisoned visiting British subjects, which prompted the Napier expedition in order to rescue the hostages. He died on his mountain stronghold in 1868 as the British forces were approaching. The British expeditionary force was supplied and helped in other ways by a Tigrean leader called Kassa. The British rewarded him by providing him with a considerable amount of modern arms. Kassa put this armament windfall to good use by defeating all other claimants to the Abyssinian throne and succeeded to get crowned as Yohannes IV on 21 January 1872.

Yohannes spent the years of his reign fighting both external enemies and internal rivals. He found it necessary to defend his realm first from the Egyptians, who were encroaching on his territory from their foothold at Massawa. Meanwhile Yohannes’s rival, Menelik, saw the outbreak of conflict between Yohannes and the Egyptians as a unique “chance of destroying Yohannes without any military investment, and with the prospect of some free armaments (Marcus 1975: 37). The Egyptians had their own calculation of placing “Yohannes between two grinding stones (Marcus 1975: 39). Thus as just Yohannes came to the throne by

betraying Tewdros, Menelik also cooperated with Yohannes's enemies in exchange for modern arms. The next power that clashed with Yohannes was the Italians who replaced the Egyptians at Massawa and started to move inland. The first clash just outside Massawa on 26 January 1887 ended in Italian defeat. At this time, Menelik was continuously communicating with the Italians sharing the contents of messages of his emperor. This first Italian defeat was celebrated all over Abyssinian except Menelik's home area. Fearful of the emperor's retribution, Menelik started considering asking Italian protection at this stage. Meanwhile, encouraged by his cooperative mood the Italians poured arms into areas held by Menelik.

Yohannes was strongly opposed to Muslims generally a policy which drove him to inform the Wallo Oromo Muslims to either convert to Christianity or evacuate their country. After meeting with Menelik at Boru Meda in 1878 and concluded an agreement with him to divide up the Wallo part of the Oromo country and also urged Menelik to expand his in the south and convert its population.

Yohannes died fighting the Sudanese Dervishes at Metema on 9 March 1888. When news reached Menelik that Yohannes had perished at Metema, he immediately proclaimed himself *negus negast*, king of kings" (Marcus 1994: 89). The history related thus far clearly attests to the fact that Abyssinia had never had single center but was indisputably "poly-centered."

### **1.2.8 Oromos, functional differentiation**

Out of all the various peoples who were conquered and occupied during Menelik's war of conquest in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Oromo constitute the largest percentage. According to Koettlitz (1900:270), "the Gallas [Oromos] were probably the aboriginal inhabitants of the country (Ethiopia) prior to the advent of the Abyssinians. . .They have been conquered, and are held in subjugation by the help of firearms, which their conquerors take care they shall not obtain, and by this device they are kept in a position of distinct inferiority and abject servitude." The Oromos are distinguished from the Abyssinians by their political tradition, linguistic pedigree and religion. Oromo political tradition is largely egalitarian contrary to the deep-seated hierarchic tradition in Abyssinia. As observed by the Eritrean scholar, Asmerom Legesse (2006: 30), "There is adequate historic evidence showing that the Oromo had a highly developed democratic political-legal system during the past five centuries and that the system has endured the Borana in Southern Ethiopia until the present time." The Oromos call their democratic order Gada. And as Herbert Lewis (2001: 130), "Gada had at least three important functions: (1) it was the basis for an assembly for arbitration, a tribunal; (2) it was the basis for recruitment of leaders and the apportionment of political tasks; (3) it provided a system of age status, of ritual, and of life-crisis rites." According to the Gada system Oromo society is divided into competing political parties that compete for office every eight years. Individual qualify for election into the highest offices only after reaching

the age of forty and must leave office once they attained age 48. Individuals pass through four stages, each eight years long, to become a member of the group out of which leaders are elected for one term. The leaders who leave office after turning 48 constitute an influential advisory council.

### **1.2.9 Religion and Culture**

The democratic values of the Gada system continue to influence Oromo thinking and behavior. As the result, the culture of the Oromos tends to be as egalitarian as that of the Abyssinians happens to be hierarchical. The Oromos linguistically belong to the Cushitic language family while Abyssinians belong to the Semitic group of languages. The Oromos constitute the biggest nationality in Ethiopia and is estimated at 40% of the total population thereby making their political status of paramount importance.

Although the Oromos currently confess various Christian denominations and Islam, they used to practice a type of religion called Waqeffanna. The word Waqeffannaa is derived from Waaqaa the Oromo word for God. As stated by Gadaa Melbaa (1988: 23), the Oromos “believed in one Waaqayyoo, which approximates to the English word God. They never worshipped false gods or craved statues as substitutes.” And he quotes the conclusion of M. de Almeida (1628-46) in which he stated “the Gallas (Oromo) are neither Christians, moors nor heathens, for they have no idols to worship.” Presently, however, many Oromos have converted to various denominations of Christianity as well as Islam. Consequently, the Oromos profess many religions while the Abyssinians are overwhelmingly Orthodox tabot Christians.

### **1.2.10 Law**

Asmerom Legesse (2006: 198) states how the law is man-made among the Oromos. Law is enacted by the assembly of people’s representatives and publicized every eight years. Hence, contrary to the Abyssinian legal system that descends from above that of the Oromos arises from the will of the ordinary people.

### **1.2.11 Economy**

The Oromo economic system relies on a combination of cultivation of various crops and keeping different types of life stock. From the conquest of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to date, coffee became Ethiopia’s major foreign exchange earner, the majority of which is produced by Oromo planters. In addition, other exports of Ethiopia, such as gold, platinum, hides, skin, etc. mostly originate in the Oromo country.



### ***1.3 Method and Evaluation of Data Materials***

Under this topic, I will summarize my research data usage. The method part is a summary of case study as a research method. The evaluation of data material part summarizes Ottar Dahl's and Svert Langholm's source investigation (kildegransking).

Arendt Ljiphart (1971: 683) divides research methods into four: experimental, statistical, comparative and case study.

The method to be used is explanatory case study, simply because Ethiopian case is a unique case. What sets Ethiopia apart from the other states of the Horn of Africa is explained by a couple of authorities as follows: First, as Christopher Clapham (1995: 117) forthrightly argues "whereas elsewhere in Africa an externally imposed colonial state was more or less autonomous from its individual local communities, in Ethiopia the state was 'owned' by one distinctive group within the domestic population. Regardless of its capacity to recruit individuals from other peoples, all the way to the highest positions, the Ethiopian state is essentially formed by the Amhara and Tigrean peoples of the northern Ethiopian plateau." And Markakis concurs by stating that "Of all the states in the Horn, Ethiopia's rulers invested more in weaving a colorful nationalist mythology, complete with the familiar fable of three-thousand year old state, which gained worldwide currency. In fact, Ethiopia, as we know it today, is not older than most African states, having been formed during the imperialist scramble in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The difference is that Ethiopia is not the creation of Europeans but of Africans who responded to the challenge of imperialism and successfully joined the scramble. These were the Abyssinians, . . ." (Markakis 1999: 69).

Case studies are preferred strategy when "How" or "Why" questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over the event, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context.

According to Yin, a research design is an action plan for getting from here to there, where here may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered, and there is some set of conclusions(answers) about the questions. Between "here" and "there" may be found a number of major steps, including the collection and analysis of relevant data.(Yin 1994: 19).

It is the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study's initial research questions, and ultimately, to its conclusions.

A case study can be a meaningful strategy in answering my research question of why Abyssinian (Ethiopian) national state building project has been a failure. It is "why" question that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context.

Case study gives the possibility to uncover detail, for example in historical as well as current contexts; details which fall out in extensive studies (quantitative studies). It is a research strategy which gives more knowledge of values of many variables. It gives the chance of looking at the unit's "overall perspective . . . detail knowledge . . . and the information should not be disjointed fragments" (Hellevik 1991: 81). Ottar Hellevik presents two questions concerning case study, which he thinks difficult to answer in intensive study. The questions are: (a) which other possible properties one could have found for this one unit we have examined; (b) how much to which degree are those properties are typical for this particular unit in relation to other units? Accordingly, I ask myself how suitable, fit or be the right measures are those factors I have found to explain Abyssinian (Ethiopian) state formation and national state building project, and if there is any basis or justifications to generalize my findings to other similar states in East Africa? When considering the factors' "suitability"; "fitness" or being "the right measures"- I have no doubt that I have found central factors. When it comes to generalization, intensive method generalizes to theoretical backgrounds Therefore this study, as detailed as it is, exclusively focuses on Abyssinian (Ethiopian) state formation and national state building project, and therefore one cannot instantly generalize to other states in the region.

Generalizing from a case study has been the matter of debate among scholars. Case study data are not statistically representative. But theoretically or analytically representative. "Case studies like experiments are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes. In this sense, the case study, like the experiment, does not represent a sample, and the investigator's goal is to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalizations), in which a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study. That is why in this study, I intend to compare the empirical findings with the template theoretical framework and my proposition.

When conducting a case study one has to deal with the questions of fulfilling scientific criteria. And those are the demands of validity and reliability. Validity refers to the relevance of data in answering the research questions. Construct validity refers to correct operational measures for the concept being studied. Internal validity refers to establishing a causal relationship of variables. External validity concerns with the establishment of the domain to which the study findings can be generalized.

Reliability is about the accuracy of data collection procedures. And further refers to the extent to which other researchers if followed the same procedure can get the same results (Yin 2003: 33).

According to Charles C. Ragin (1994), all social research has common principle. And these are: the dialogue of ideas (theory) and evidence (data). "Ideas help social researchers to make

sense of evidence, and researchers use evidence to extend, revise, and test ideas. The end result of this dialogue is representation of social life – evidence that has been shaped and reshaped by ideas, presented along with the thinking that guided the construction of the representation” (Ragin 1994: 55). Therefore, this study uses the theoretical framework presented and conducts the dialogue of ideas and evidence. It will be “retroduction – the interplay of induction and deduction” (Ragin 1994: 47)

Research design is the logical steps linking data to the propositions and helps as a criteria for interpreting the findings.

Case study is an intensive analysis of a given unit. It can be explanatory or descriptive. Explanatory case study explores causation to find out the underlying principles of a phenomenon. It helps to analyze institutions, decisions, policies, events, periods, and systems...etc.

Case study is an in-depth examination of a single event.

Yin defines, the case study research method as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its’ real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 1984, p23).

Since this study is an explanatory case study, as opposed to descriptive or exploratory case study, it is better suited than quantitative study for explaining why Abyssinian (Ethiopian) national state building project has been a failure.

#### **1.4 Evaluation of Data Materials**

Ottar Dahl (2002: 52) and Sivert Langholm (1997: ) divide source investigation processes (kildegranskings prosessen) into four parts. And these are observation, copyright provision, content provision (interpretation) and usability determination.

##### ***1.4.1 Observation***

The best ideal situation is that one has access to all kinds of sources or historical evidences. But this is practically impossible. But the advantage of writing a research on Ethiopia gives access to many different kinds of expert literature and books. These independent historical materials can be found in Norwegian libraries, internet and abroad. Therefore, I can hardly overlook any relevant historical evidences in this writing.

##### ***1.4.2 Copyright Provision:***

What kinds of sources or historical evidences have been used? The categorization of data used for analysis are secondary literatures: they are books and articles written by European, Americans, Abyssinian Amharas and few Oromos.

#### ***1.4.3 Interpretation***

Interpretation of the various sources or historical evidences has not been a major problem at all. In that most of the books and articles were written in English and some are in Norwegian. Therefore, to understand their meaning and contents has never been a problem.

#### ***1.4.4 Usability, Usefulness, Fitness***

Usefulness or Fitness presents a demand to data's relevance, credibility and that data have a minimum of independence, especially in political cases or areas. When one is using sources or historical evidences, one has to have critical attitude towards them after one's best ability. And consciously try to put them against one another to secure their durability.

#### **1.4.5 The lay out of this work is as follows:**

Chapter I introduces the overall subject matter of the entire writing. Chapter II deals with theory using Rokkan's model which was articulated for West European history of state development. I have chosen this model to evaluate Ethiopia's experience. Chapter III deals with the first of Rokkan's four phases. Menelik's colonization of the Oromo and other peoples is discussed. Chapter IV deals with phase II of Rokkan's model; national state building/cultural standardization. Chapter V concerns phase III of Rokkan's model and deals with active political participation. Chapter VI discusses whether or not redistribution, Rokkan's fourth phase, has been implemented in Ethiopia. Chapter VII draws the overall conclusion of the entire thesis. Whether Rokkan's model is appropriate for analyzing Ethiopia is also discussed.

***Therefore, my proposition for this study is : Abyssinian (Ethiopian) rulers did not have a national state-building project. Because they didn't want to have equality with their colonized subjects.***

## **Chapter II Theoretical Background**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The application of theory in this writing has two functions. The first function is to form the basis for the design, the overall problem presentation and the thesis framework through the use of Rokkan's article (1975) "dimensions of state formation and national state building: A possible paradigm for research on variations within Europe". Rokkan's model combines Talcott Parson's paradigm of functional differentiation with Albert Hirshman's system for the classification of decision. As a point of departure or the design on overall problem presentation guidance and the thesis framework to which the analysis is compared. The other function is to use as a point of departure for concrete problem presentation in this empirical analysis.

I also see through the summarized Bendix's theory. And also the summary of Habermas's theory by Dietrich (2008) serves as another background for my analysis.

Rokkan was occupied with functional preconditions or requirements for nation building: conditions for integration of the territorial system. With the adaption of Parsonian A – G – I – L scheme for functional differentiation and separates out four main components of system integration – societies, material basis (economy), resources to protect the territorial boundary (power), mechanisms of conflict regulations and control of deviants (law, conditions of identifications – like language fellowship, religious orientations, and symbol-systems) culture.

Øyvind Østerud (1978: 126) explains this adaption of Parson's scheme like this: A – G – I – L paradigm describes a plural but integrated system-based on 4 subsystems: "adaptive", "goal attainment", "integrative", and "latent", which are in practice taken care of respectively by the economical system, the political system, the voluntary organizations and family structures. In his later work, Parson reformed his scheme to – 1 "pattern maintenance": cultural system, 2. "integration": social system, 3. "goal attainment": political system or – on another level – personal system, 4. "adaptation": economical system (or "behavioral organism" at a more general level [translation mine]). There reformulations of Parson lies closer to Rokkan's adaptation.

Rokkan combines these four differentiation processes respectively sub-systems with his own concepts about a center-periphery-axis. Peripheries and the differentiated centers linked with each other through the legal, the military, the cultural, and the economic channels.

The creation of a given national system varies with the degree of homogeneity and geographical conversion between different functions, which the peripheries on the other side can be integrated into the system through different organizations for control or articulation of a position.

Rokkan`s analytical model is essentially a means to systematize questions, variables and data in structural comparison of similarities and differences among historically given political systems.

Effective national building is easier when it is planned as a long-range policy development. And when the problem of development in one phase is solved and digested before the challenges from the next phase comes up. The growth of stable national states of western industry land went through long-drawn development phase from renaissance to 20<sup>th</sup> century. (Background Østerud).

Furthermore, when adopting Hirschman`s work, he poses three clusters of questions and variables:

a) question which refers to the oppressed or subject peripheries : in what way and to what extent peripheries depend on the center and are integrated into the territorial system, eventually how strong is their independence and their resistance? Are they primarily tied into the total system via the military-extractive apparatus, through communalities in legal traditions, through the city network or through linguistic or religious affinities? Rokkan characterizes this as “voice” variable- of the Albert Hirschman terminology from “Exit”, “Voice”, and “Loyalty” .(voice-variable).

b) question which refers to center`s functional differentiation : what sorts of alliances predominate inside the system and how strong are the differences among the elite sectors, what kinds of conflicts and which are internal and external. Alliances between sector-elites and geographical linkages of the different center-function points in the direction of one “mono-centred” system. While elite conflict and distribution of functional centers creates “poly-centered” system. Here lies a strategic possibility of divided articulation:( exit variable in Hirschman`s language).

c) question which refers to transformation or processes of change in the relation between center and periphery and with it to the total system. The characteristic of national integration forms equalities and differences in the changing processes. State formation by military-administrative means will for example have another prediction probability if it is implemented on the basis of already established cultural identity. On the other hand, integration process can be characterized by counter-reactions and its organization forms be met by the peripheries as successive challenges of the center: this condition characterizes the forms of linkages/connection points and variations of the basis of identity and cobelongingness: which center-periphery links were established first, which next or last, and what were the characteristic periphery responses to the successive thrusts from the center? (loyalty-variable)

Concerning state-formation and national state building, Østerud highlights Rheinhard Bendix's work of 1964. "Bendix's concept of nation-building serves as anchors of a dynamic process of change along two dimensions: expansion of public authority, with national penetration of new areas of society, on the one hand, and the development of political, civil liberties 'citizenship' on the other. The development pattern created by this two processes accounts for the condition for the political order's legitimacy: - the degree of support for the central political institutions and the rules of the game. Nation-building is a strategy from central elites, with the aim of developing direct bond between the territorial national state and its individual subjects. This presupposes that the dominating local solidarity breaks down through the development of universal civic obligations and rights. Thus nation-building becomes a pattern for territorial integration which builds on three main elements: new forms of public authority, development of a national fellowship across sub-national connections, and activation of new social groupings for participation according to universal criteria" (Østerud 1978: 118; translation mine).

Dietrich summarizes the Habermas's (functional critique) work as four particular steps of jurisdiction: (1) The establishment and consolidation of the monopolies of physical force and of taxation in the absolutist state. (2) The break with the personal monopoly of power in the absolutist state in constitutional monarchies by legally anchoring state power in political institutions and civil law. (3) The bourgeois revolutions initiated the nationalization of the state monopolies, eventually bringing about the democratic nation state, with its separation of juridical, legislative and executive powers. (4) The formation of the welfare state tend the autonomous dynamics that spring from the accumulative logic of the economic system and incorporated a variety of social functions into the domain of modern statehood (Dietrich 2008: 36).

## **2.2 A short presentation of Rokkan's model as a point of departure for the overall problem presentation:**

Rokkan's (1975: 562 – 574) nation-building model is as he says "an attempt at some qualification of our knowledge about the sources of similarities and variations in the development of the political systems of Europe." In this work he developed what he called "the schema of four phases." The model's variables help to identify the factors that probably affect the outcome of a national consolidation thrust. The first of the "two of the four phases are to center-generated thrusts through the territory, the first military-economic, the second cultural; two phases of internal restructuring opening up opportunities for the periphery, the first symbolic-cultural, the second economic." As Rokkan points out "the focus is on the



description, stage by stage, of the territorial unification and national identity-building.” Rokkan mentions also important differences between nation building of western national state and that of post-colonial world – as “faced with a critical cumulation of nation-building challenges over very short spans of time.” It is time perspective and the circumstances around the processes which is prioritized. State builders in western Europe got the chance of solving difficult problems of state formation processes before the problems of enfranchisement and active participation of the masses took place. Rokkan underlines that nation-building process in western Europe over longer time and developed through different phases. “By contrast to the older, slowly developing nation-states of western Europe, the great mass of the systems that rose to sovereign status through the breakup of the Iberian, Eastern European, Asian and African empires have had to cope with issues of national-cultural identity, issues of participation, issues of economic inequality all in one.”

## **2.3 Theoretical Analysis in Four Chapters**

2.3.1 Phase I is territorial control. In this phase the forceful penetration of the periphery in which political, economic and cultural unification at the elite level is realized. This happens when “a series of bargains are struck and a variety of cultural bonds are established across networks of local power-holders and a number of institutions are built for the extraction of resources for common defense, for the maintenance of internal order and the adjudication of disputes, for the protection of established rights and privileges and for the elementary infrastructure requirements of the economy and the polity.” This initial phase constitutes the initial state formation process.

The fundamental premise of this thesis is that the Abyssinian (Ethiopian) empire builders never opted for political, economic and cultural unification at the elite level with the peripheries. No bargains or compromises were made with local power holders in order to forge cultural bonds. There were no rooms for compromises, Abyssinian rulers waged a war of attrition against the Oromo people with both modern European firepower and the direct involvement of European experts. Institutions were built not for common defense and adjudication of disputes, but to maintain the position of Abyssinians as conquerors, victors and colonizers – whereas the Oromos as conquered, vanquished became colonized and suffered under the institutionalized serfdom known as the neftegna-gabar system.

### **2.3.2 Cultural Standardization/National State Building**

In Rokkan’s **Phase II**, larger and larger sectors of the masses are brought into the political system: the conscript armies, the compulsory schools, the emerging mass media create



channels for direct contact between the central elite and the parochial populations of the peripheries and generate widespread feelings of identity with the total political system, frequently, but not necessary, in protracted conflict with already established identities such as those built up through churches or sects or through peripheral linguistic elites. Phase II constitutes the national state building exercise during which the standardization of culture takes place. This work will clearly demonstrate that cultural standardization which accepts all sectors of society has never happened in Ethiopia. Its only aim was imposing absolute erasure of the conquered peoples very existence.

### **2.3.3: Political Participation**

At this stage, the masses will be franchised and encouraged to actively participate in territorial political system through establishing or established opposition political parties. Organized parties mobilize supports, aggregate demands, and articulate them.

The formation of political parties remained illegal under the previous successive regimes. Even now mass participation is not being tolerated.

### **2.3.4: Redistribution**

**This phase of** further national integration policy “represents the next series of steps in the expansion of the administrative apparatus of the territorial state: the growth of agencies of redistribution, the building of public welfare services, the development of nation-wide policies for the equalization of economic conditions, negatively through progressive taxation, positively through transfers from the better-off strata to the poorer, from the richer to the backward regions.” During this phase the welfare system crystallizes. Such an act is simply unthinkable in the Abyssinian/Ethiopian Empire.

No effort whatsoever has yet been adopted to effect redistribution but on the contrary the wielders of power continue to amass wealth by one-way siphoning of the resources of the subject peoples to date.

### **2.3.5 Summary of Theory**

We have stated that Abyssinia/Ethiopia is a unique case. Abyssinia is of two categories; Amhara, which is divided into three, namely, Gonder, Gojjam, and Menze detached from Gonder. All three historical had their own centers and kings. All of them harboured the ambition to expand. The second group is Tigray, who consider themselves as genuine Abyssinians and claim the Axumite kingdom as their own. Relations between all of these Abyssinian groups were marked by a high degree of bitter rivalry.

Despite claiming a three thousand years of existence, they never managed to create a single cohesive state and never forged a national state They are antagonistic toward each other to date. This mutual antagonism remains in place even after conquest and colonization of other nations and nationalities by Emperor Menelik of Menze at the end of the 19th century.

An appropriate ready-made theory for the study of Abyssinian/Ethiopian Empire does not exist, as far as I know. Rokkan's model, however, comes closest to fit the study of this case. His discussion of functional differentiations of both the center and periphery is helpful if they come together in cross-national setting and become integrated and organize political parties along those functional differentiations and becoming frozen over time could lead to the forging of a stable democratic system

Similarly, the summary of Bendix and of Habermas (functional critique) have been harnessed as watch dog to see if I, in this study, can find any political development in Ethiopia.

## **Part II**

### **Chapter III**

#### **3.0 Phase I: Penetration or State Formation Process**

##### **3.0.1 First: Short Definition of the State**

The state is an organized political community under a unified political system. Stately organizing is a form of centralized control over a specific territory. Sovereignty is the defining characteristic of the state. Sovereignty has two sides: formal independence externally, in relation to other states – and internally a legislative center in relation to other interest groups.

The most common definition of the state was articulated by Max Weber (1991: 78) as a “human community that (successfully) claims *the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force* within a given territory; italics in the original.” This monopolization of legitimate coercion comes about by expropriating “all autonomous functionaries of estates who formerly controlled this means in their own right” (Weber 1991: 83). He goes on to list three factors that underpin legitimacy: (1) on traditional ground, that is the eternal authority of old-

world etiquette that are sanctified by an immemorial prescription and habitual setting of its preservation. The traditional domination such as patriarchal and patrimonial prince. It derived from a belief that things should be as they have been in the past, and that those who defend these traditions have a legitimate claim to power. (2) Legitimacy based on charismatic leadership draws on the charisma of an extraordinary person, a prophet, or the crowning war-chief, the plebiscitary ruler, the great demagog, the heroic, etc. (3) Legitimacy based on rational/legal authority is the belief in the validity of legal laws built on rational arrayed rules. This entails the belief that certain group has been placed in power in a legal manner, and that their actions are justifiable according to a specific code of written laws. As Dietrich Jung (2008: 34) rightly observes, in order “to establish consolidated states, the factual monopoly of the use of physical force has to be considered legitimate by both rulers and ruled. [That is] a “political order needs legitimacy.” It is Charles Tilly (1990: 97) who describes the relation that war makes states and states make war. This work is an attempt to evaluate the existence of any of these bases of legitimacy prevailed in Ethiopia.

## **1.1 Abyssinian (Ethiopian) State Formation Process/Territorial Control?**

### **Menelik (1889-1913) emperor.**

#### **3.1.1 Introduction**

We have already mentioned Phase I of Rokkan’s model in which (1975: 570 – 72) “a series of bargains are struck and a variety of cultural bonds are established across networks of local power-holders and a number of institutions are built for the extraction of resources for common defense, for the maintenance of internal order and the adjudication of disputes. . . for the elementary infrastructure requirements of the economy and the polity.” As can be seen from this quotation it is clear that Phase I has also economic dimensions. With this in mind, developments in Ethiopia under four successive regimes will be analyzed.

#### **3.1.2 The colonization of Oromo people.**

Explanatory Factors/Variables

##### (a) Religion

Two interrelated attitudes marked the relation of the Orthodox Abyssinian societies of the North with their various neighbors. The first is their perception of their position as an Island of Christianity in the sea of Muslims and pagans. This prompted to seek the alliance of Christian European powers in order realize the aspiration stemming from their conviction that they are more civilized than their neighbors and are hence entitled to conquer. As so rightly stated by Kaufeler (1988: 197), “the Abyssinians considered themselves entitled to subject and enslave other people.” Christopher

Clapham (2002: 10) draws a similar picture by stating “the possession of long-established and politically dominant state . . . promoted a set of attitudes or ideologies, compounded of Orthodox Christianity, a set of historical mythologies and a written language, which defined its members in their own eyes as being more civilized than their neighbours and in turn fostered a sense of manifest destiny in their claims to govern surrounding territories.” The rulers of Abyssinia/Ethiopia from Menelik to the current ones always harp on their Christian faith in order to win the support and solidarity of European powers. And it is their unholy alliance that led to the conquest and subjugation of the Oromo and other peoples.

(b) Motive:

Menelik’s motives appear in a dual form from this circular of 1891 to Governments of Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Russia. In it he justifies his conquest as part of his motive to restore the ancient boundaries of Ethiopia in the following words: “I shall endeavor, if God gives me life and strength, to re-establish the ancient frontiers (tributaries) of Ethiopia up to Khartoum, and as far as Lake Nyanza with all the Gallas (Oromos).” Nevertheless, there is no shred of evidence that Abyssinian/Ethiopian power has ever been felt as far west as Khartoum. Abyssinian/Ethiopian rule also never extended even to the adjacent Oromos leave alone stretching all the way to Lake Nyanza.

(c) Internal Rivalry:

As has already been stated, Abyssinian/Ethiopian rulers often allied with European forces against their internal competitor. Emperor Yohannes rose to power by allying with the invading British forces under the command of Napier and thus was rewarded with arms and ammunition. He used the arms windfall to good use by subduing his other competitors and succeeded in having himself crowned Emperor. Once he started clashing with the Italian who were trying to move inland from their foothold at Massawa, it became Menelik’s turn to ally with Italy against his own Emperor. As has already been stated earlier, he was able to get more arms by staying on friendly terms with Italy during this time.

(d) External Rivalry:

There was also an external dimension of rivalry in the process of creating various competing empires in the Horn of Africa. Britain, France and Italy were also aspiring to carve out their respective colonial empires. And Menelik was a conscious participant in this rivalry as well. This is attested to by the statement in his circular of 1891, in which states “If powers at a distance come forward to partition Africa between them, I do not intend to be an indifferent spectator” (Greenfield 1965: 464).

(e) Economic Interests:

The root cause of the rivalry among the various Abyssinian/Ethiopian competitors and the one between them and the various European aspirants is economic. The French pioneered the idea of promoting trade and commerce through their outpost at Obock. A Frenchman called Arnoux arrived in Shawa in 1874 with the proposal “to help Shewa to develop in such a way that she would spearhead of the regeneration of the empire of Ethiopia; regular commercial route would be opened between Shewa and Obock (Djibouti); a colony of French artisans would be established in Shewa to instruct the inhabitants in improved agricultural and industrial activities; European medicine would be introduced into Shewa; the Shewan army would be trained on European lines; order and efficiency would be introduced into the Shewan governmental system; in short all the essential elements of European civilization would be introduced into Shewa (Darkwah 1975: 62-3).” The overall purpose of this French involvement was to gain commercial and political advantages.

#### Resources Mobilized for Conquest

(f) Alliances:

There was also a shifting system of alliance among these competing European and Abyssinian/Ethiopian aspiring empire builders. It has been mentioned above how Menelik allied with the Italians against his overlord, Emperor Yohannes. Once he became Emperor himself, relations between Menelik and the Italians steadily deteriorated, culminating in total breakdown. And it was France who came to the rescue of Menelik when he started being threatened by Italy. By allowing the importation of European arms through their port of Djibouti, the French stiffened Menelik’s defiance of Italian aspiration to impose a protectorate status on his empire. Once the battle of Adowa ended with Italian defeat, the British stepped forward in order to guarantee the independence of his empire as a measure to frustrate French ambition to manipulate Menelik as a tool for their own territorial aggrandizement.

(g) Technicians and Mercenaries:

To carry out the conquest of the country of the Oromo and other southern societies, Menelik relied on numerous European technical experts, advisors and mercenaries. According Lord Lytton (1966: 160), “Against the Galla [Oromo], Menelek seems to have operated with French technicians, French map-makers, French advice on the management of a standing army and more French advice as to holding captured provinces with permanent garrisons of conscripted colonial troops. The French also

armed his troops with firearms, and did much else to organize his campaigns. . . The Galla [Oromo] were thus conquered by the Habash for the first time in recorded history during the last thirteen years of the nineteenth century. Without massive European help the Galla [Oromo] would not have been conquered at all.”

The military advantage that the conquering armies put is as follows Harold Marcus (1969: 272/3) “The Shoans had, in all these cases, a distinct advantage in weapons as their king had been equipping his forces with modern arms since the 1880s. One European observer wrote that the Galla [Oromo] were ‘conquered, and . . . held in subjugation by the help of firearms which . . . [the Shoans] take care they do not obtain”” Similarly, Dr. Reginald Koettlitz states that the Oromo “have been conquered, and are held in subjugation by the help of firearms, which their conquerors take care they shall not obtain, and by this device they are kept in a position of distinct inferiority and abject servitude.” With the aim of getting similar arms a British officer travelling in the Oromo country north of Lake Stephanie was ‘begged . . . to stop . . . and show them [the Galla] how to make guns, that they might resist the Abyssinian raids (Marcus 1969: 273).”

(h) Foreign Advisors:

Seeking European technical and military advice was a habit of all Abyssinian rulers from Gojjam, Gondar, Tigray and finally Manz occupying Ankober. And European missionaries, merchants, mercenaries, etc. generously provided them with both technical advice as well as providing military hardware. This European sympathy with the rulers of Abyssinia can be attributed to the fact that they also like the Abyssinians happened to be Christians. As reported by a journal of the nineteenth century “For the sake of Christianity and civilization, these Christians in Africa have to be helped. To help them is to destroy Islam and strengthen Christianity” (quoted in Greenfield and Hassan 1980: 7). As long ago as the time of Sahle Sellassie, king of Manz, “European government agents, both of France and Britian, urged their governments to supply firearms to the king of Shewa, so that he could ‘spread the seeds of civilization among the Gallas [Oromos].’ In order for him to be absolutely superior to the Galla [Oromo] cavalry, they stressed, ‘we need to provide him with guns and cannons (Greenfield and Hassan 1980). Previously he was receiving a small amount of arms from his ancestral homeland, Gonder. But after he established direct contact with the Europeans he started importing weapons directly. With these weapons he raided the Oromos living adjacent to his realm. As witnessed by the missionary Krapf in January 1840:

About two o’clock we encamped in a plain called Sululta. . . The Gallas [Oromos] on the neighbouring mountain are called Sululta Gallas [Oromos]. Their neighbours in the southeast are called Finfinni Gallas, from the high mountain of the same denomination. . . as the Gallas of Sululta did not pay their tribute in horses and cows the

king gave orders for all their villages to be destroyed by fire. I did not care much to know the name of the Gallas villages, as they are destroyed almost on every expedition. The soldiers take all they can get in the houses, and then burn them: but much wheat was destroyed with the houses. Nor did the people fare any better for they were not apparently considered as men the equal of the Amhara (quoted in Greenfield and Hassan 1980: 7).

And the number of Europeans who travelled to Abyssinia for diverse reasons is quite large. As Richard Pankhurst (1968: 63) writes:

The French, who the most important of the smaller communities, were both wealthy and influential, and included several large traders, entrepreneurs and concession holders. The Italians comprised some employees of the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs, several architects and entrepreneurs, and two or three traders and hotel keepers. The Germans included a handful of concession holders, as well a small number of professional people, among them one or two doctors and a pharmacist, Hakim Zahn. The British community comprised the governor of the Bank of Abyssinia and several members of his staff, as well as a handful of merchants and missionaries. And was sufficiently wealthy to collect donation for the purchase of two war planes in World War I. The Swiss included several wealthy traders and concession holders, as well as an army instructor, C. R. Müller. The Egyptians consisted of their Abuna, or head of the church, several members of his entourage, and the teachers of Menelik II School. The Syrians and Lebanese were mainly traders engaged in import-export business, the Afghans being also merchants. The Russians, as we have seen, consisted of several military officers, as well as some hospital doctors and an artist called Senigov.

(i) Rivalry among European Colonial Powers in the Horn of Africa:

The other factor that motivated Abyssinian/Ethiopian conquerors to subdue and colonize neighbouring societies is an openly declared rivalry with European powers. As Menelik indicated in the previously cited circular, he clearly stated “If powers at a distance come forward to partition Africa between them, I do not intend to be an indifferent spectator.” This picture of conscious rivalry is complicated by the fact that there were also cases of cooperation with competing European powers. The European powers competing to colonize large parts of the Horn of Africa were Britain, France and Italy. Each of these took control of footholds for further colonization. Britain had taken control of the Sudan and the so-called British Somaliland. At the same time, France established another foothold at today’s Djibouti with the intention of ultimately connecting it with its colonial possessions on the Atlantic Coast. Similarly, Italy took control of Massawa and Assab in present day Eritrea and Banadir (today’s Mogadisho) with the aim of connecting both by conquering the area in between. In the earlier phases of his rise to power, Menelik actively cooperated with Italy against his overlord, Emperor Yohannes IV of Abyssinia. At this time, Italian attempts to move inland from their foothold at Massawa were instigating repeated clashes with the forces of Yohannes. In the battle of Dogali on 26 January of 1887, the Italians suffered their first defeat. Menelik was continuously communicating with the Italians in the lead up to this battle sharing contents of the messages of the Emperor. Italian defeat at Dogali had the implication of “the enthusiasm of the Abyssinians approached to delirium,” with only Menelik being “upset” (Marcus 1975: 87). This development in fact forced Menelik to start seeking Italian



protection (Marcus 1975: 88). At this stage, Menelik concluded a “secret treaty of amity and alliance” in exchange for five thousand Remington rifles and credit to purchase ten thousand more” (Marcus 1975: 102). With the resulting weapons windfall, Menelik stepped up his conquest of the territory to the south and west from his stronghold accompanied by pillaging and slave raiding. The resources thus mobilized were put to good use by importing more firepower.

(j)Galtung’s Structural Theory of Imperialism:

Galtung used the concepts of bridgehead, center, and periphery in defining imperialism. Any nation is internally divided into center and periphery, i.e. the rulers and the ruled. Imperialism emerges when one collectivity establishes a bridgehead in the center of another collectivity. Imperialism is a system in which the center in the central collectivity and the center in the peripheral collectivity jointly benefit from their dominance over the periphery in the peripheral collectivity. This dominance can assume economic, political, military and cultural forms (Galtung 1971: 81 – 94). Viveca Halldin Norberg (1977: 42) applies Galtung’s theory of imperialism to Menelik’s conquest by stating that “Galtung’s model [applies] both to Menelik’s expansion southwards and to his internal reforms. Menelik, who together with his court, the high clergy and his military commanders, constituted the center in Shoa, forcefully established relations of dominance over the earlier independent societies in the south.” She continues by asserting “it is also worth discussing whether Menelik’s establishment of a strong central government and military organization, which was used to conquer the non-Christian kingdoms and sultanates situated in a semi-circle to the west, south and east of the old Christian Empire, after all meant that Ethiopia itself became an imperialistic state and in fact participated in the ‘scramble for Africa’. Menelik’s expansionistic policy could well be compared with that pursued by his contemporary European colleagues. Menelik used the same military technology and the same diplomatic methods as the neighboring colonial powers as well as economic exploitation of the conquered areas and therefore he had to be taken into account by European powers” (Norberg 1977: 43).

At the same time, Menelik himself served as a bridgehead for European powers in their policies of penetrating and exploiting the resources of the region.

Michael Ståhl (1974:37-9) enumerates “the general reasons for [Menelik’s] conquest, internationally sought raw material originated in the Oromo, Sidama, and Bani Shangul areas. [lists these products as]

Gold,

the bulk of the gold extracted in the Horn of Africa came from the river valleys in Wollega where it was buddled by the local inhabitants and sold to merchant caravans.

Ivory



Elephants were found in abundance here, while they were becoming rare in the Abyssinian regions during the second part of the nineteenth century due to intensive hunting.

#### Musk

The civet-cat was common. It was kept in cage and it produced an ingredient for perfume which was highly valued in the Orient.

#### Slaves

The bulk of slaves which were sold to the Orient from the Ethiopian region came from the Sidama and Oromo areas. . . According to some estimates, 25,000 slaves yearly were exported from the Oromo and Sidama areas in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

#### Coffee

The southwestern highlands is probably the area where coffee originated. . . The [coffee] berries were picked by the local population and used for home consumption and as a tribute to the rulers, who in turn sold it to merchants.

Michael Ståhl also enumerates the diverse impacts of the Menelik's conquest on the victim population in the following words: "Since the Shoan economy was not built upon monetary exchange, Menelik could not pay his soldiers in cash. The only immediate reward he could offer them was plundering. Descriptions of the military expeditions tell of the destruction: villages were sacked, crops burned, people killed and mutilated. When the expeditions were terminated the bulk of the army marched off with slaves and cattle. The conquered areas were reduced to poverty. As soon as the soldiers had consumed or sold their booty, they returned to Shoa. Addis Ababa, however, could not feed a standing army. Consequently, Menelik could afford to have a growing number of mercenaries and semi-professional soldiers quartered in Addis Ababa for long periods of time. Their maintenance required that they be kept on the war-path and continuously acquire new areas to plunder."

(k)Modern European guns and bullets which Oromos and other peoples could not get:

Once Emperor Yohannes was killed while fighting the Mahdists in Metemma on 12 (or 13) March 1889, Menelik proceeded to have himself crowned Emperor. Within a couple of months of ascending the Abyssinian/Ethiopian throne, Menelik concluded a treaty with Italy at a place called Wuchale on 2 May, 1889. According to the Italian translation of the terms of this treaty Menelik's empire had become a virtual Italian protectorate, while the Amharic version did not send the same signal. The resulting controversy put Italy and Menelik on a course of collision, which culminated in the battle of Adowa lasting from December 1895 to March 1896. With tensions rising between Menelik and Italy in the lead up to the battle of Adowa, France became the source of material and diplomatic support to stiffen Menelik's rejection of Italian claims. By this time, the Empire was already awash with firearms. In the two decades preceding the battle of Adowa, the estimated total of one hundred thousand pieces of weaponry had entered the Empire according to a Russian report (Pankhurst 1967: 108). Once tension marred Italy's relation with Menelik, Italian and British diplomatic maneuvers were focused on banning of weapons importation by Menelik. The French, on the

other hand, allowed the open importation through their port of Djibouti. Czar Nicholas II donated some eighty thousand repeater rifles, which reached Menelik’s court by passing through Djibouti. Another sixty thousand French firearms took the same in the first half of 1891 alone. Thirty tons of war material was shipped from Marseilles with funding coming from Russian sources destined for Menelik’s court (Pankhurst 1967: 108).

Menelik flexibly exploited inter-European rivalry in order to amass weapons. According to Gada Melba (1988: 59), “Between 1868 and 1900, Menelik II alone received from the European leading powers the following arms and ammunitions”.

Origin	Rifles	Ammunition
Britain	15,000	5,000,000
France	500,000	20,000,000
Italy	50,000	10,000,000
Russia	150,000	15,000,00

Source: Darkwah , cited in Gadaa Melbaa (1988)

“ Thus, with firearms, military experts and mercenaries from Italy, France, Russian and Britain, and the help of selfish and ambitious rulers like Gobena(Oromo) Imam Ali later Nigus Michael, Mastawit, Abba Jifar, Kumsa Moroda, etc. together with that of similar traitors from the other nations as accomplices, Menelik II had conquered, and annexed and absorbed much of Oromo, Afar, Sidama, Somali, and Nilotic communities lands and the rest of the territories within 25 years (1867-1891)” (Gadaa Melbaa, 1988: 59)

The first Oromos to fall victims of Menelik’s conquest were those inhabiting the territory adjacent of Manz/Shewa. As Darkwah (1975: 98) rightly observes “in a series of campaigns conducted between 1868 and 1878 [one of Menelik’s generals] conquered all the Liban tribes inhabiting the area between the Muger and the headwaters of the Awash rivers in the east and River Guder in West. Shewa’s western boundary was thus brought to the eastern frontier of Gudru. It was in Gudru and the provinces beyond that the soldiers from Shewa came into conflict with those from Gojam.” Addis Hiwet (1975: 5) dubs the resulting rivalry between the Gojami and Shewan forces as the scramble “for Oromo territories”, which was heating up as the European scramble for Africa was also about to start. The driving cause for this scramble in essence was “economic: the green and lush Oromo lands and the boundless commodities (gold, civet, ivory, coffee) and prosperous markets of Assandabo (whose populations swelled to 100,000 on market days) (Addis Hiwet 1975: 4).” The protagonists in tussle were two underlings of Emperor Yohannes, Tekle Haimanot king of Gojjam and Menelik king of Manz/Shewa. The rivalry culminated in the Battle of Embabo, which ended

the Gojjami aspiration to expand across the Blue Nile. Emperor Yohannes convened a meeting at a place Boru Meda in 1882, which delimited the spheres of influence of Shewan and Gojjami feudal warlords. Their settlement had also given Menelik *carte blanche* to extend the limits of his empire as far south as possible” (Addis Hiwet 1975: 7).

“Menelik’s occupation of the south, which took place between 1875 and 1898, was effected by series of expeditions which also produced much devastation. Besides the casualties and destruction of housing there was extensive seizure of cattle, grain, and slaves. . . . Michel stated that in the Galla country around the Didessa, three-quarters of the male population had been killed and a large number of the women and children taken by the victors- innumerable houses including whole villages, had been burnt to the ground. While in the Gorè area flocks had been destroyed as completely as people. It requires more than seven years . . . to reconstitute what can be ravaged in a few months. Vannuettli and Citterni stated that in Arussi numerous cattle had been seized by the soldiers and many people carried off as slaves, while in Borana the inhabitants declared that the soldiers had left them destitute” ( Pankhurst 1968: 578).

The next most important battle took place at Chelenko (eastern Oromo) on 6 January 1887 in the east, when Menelik with over 20,000 soldiers of his own “over 10,000 of whom formed a crack corps armed with the newest breach loading rifles in his arsenal” launched an attack against the Emir of Harar (Addis Hiwet 1975: 8). The enemy was by no means able to stand up to such an overwhelming force both in its size and the quality of its arms. The outcome was a foregone conclusion and Menelik marched into Harar.

The most protracted struggle to conquer the Oromos took place against Arsi Oromos. Between January 1882 and January 1887, “six different campaigns” (Darkwah 1975: 103) were conducted in order to conquer the Arsi Oromo. The Arsi Oromo successfully frustrated the project of Menelikian conquest by launching nighttime attacks in one of which they killed about 700 of his soldiers in a single battle. What in the final analysis led to their defeat “was the firearms of the invaders” (Darkwah 1975: 104). The overall timeline for Menelik’s conquest is listed below based on data from Perham (1969: 294-5).

### **Chronology of Conquest**

- 1881            Ras Gobena marched against Kaffa, which agreed to pay tribute.
- Jimma also became a tributary and it is probable that other small Galla (Oromo) kingdoms in this area, Limmu, Gera, and Guma also submitted at this time.
- The first expedition was sent to Arusi.

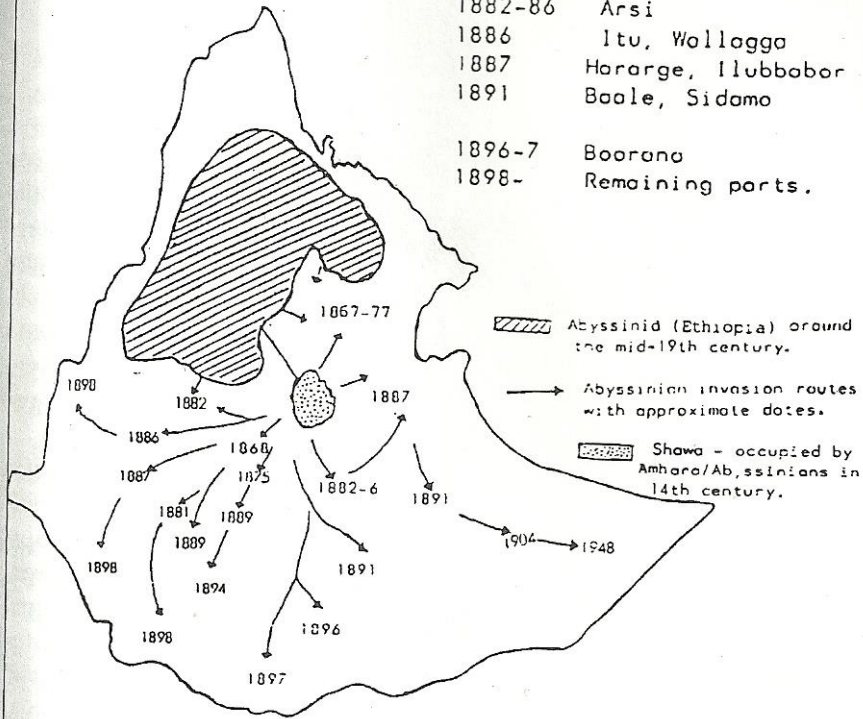
- 1882 Ras Gobena conquered Wallaga of which he was made governor.
- 1886 Ras Dargwè finally conquered Arusi in the last of a series of annual expeditions. Harar was taken from the Emir Abdullahi. Ilubbabor was annexed.
- - - Ras Walda Giyorgis conquered Konta and Kulo.
- 1887 Ogaden, Bale and Sidamo were conquered.
- 1889 The conquest of Kambata, began in 1890, was completed.
- 1891 Ras Walda Giyorgis extended his acquisitions to Gofa. Wallamo was conquered but left under its native ruler until 1903 when he was replaced by an Amhara governor.
- 1893 The first expedition was sent to Borena.
- 1894 The second expedition was sent to Borena under Fitawrari Habta Giyorgis who built a post near the Kenya frontier at Mega. It seems that he acquired Konsa on his return march. Kaffa, having refused to pay tribute, was conquered with the help of Jimma. It was attacked from three sides in a campaign which lasted for nine months and in which large numbers of the population were killed or dispersed.
- 1896
- 1897 Beni-Shangul was taken by Menelik from the Egyptian Sudan. Goldea and Maji submitted to Ras Walda Giyorgis. He went through and planted the Ethiopian flag on the northern shores of Lake Rudolph, anticipating the British, who arrived in September 1898, by six months. Dajazmach Tasamma marched from Gorè and subdued the Massonge, Gimirra, and neighbouring tribes.
- 1898

While the above chronology details the general occurrences of conquests, my especial focus is on what happened to the Oromos.

Map from Melba p. 61

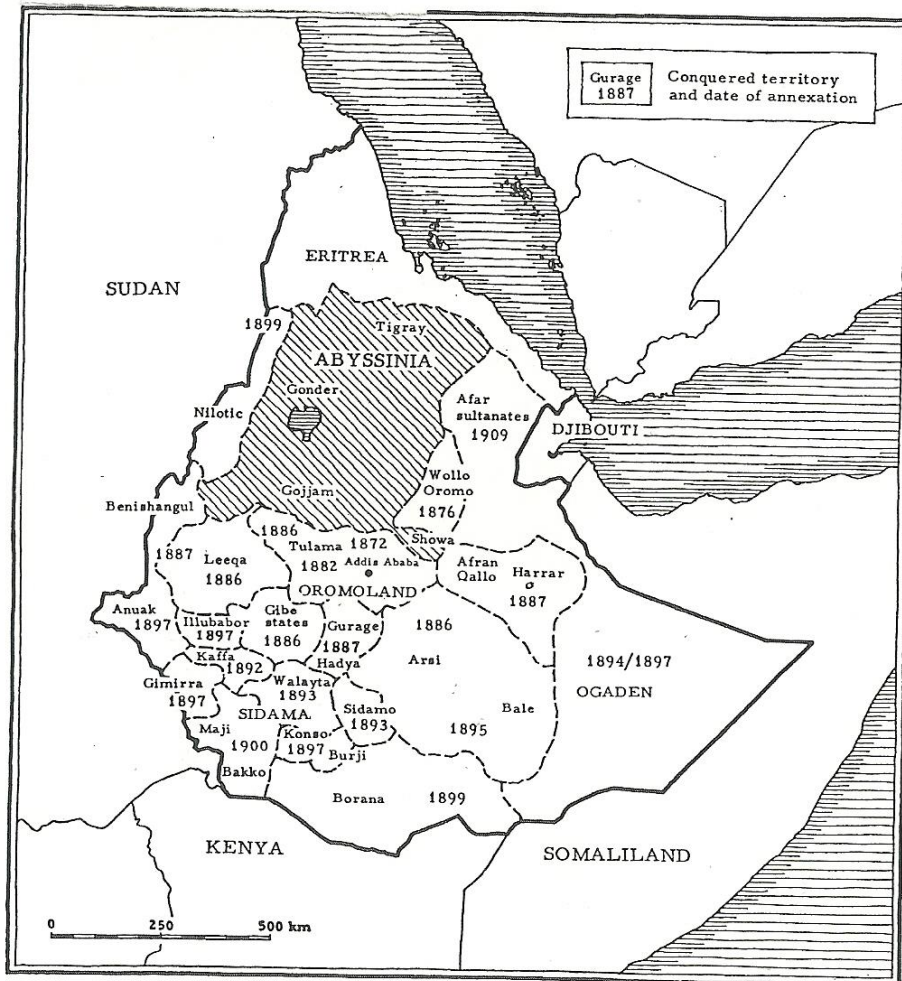
CHRONOLOGY OF OROMO CONQUEST

- 1868-78 Liban, Gullole, Yaya, Wachacha, Meetta, etc.
- 1867-77 Wallo
- 1881-82 Tuullama, Mocha, Gomma Jimma, Limmu, Geera, e
- 1882-86 Arsi
- 1886 Itu, Wollojga
- 1887 Hararge, Ilubbabor
- 1891 Baale, Sidamo
  
- 1896-7 Boorana
- 1898- Remaining parts.



Map 8. Approximate routes and dates of Abyssinian invasion





Adapted from Trimmingham (1976)

From Bulcha, p. 34

The massive amount of firearms provided by European powers played a pivotal role in easing Menelik's wars of conquest. European involvement was not restricted merely to the supply of firearms. Europeans had been flocking into Shewa since the days of Menelik's grandfather, Sahle Sellassie. By Menelik's day the trickle of foreigners had grown into a flood. The project of extending trading relations between Shewa and the French coaling station at Obock drew not only Europeans but also Arabs and Asians (Marcus 2002: 78). During this time, "missionaries, technicians, businessmen, geographers – Europeans of many nationalities and of all professions – began entering the area (Hoclobm & Sisai 1990: 92). At this time Menelik wrote another circular to Europeans stating "be so kind as to send me a doctor, an engineer, a mechanic, and good men specializing in woodwork and ironwork. I will respect them and treat them well and reward them properly" (quoted in Marcus 1975: 43). Numerous Europeans helped Menelik's project of conquest as advisors in military, administrative and

other disciplines. Some were actually entrusted with leading the opening up of particular territory. Starting from 1877, Menelik, “while still only king of Shoa, he employed Pottier, a French man to train his troops, and later made use of several other experts, mainly French and Russian. Before the battle of Adowa, the Emperor’s troops were instructed in the use of Hotchkiss guns by a French officer, M. Carrère, while the artillery men were later trained by the French man Colochette and the Russians Zwiaguine and Leontieff” (Pankhurst 1968: 562). In 1898 another Frenchman “in Menelik’s employee Léon Danegon, returned to Addis Ababa after a triumphal expedition at the head of fifteen thousand Abyssinian soldiers, which had penetrated nearly to the shores of Lake Rudolf; he presented Menelik with an itinerary specifying the tribes and villages visited all of which were promptly declared Ethiopian territory. A similar expedition twice as strong, led by a Russian, had been sent out the previous year; it now returned to report the submission of the kings and peoples of Ghimirra” (Waugh 1936: 22).

A certain Russian, Nicolai Stepanovitch Leontieff, played direct role in the conquest of southwestern areas of the empire. He was accompanied by a number of other Russian officers; namesly, Shedevr, Babichev, Agapov, Adzeiv, Petrov and many others. Marcus (1975: 187/188) states how “In an attempt to consolidate his hold over the newly conquered southern areas, Menelik granted the so-called ‘equatorial provinces’ of Ethiopia to ‘the only Russian buccaneer in the grand style in Africa at the end of the last century’, . . . [This Russian] called Nicolai Stepanovitch Leontieff called himself ‘Count’ and was apparently named a dajazmatch by the emperor.” But the most prominent European advisor for Menelik, described as his “best-known foreign advisor” is the Swiss engineer, Alfred Ilg (Rubenson 1976: 19). He worked in cooperation with the French businessman, Leon Chefneuz, in establishing the company that built the railway to Djibouti (Holcomb and Ibssa 1990: 126). It was in cooperation with a Frenchman called Chefneuz that he planned and ultimately built the railway linking the capital with Djibouti (Pankhurst 1968: 304-6).

The devastation that accompanied the conquest of the previously independent societies was quite extensive. According to the French missionary, Martial de Salviac, the Oromo population alone was reduced from 10 million in 1870 to only 5 million in 1900, when their conquest was nearing completion (Mohammed Hassen 2002: 18). The Russian military officer who accompanied one of Menelik’s campaigns of conquest, Alexander Bulatovich (2000: 68-69), drew a similar picture by writing “the dreadful annihilation of more than half of the population during the conquest took away from the Galla [Oromo] all possibility of thinking about any sort of uprising. And the freedom-loving Galla [Oromo] who did not recognize any authority other than the speed of his horse, the strength of his hand, and the accuracy of his spear, now goes through the hard school of obedience.”

Ivan Lukas concurs with these by saying “The nation of Oromo was, during the colonial war ,reduced from 10 to 5 million,Kaficho from 1.5 million to 20,000, Burji from 200,000 to 15,000, just to mention a few examples. Killings on such a scale could very well qualify as genocide” (Lukas 2007:104).

As has already been discussed, “the Oromo population was reduced substantially due to massacres committed in many places by the Abyssinians. The massacres were inflicted for precisely the same reason for which genocides were committed throughout history. Scholars have observed that a strong desire to exploit the wealth of the conquered was the most important factor in initiating genocide. As has been noted, when such wealth was in the form of fertile land and other primary resources . . . [it] could only be acquired by occupation of the land, enslavement or extermination of the indigenous population. Moreover, most genocide[s] . . . were committed in the building and maintaining of empires (Mohammed Hassen 2002: 19). Genocide occurs when “the differences between the people and some other society were particularly large in terms of religion, language, manners, customs, and so on, then such others were seen as less than fully human: pagans, savages, or even animals. The greater the perceived gap between the people and the out-group, the less were the values and the standards of the people applicable to the out-group (Chalk and Jonassohn 1990: 28). Moreover, “throughout history most genocides were committed by empires to eliminate a threat, to terrorize an enemy or to acquire and keep wealth” (Chalk and Jonassohn 1990: 30). The difference between Abyssinian society in culture, language, religion and so on combined with “the green and lush Oromo lands and their boundless commodities (gold, civet, ivory, coffee) and the prosperous markets of Assandabo (whose population swelled to 100,000 on market days), Embabo, Jimma and Billo” (Addis Hiwet 1975: 4) were some of the factors that drove the genocide that accompanied the conquest of Oromos.

This depopulation was due to both genocidal campaign of conquest as well as raiding for slaves. The institution of slavery is deep-rooted in Abyssinian/Ethiopian history. As Margery Perham (1969: 217-19) rightly observes “Slavery has been an institution in Ethiopia from the earliest days of which we have record. It was an important feature of the social and economic organization of the country. Christianity, through most of its history, was not felt by the nations which professed it to be incompatible with slavery. Ethiopian Christianity was deeply imbued with Hebraic laws, which allowed certain forms of slavery. From the earliest times, the Ethiopians have considered it their right to enslave other races, on the grounds that, according to Mosaic law, they were entitled to reduce to bondage the negro and Hamitic tribes which were said to be descended from Ham, upon whom Noah bestowed a curse. . . It has certainly been the custom, and one which persisted through the reign of the Emperor Menelik (1889-1913), for the Ethiopians to enslave their captives of war.” Moreover, Pankhurst (1968: 1029) records “The supply of slaves was moreover swollen by large



numbers of prisoners captured in Menelik's southern campaigns, particularly after 1875." The volume of slave trade through Abyssinia/Ethiopia is estimated to be "25,000 a year, or about 1,250,000" in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, according to Pankhurst (1968: 84). The Italians after they conquered Ethiopia in 1935 "claim to have liberated 420,000 provinces but they might be tempted to overestimate the numbers. On the main slavery on the other hand, it is interesting and surprising to find that Mèrab, the Emperor Menelik's doctor, could estimate that in 1929 a quarter or even a third, of the population were slaves" (Perham 1969: 221). Harold Marcus (1975: 73) describes Menelik as "Ethiopia's greatest slave entrepreneur and received the bulk of the proceeds along with a tax for each slave brought into Shoa and one for every slave sold there." An Italian eye-witness records that "Menelik and Taytu [his consort] owned 20,000 slaves at the palace in Addis Abeba and a further 50,000 elsewhere, while Ras Walda Giyorgis had 20,000, Ras Tessama 6,000 and Ras Mikael 3,000. Ras Walé of Semèn also had a large number, but Ras Habta Giyorgis was poor man with only 500. A generation later Ras Tafari Makonnen was said to have 7,000 and Ras Haylu also very many" (Pankhurst 1968: 75).

When northern official stationed in the conquered areas are instructed to return to the north (Abyssinia), they often felt it as a punishment. Such a prospect was considered negative because "it was thought hard luck to be transferred to the north, as Welde Giyorgis's men were in 1910. The people then could not be squeezed with impunity as they often could be in the south" (Caulk 1978: 469). During this transfer, Welde Giyorgis "carried off with him a very large number of men, women and children as slaves, either for himself or to serve as suitable presents to conciliate the northern chieftains [of his new province]. His rear guard, following his example, swept to such an extent that the Galla [sic., Kefa, or other Sidama] were driven to desperation and attacked the Ras's men who had to fight for three days of their march northwards" (Caulk 1978: 474).

At the same time that resources including human resources were transferred from the conquered territories to the north, poor northerners were transferred and settled in the conquered territories. This is what gave birth to the unique neftegna/gabar system of exploitation. The term neftegna is a derivative of neft (meaning rifle) thus neftegna means rifleman. The historical context in which the neftegna system was born had to do with the shift of the balance of power in favor of Menelik in the internal Abyssinian rivalry primarily because he was able to acquire more European armaments, advice and mercenaries. Holcomb and Sissai Ibssa (1990: 99) put this shift of balance of power succinctly as follows: [Menelik's] Shoa had other advantages over the northern Abyssinian kingdoms. Her early contact with the Europeans made her aware of their particular interest in specific market items important to weapons purchase, and the trade route established to what is now Djibouti ran through Shoa's territory. These advantages assured the flow of armaments. The

acquisition of advanced weapons systems placed Shoa at an immediate advantage over other Abyssinian in any threat of confrontation.”

As Christopher Clapham (2002: 11) rightly observes, “The most obvious expression of recognized statehood was then the ability to gain access to imported arms.” And the European powers holding contiguous colonies upheld the right of Abyssinian rulers to acquire arms, not out of altruistic reasons, but either as a first step toward the Empire’s annexation (by Italy for example) or to frustrate a similar aspiration by its competitor (for example France).

Therefore, as stated by Addis Hiwet 1975: 1), “Ethiopia’s existence as a “modern state” does not – as the ideologists of the *ancien régime* claim – extend beyond the 1900s and into the limitless and ever-remote millennia. The same historical forces that created “Gold Coast,” the “Ivory Coast”, the Sudan and Kenya, were the very ones that created modern Ethiopia too. And a recognition of this fact makes modern Ethiopia no older than these African states. What makes Ethiopia’s creation as a “modern state” formally different is the way the same historical forces evolved.”

The Oromo people resisted and fought back bravely with their primitive weapons, but were not of a match for European modern firepower.

And as Shoa’s influence increased that of kings of Gojjam, Gondar and Tigray diminished. And during the time when Shoa was rising the north was hit by a series of famines thus compounding this shift of balance of power within Abyssinia. Again, Holcomb and Sissai Ibssa (1990: 100) put this situation as follows: “During the same period that Shoa was rising, the importance of the other kingdoms was dying. Europeans virtually took the affairs of Shoa into their hands—commerce, military, foreign relation, etc. Besides the key role of Europeans planning its affairs, another of the reasons for the rise of Shoa was the rise of trade. . . Shoa’s access to Oromo resources shielded her from the twin disasters of drought and continuous war which plagued the north. When Shoa was recognized as the ruling power, a convenient arrangement was found - - Abyssinians who needed food obtained it by joining Menelik’s campaigns to conquer Oromia and her neighbors. Menelik, who needed additional manpower to carry out conquest and colonization, was able to obtain supplementary troops for his armies and more settlers to swell the occupying force with personnel from northern Abyssinia.”

As Rokkan states, this phase entailed political, economic, and cultural unification at the elite level. As we can see, this did not happen in the experience of Abyssinia/Ethiopia state formation. What happened was completely contrary to unification of any sort.

Before his death Menelik II proclaimed his daughter’s son Iyasu, heir to the throne. But Iyasu’s father was not an Abyssinian. Therefore Abyssinians refused to crown Iyasu because

Abyssinians believed that they are a “chosen race with civilizing mission and Solomonic dynasty. Therefore, they placed Menelik’s other daughter Zawditu on the throne and appointed the son of Menelik’s cousin Tafari Mekonen as regent and heir presumptive.

Menelik tried to institutionalize the administration of his newly created empire. As stated by Asafa Jalata (1993: 73) Menelik “institutionalized his government in order to protect his empire from disintegration or from direct European occupation. He created a nine man cabinet on October 25, 1907 and in the following year designated Eyasu, his grandson, as heir. . . Eyasu became crown prince under the regency of Ras Tasamma until he came of age. When Tasamma died on April 10, 1911, Eyasu began to assume political power with guidance of the Council of Ministers.” Eyasu was ultimately deposed by a group of Shewan conspirators by accusing him of converting to Islam. There was an external factor in the drive to depose him because the allied powers felt he sided with Germany and Turkey in the then ongoing World War I. Addis Hiwet casts doubt on the claim of his conversion to Islam. As he states it (1975: 59) “A more rational perspective would have to consider Eyasu in the context of religion and the state. For the Shewan nobility the monarch at the head of the empire-state had to be an active and conscious upholder of the Shewan cause, ie. Shewa’s political domination of the empire; and, should equally actively and consciously profess and defend Orthodoxy – faith and Church. Restated in other words: the Shewan landed aristocracy would constitute the nucleus of the state, ie. the ruling class and the Orthodox Church would be elevated to the status of an Established Church. The Shewan nobility clearly recognized that Eyasu was far from aspiring and upholding these ideals, indeed his activities and policies were subversive to these ideals.”

Nevertheless, accusing him of converting to Islam, the Shewan conspirators deposed Eyasu on 27 September 1916. They crowned Menelik’s daughter, Zewditu as Empress with “Dejazmatch (soon to be created Ras) Tefferi as Regent and Heir Apparent” (Addis Hiwet 1975: 61). Thus began the period that Addis Hiwet designates as the “dyarchy.” During this period 1917-1928, “Tefferi gradually divested the young, apparently feeble-minded empress from all real power, and reduced her to the status of a mere *impératrice fainéant*, and thus she reigned he actually ruled. The period of dyarchy represents the steep ascent to power of the Dejazmatch.” Teferi was crowned as king after Zewditu died in 1928 and became Emperor Haile Selassie in 1930. As soon as Zawditu died, Tafari Mekonnen took over the throne, and was crowned as Haile Selassie I (Power of Trinity) and proclaimed himself “Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Elect of God and Emperor of Ethiopia”. His reign was destined to be one of the longest in Abyssinian history lasting until September 1974.

### **3.2, Empire-state Under Haile Selassie (1916 to 1974):**

#### **3.2.1 Central Force:**

Haile Selassie inherited an empire-state divided into two antagonistic zones themselves at loggerheads with each other. Addis Hiwet (1975: 53) identifies two different types of internal conflicts. The first is the conflict between the center (Ghibbi) “and the feudal ruling houses – Gojam, Tigray, Wello.” Second is the conflict between the Ghibbi and the incorporated areas of the south, south-west and south-east – i.e. the areas where military-feudal-colonialism was established.” The first type of conflict could be contained by different policies although the risk of a breakdown was never far from reality. Maintaining the descendants of King Teklehaimanot as ruling family of Gojam under Shewan domination worked to partly stabilize Gojam. Manipulating inter-Tigrean rivalry served to sustain Shewan dominance over Tigray. Subsequently, there was a popular uprising in Tigray, which was suppressed with violence. Marriage alliance was hope to serve the purpose of entrenching Shewan domination over Wello. As Addis Hiwet (1975: 54) puts it “The relationship between the Shewan Ghibbi and the recently incorporated areas was significantly different from its relations with the northern ruling houses. . . every Shewan feudal baron administered his fief with near absolute power.” So there was conflict between the various northern feudal ruling families and the center as well as between the center and conquered areas of the south, south-west and south-east.

There has always been a history of popular uprisings that punctuated the history of Shewan-Wello relations. One of these popular uprisings took place in 1928 as stated by Melba (1988: 106/7) “In 1928 Oromo peasants and nomads of Yejju, Rayya or Wajerat districts of present southern Tigray and northern Wallo revolted against the rule of Haile Selassie and refused to pay the heavy taxes imposed on them.” This war by the northernmost Oromos continued into the 1930 inflicting heavy losses on government troops. In one engagement, they reported succeeded in capturing 2000 rifles and 12000 cartridges.

Even after Haile Selassie’s rule was reinstated by the British in 1940, the Rayya Oromo rose up again and again. They rose up in 1947-48 and succeeded to liberate a large part of their territory. Their progress was ultimately “stopped when the British Royal Air Force in Aden at the request of the Ethiopian regime, savagely bombed the Oromo guerrilla positions” (Melba 1988: 107).

The violent confrontation between the northernmost Oromos and the empire was still going on when the Ethio-Italian war broke out in which Ethiopia’s then minister of war, Ras Mulugeta, fell a victim: “Italian and Ethiopian writers state that the Galla, who had good reason to hate him, fell on him when they heard he was in retreat” (Greenfield 1965: 212). According to Perham (1969: 84) the minister of war, Ras Mulugeta “was killed by dissident northern Gallas (Oromos) in 1936 when fighting against the Italians.” Ras Mulugeta had been involved in putting down rebellion also by the Amhara sector of Abyssinian society, in Bagemdir “against the Emperor in 1930” (ibid. 84).

The start of the Ethio-Italian war, 1935 – 40) prompted Oromos in another sector of the Oromos under the Empire to reclaim their independence. They transmitted a memorandum to the British government stating “the people of Western Galla (Oromo) have formed a confederation and have decided to become a League of Nations Mandate the mandatory power of which will be exercised by the Government of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . . if necessary we are ready to defend our rights by force of arms, but we hope that Your Government will use its influence to avert any more bloodshed in this part of the world” (quoted in Melba 1988: 109). The same is attested to by Edomon Keller who states that the “objective of the Western Oromo Confederacy of 1936 was independence from Ethiopia: 33 chiefs signed a document that *inter alia* expressed a desire for the region to become a League of Nations Protectorate” (Keller 1995: 626). Hence it is not surprising that an Abyssinian unite aspiring to fight the Italians in this area was resisted because “The Oromo were hostile to them because of the long term of suppression they had suffered under Amhara domination” (Sbacchi 1997: 166).

One unintended positive implication of Italian conquest was the official end of slavery and the slave trade. As Perham 1969: 221) states, The Italians after they conquered Ethiopia in 1935 “claim to have liberated 420,000 in the main slavery provinces but they might be tempted to overestimate the numbers.” Similarly, the Italians freed the semi-slave *gabars* “the Amhara in general, who had migrated to all parts of the country and had acquired land and resources, . . . at the expense of the indigenous population, were in many areas dismissed, expropriated and forced out by the Italians government. The exploitative peasant labour corvée system which still existed in many areas was ended by the Italians, and this was seen as a liberation by many of the rural underclass” (Abbink 1998: 116/7). This demonstrates that instead of defending the Empire these social sectors were seeking any opportunity to achieve liberation.

If the communities incorporated into the Empire through conquest had no objection to the departure of Amhara rule at the time of Italian conquest, they were even more apprehensive of the reinstatement of imperial rule at the end of Italian occupation. British authorities, conscious of these societies’ yearning for freedom, considered sending one of their officers called “Brocklehurst into southern Ethiopia with a promise to the Galla people that if they rose against the Italians they would be protected from future ‘Amhara overlordship’ as well” (Greenfield 1965: 256). This policy was quashed by Haile Selassie’s direct appeal to Churchill.

“The Haile Selassie government severely punished Oromo peasants for accepting land from the Italians, and it was immediately taken away and restored to the crown, the church and the colonial settlers who now came back. The use of Oromo language on radio and in court was again prohibited. Literature in Oromiffa was gathered and burned. The social advancements

that started under the Italians were arrested and Haile Selassie, with the full support of the British, reinstated the hopeless Abyssinian feudal administration” (Melbaa 1988-68).

The British spearheaded the defeat of Italian forces in Ethiopia in 1941. For some time after Italian defeat the British put Ethiopia “under the control of the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (OETA)” (Nordberg 1977: 51). The British establishment was divided into two rival factions on the future of Ethiopia. As Perham (1969: 392) state “One party took a pessimistic view of Ethiopia’s conditions and political capacity and believed something almost approaching a temporary protectorate, or at least a period of tutelage, was required. . . . On the other side were those, who were to be found especially at the Foreign Office, who were far less interested in the reform of Ethiopia than in keeping Britain’s reputation in the world free in this matter from even the suspicion of imperialism and who were also anxious to stand clear of what might proved a highly embarrassing and expensive responsibility.” While this division remained unresolved, an Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement was signed on 31 January 1942. In accordance with this Agreement, “Britain would, at her own expense, supply Ethiopia with a Military Mission, which was under British – not Ethiopian – command. . . . Britain was allowed to keep such military and police forces as they found necessary in Ethiopia. . . Ethiopia was not allowed to take part in any military operations if the British considered them to be contrary to their common interests” (Nordberg 1977: 51/2). This clearly compromised Ethiopia’s sovereignty. Negotiating the second Agreement of December 1944 proved very contentious because the Emperor insisted on gaining “substantial financial help from Britain without allowing in return any guarantee as to how it should be spent, still less any joint arrangements, such as a development trust, to govern its expenditure” (Perham 1969: 393).

While disputes on these formalities persisted, the Emperor moved “away from Britain . . . toward America. An American economic mission was invited during 1944; a loan from that country was accepted, and a concession to prospect for oil granted to an American company” (Perham 1969: 394). Furthermore, “In September 1945 an Ethio-American co-operation regarding civil flying started with the management contract between the Ethiopian Government and Transcontinental and Western Air (TWA). In 1946 Ethiopia was granted a loan of 3 million US dollars from the United States. In 1951 Ethiopia concluded a treaty of amity and economic relations with the United States, which was ratified in October 1953. In May 1953 a treaty was signed according to which American arms and military advisers were to be supplied” (Nordberg 1977: 54). The Ethio-American Treaty of 1953 remained in force almost to the end of Emperor Haile Selassie’s rule in 1974. Meanwhile, other agreements were concluded with the Soviet Union, Israel, Sweden, Norway, Holland, Denmark, Western Germany, France, Britain, India, Czechoslovakia and Japan (Nordberg 1977: 54). Some of these involved “external military alliances [were] a critical factor, both in defending the state



against occasional threats of invasion, but much more importantly in attempting to maintain control over a potentially (and often actively) rebellious periphery” (Clapham 2000: 6).

On Abyssinian rulers continued Treaties and alliance formations to keep their empire intact:

After they restored Haile Selassie to his thrown, the British had continued the debate on the fate of the Oromo and other subjugated communities. As written by Marcus (1995: 23), one British official asked “how it could be a matter of indifference to His Majesty’s Government whether Ethiopia is well or ill governed. He argued that we have a moral duty to see that the people of the country are not oppressed and enslaved. We are fighting for freedom in Europe, how can we restore Gallas (Oromos] and other subject races to Amharic tyranny?”

Treaties signed by Ethiopian : Insert from Nordberg p.56 and 57.

☞ Table 2. *Treaties concluded between Ethiopia and foreign countries, between foreign countries regarding Ethiopia and Ethiopia's membership in international organisations, 1896–1953.*

Treaty for Trade & Friendship	Trade Agreement	Border Treaty	Miscellaneous	Treaties regarding Ethiopia/ Membership in organisations
<i>Mtshilik II</i>				
Britain (1896)				
France (1897)	Italy (1897)			
		Italy concerning Eritrea (1900)		
		Britain concerning Sudan (1902)		
USA (1903)				
Hungary (1905)	Germany (1905)			
Italy (1906)	Belgium (1906)	Britain concerning colonies in East Africa (1907)		Tripartite Treaty Britain, Italy and France concerning Economic spheres of influence in Ethiopia (1906)
France (1908)		Italy concerning It. Somaliland (1908)		
<i>Lij Iyasu</i>				
	USA (1914)			Treaty of London. Britain and France regarding Italy's colonies in Africa (1915)
<i>Ras Tafari Regent</i>				
	Egypt (1920)			
	Greece (1922)			Ethiopia into League of Nations (1923)
	Netherlands (1926)			Britain and Italy mutual support for economic concessions in Ethiopia (1925)



USA (1929)  
Egypt (1930)  
Japan (1930)

Italy (1928, Friendship)

Switzerland (1933)

Japan (1932)

Czechoslovakia (1934)

Britain concerning Brit. Somaliland (1935)

France and Italy concerning Italy's interests in Ethiopia (1935)

Sweden (1935, not ratified)\*

*Italian occupation 1936-1941*

*Haile Selassie I*

Japan (1932, Friendship)  
Greece (1933, Immigration)

Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement (1942)  
USA (1942, Lend Lease Agreement)  
USA (1943, Lend Lease Agreement)  
Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement (1944)

Ethiopia into the United Nations (1945)  
Peace Treaty after Second World War, Italy surrendered her colonies (1947)

USA (signed 1951, ratified 1953)

Eritrea federated with Ethiopia (1952)  
USA (1953, Military Agreement)

Source: FO 371; KUD, HP 64; NA, Decimal file 1941-44; Hertslet 2 (1909); Perham (1969); The United States in world affairs 1953; Zervos (1936). See also Hamilton (1973).

\* See further Chapter IV:3. 3.

These victims of Amhara tyranny were not accepting their fate lying down. The Oromo people never accepted brutal Abyssinian subjugation. Once they “found themselves subjects of Amhara over lordship in a world that was now organizing itself along the lines of nation-states with permanent and inviolable geographic boundaries. A profound effect of this experience on the Oromo was the sharpening of their sense of ethnic identity. They did not always accept Amhara hegemony. In fact, sporadic local revolts were endemic throughout the period of Ethiopian colonialism: notably in Azebo-Raya during 1928-30 and in Bale during 1964-70” (Keller 1995: 626). A more recent manifestation of Oromo yearning for freedom was the fighting that broke out in Bale continued to escalate during the latter part of the 1960s. As stated by Melba (1988: 113/4) “The Ethiopian army was not effective in challenging the guerrillas in the dense forests of Baale. In 1966 the Ethiopian government attacked guerrilla positions in Elkarre province with aero planes. . . The bombing of villages over all the regions was intensified with some effect, creating fear and horror among the population who were not used to this type of warfare. In 1967, using air cover, the Ethiopian army launched all-out offensive in Dallo and Gannale. . . . At this juncture, the Ethiopian government became desperate, and once again, it turned to its patrons for help to rescue the empire. The British sent over 400 British army engineers to build bridges and roads. . . American Air Force experts were brought in to improve the firepower of the Ethiopian Air

Force jet fighters for more accurate air strikes. Several Israeli counter-insurgency and explosive experts were brought in to advise and guide the army.”

Oromo rejection of Ethiopian colonial rule “can be seen in the very swift spread of the Mecha Oromo Self-Help Association founded in 1967. Within less than a year the Association claimed 300,000 members” (Gilkes 1975: 225). The Association evolved into the Metcha-Tulama Welfare Association and was radicalized when an Oromo General, Tadasa Birru, started delivery emotional speeches in one of which he declared “We Oromo are in worse position in Ethiopia than blacks in South Africa” (Melba 1988: 115). The Association’s objective were originally a modest one of extending educational and health services to the Oromo areas. But because of its potential to raise “Oromo national conscious a government conspiracy led to the explosion of a hand grenade in an Addis Ababa cinema. The regime immediately placed the responsibility at the door of the MTWA and the Association was immediately banned. Several of its leaders and cadres were arrested and brought to trial before a special court in February 1967. . . Among the leaders Mamo was sentenced to death by hanging, while several were given long sentence of imprisonment. Many died in prison from unnatural causes. For instance, Haile Mariam Gemedra and a few others believed to have died from poisoning. General Taddasaa shot his way out when colonial security agents went to arrest him at his home” (Melba 1988: 116). The other form of Oromo resistance to Ethiopian rule was in the form Self-Help Associations.

Hence, the Ethiopian army and its foreign patrons were engaged in the suppression of these uprisings by the Oromo and other societies. The uprisings by the victims of colonial rule became inevitable because neutral mechanisms for adjudicating between the population and power holders were non-existent. This stems from the fact that, in creating the Empire, serious bargains were never negotiated among the dominant elite and the elite from Oromo society and others. Similarly, a cultural bond between the center and periphery was never attempted. In fact, the culture of the center and periphery remained not only un-integrated but remained antithetical and distinctive lacking shared elements. Rather, the two spheres repelled each other rather than attract. The growth and blossoming of Abyssinian culture was deliberately predicated on the elimination of Oromo culture. That means there are no any established rights and privileges, politically, economically and socially and culturally. Moreover, no cultural bond developed between the Abyssinian rulers/society and conquered Oromo population.

Thus far I have discussed the failure of the system to integrate the periphery of the periphery, i.e. the colonized areas of the south, south-west and east. The system equally failed in integrating the periphery of the center, i.e. the various multi-centered Abyssinia. A number of uprisings in Abyssinia attests to this fact. A number of grievances triggered an uprising by Tigreans in 1943. As stated by Marcus (2002: 154) “In 1943-1944, with British air support,

Addis Abeba violently suppressed the Woyane insurrection, a serious peasant uprising in Tigray that had been sparked by maladministration, excessive taxation, official corruption, and consequent brigandage.” The battle lines were not clearly delineated because even within the pro-government forces there were complaints. As Patrick Gilkes (1975: 190) states, “it might be added that not all the territorials had their hearts in crushing the rebellion [in Tigray], and on several occasions they voiced their unhappiness to the British advisers, pointing out that the fighting was caused by Shoan misgovernment, and that Tigre could be happier united with Eritrea.” It should be noted that Eritrea at the time was under British Military Administration.

A similar uprising punctuated the history of Gajam Amharas. As Patrick Gilkes writes (1975: 181) “Almost the of first these problems that the Emperor faced after the war was an outbreak of regionalism in the province of Gojjam. The causes of this is several – taxation was one and there an extended series of incidents beginning in 1942 and lasting several years. . . Trouble over tax still continued in Gojjam and the Emperor found it necessary to visit Debra Marcos in mid-1944.” He tried to calm the situation by distributing money and restoring the traditional system of taxation. This was followed by a series of Gojjame conspiracies to assassinate the Emperor: “Another Gojjami ex-patriot leader was involved in a serious plot against the Emperor in 1951. . . Gojjami reaction was considerable and there was armed resistance as well as a deputation to the Emperor” (Gilkes 1975: 182).

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, the spirit of rebellion against the Empire surfaced in the very center of the center. This was epitomized by the coup that was attempted starting in the evening of December 13, 1960 led by the commander of the Imperial Body Guard, General Mengistu Neway and his Columbia graduate brother, Germame. The Emperor was then on an official visit to Brazil. The next day, December 14, the coup plotters made the Crown Prince Asfa Wassen to read a statement over the radio declaring the overthrow of his father listing a series of disappointing performances.

The coup plotters tried to harness the support of the students at the miniscule University College of Addis Ababa. Mengistu Neway addressed the students, stating “We have called you not only to inform you of events but to seek your help and co-operation, for our cause is one in which you are equally concerned. The economic and social plight of the majority of our population does not change in many cases conditions are actually deteriorating. In the capital as well as elsewhere in the country most of the land is owned by a few people and they add daily to their holdings without working at all. There is no equality of opportunity for the majority” (Greenfield 1965: 405). A student who attended the incident reminisced how “His Excellency the General stood before us with his eyes blazing honesty and with the poor people’s broken bread on the table behind him!” (ibid).

From that day on for the next 14 years, students became the most vocal critique of the Emperor's government. They got increasingly radical and eventually started not only supporting but also celebrating the Eritrean rebels. By 1965, they hoisted the slogan "Land to the Tiller," which figured in their annual anti-government demonstrations. And in 1969, student radicals publicized another very sensitive issue by describing Ethiopia as the "Prison house of nations." Those constituting an insignificant portion of the student population, Oromos and other colonized people were starting to chart their cause of liberation. The student-led anti-government struggle mushroomed over the next decade culminating in the 1974 Mass Uprising that sealed the fate of the monarchy. The military with the view of averting the impending disintegration of the Empire stepped in and took over.

According to our theory, this is a phase of political, economic, and cultural unification at the elite level. In the Ethiopian case under Haile Selassie, political, economic and cultural unification was not even attempted. Instead naked force was employed to extract resources and consent. The system of rule worked equally hard with the view to dividing other sectors of society instead of trying to promote unification on any basis.

As Haile Selassie returned to his imperial rule, he started entertaining to even more expand the empire. He started to envisage the border of the Empire extending to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. "This is evidenced by the fact that, as he was re-entering his realm, the Emperor called on the Eritreans and "Italian" Somalis to come and dwell under the shade of the Ethiopian flag. He later requested British permission to visit Mogadishu, displaying an interesting symptom of Ethiopian imperialistic dreams embracing territory from Massawa to the Juba, in the words of a British official. He then started creating and supporting an irredentist movement for the incorporation of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland into the Ethiopian state" (Leenco Lata 2004: 109/10)

Although his ambition to claim British Somaliland ended in failure, he was ultimately successful in annexing Eritrea in 1962 and incorporated it into the rest of the Empire as the 14<sup>th</sup> province.

Only very few persons of Oromo origin joined the imperial system by adapting themselves into the central culture in order to survive. Even these, were subjected to numerous derogatory terms such as "baria" (slave) as attested to by the statement the "mulu-asir-aleka (sergeant) of the escort displayed almost 'colonialist' attitudes and boasted, 'the Galla [Oromo] are Amhara's slaves – they do as they are told'" (Greenfield 1965: 58).

In successful state-building processes, institutions are built for the extraction of resources for common defense. In the Abyssinian empire case, however, institutions were created only in order to extract Oromo human and material resources. This form of extraction is epitomized

by the settler-colonial armies, the nefteгна-gabar system – in which Oromo land and labor was distributed to the settlers.

### **3.2.2 Political Community**

The overall of this approach was total absence of any effort to construct a political community. As argued by the Center for Public Justice “the character of the political community [is distinct] from other kinds of communities. A just republic should be clear about its identity as a community that binds citizens to government and government to citizens for public justice and not for any and every kind of good thing that the majority of the people might want. Citizens under a constitutional government make up a community that is quite different from communities of parents and children in a family, of teachers and students in a school, of employers and employees in a corporation, and so forth” (Skillen 1994: 1). (from google political community definition) As Deutsch (1957:1-2) and et al define it, political community is a special type of security community. According to them defining a security community requires defining integration, which shapes a sense of community which in the end determines how peaceful change comes about. These define these cascading phrases in the following terms

“A SECURITY COMMUNITY is a group of people which has become ‘integrated’. By INTEGRATION we mean the attainment, within a territory, of a ‘sense of community’ and of institutions and practices strong enough and widespread enough to assure, for a ‘long’ time, dependable expectations of ‘peaceful change’ among its population. By SENSE OF COMMUNITY we mean a belief on the part of individuals in a group that they have come to agreement on at least this one point: that common social problems must and can be resolved by processes of ‘peaceful change. By PEACEFUL CHANGE we mean the resolution of social problems, normally by institutionalized procedures, without resort to large-scale physical force.”

Based upon these criteria, a political community has not emerged in Ethiopia. Similarly, a security community has not emerged because the successive ruling regimes did not want to see them emerge. Peaceful change has never taken place even within Abyssinia itself leave alone after the empire was created through brutal conquest.

Furthermore, the established rights of Oromos of pre-conquest period were completely revoked and remained non-existent under Abyssinian imperial rule. Similarly, elementary infrastructure requirements of the economy and polity were destroyed and never rebuilt in favor of the Oromo.

### **3.2.3 Foreign Relations Under Haile Selassie**

Haile Selassie was obsessed with foreign relations with European powers in order to garner external legitimacy and support. As early as 1919 he applied for Ethiopia's admission to the League of Nations, which was then turned down because of the prevalence of slavery and slave trade in his Empire. Again in 1923, he applied for membership to the League of Nations with Italian and French backing. Once again the application was "resisted by countries like Britain, Switzerland, Australia and Norway on the grounds that Addis Ababa's control of the country was uncertain and because of the slavery that still existed" (Norberg 1977: 43). Nevertheless, on 28 September 1923, "the League Assembly, however, unanimously voted to admit Ethiopia. . . . France and Italy supported Ethiopia's applications because they had ambitions to increase their trade and influence in Ethiopia" (ibid. 44).

And also insert positions held by foreigners Norberg 1977 p.47



Table 5. *Positions held by foreigners in the Ethiopian administration before 1935.*

Ministry & Department	Position	Name	Nationality	
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Adviser	J. Kolmodin	Swede	1931-1933*
	Adviser	E. Virgin	Swede	1934-1935
	Adviser	J.H. Spencer	American	1936
Dept of Foreigners	Adviser	D. Hall	German/ Ethiopian	
Ministry of Agriculture				
Laboratory of Chemical Analysis	Director	K. Ewert	Austrian	
Ministry of Commerce				
Dept of General Inspection	Director	P. Yazelijan	Armenian	
Dept of Chemistry	Director	K. Ewert	Austrian	
Ministry of Finance	Adviser	E. Colson	American	1930-1935
	Inspector	F. Reaggi	Italian	
	Adm. Customs	A. Koeurhadjian	Armenian	
Bank of Ethiopia	Governor	C.S. Colliers	British	
Ministry of War				
Munition factory	Director	A. Taimnakis	Greek	
Ethiopian Army (Special Mission)	Major	B. Dothée	Belgian	1929-1930
	Major	G. Polet	Belgian	1930-1935
	3 Lieutenants		Belgian	1929-1935
Cadet School at Holeta (Special Mission)	Captain	V. Tamm	Swede	1934-1936
	Lieutenant	A. Thorburn	Swede	1934-1936
	Lieutenant	N. Bouveng	Swede	1934-1936
	Lieutenant	G. Heuman	Swede	1934-1936
	Lieutenant	A. Nyblom	Swede	1934-1935
Ministry of Education & Fine Arts	Adviser	S. Papazian	Armenian	
	Expert	E. Work	American	1932-1935
Ministry of the Interior	Adviser	F. de Halpert	British	-1933
Dept of Public Health Health Commission	Director	K. Ewert	Austrian	
		J. Zervos	Greek	
		K. Hanner	Swede	
		G. Argyrepoulos	Greek	
Security Department	Major	K. Mosshopoulos	Greek	
Ministry of Justice	Adviser	J. Auberson	Swiss	
Ministry of Post, Tele- graph & Telephone	Adviser	A. Bousson	French	1923-1932
	Technical Direc- tor	E. Siblensky	French	1932-1935
	Technical Adviser	F. Hammar	Swede	1932-1935
Ministry of Public Works	Technical Adviser	A. Trahtenberg	French	-1928
	Polytechnic	P. Pane	French	1929-1933

Source: Zervos (1936), pp. 116-318. See also Pankhurst (1968), p. 64; Shinn (1971), p. 301.

\* died in service



Only a year later in 1924, Tafari “did . . . undertake an extensive foreign tour which took him to Palestine, Egypt, France, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Italy, Britain, Switzerland and Greece” (Greenfield 1965: 157). The purpose of his visit can be surmised from a comment he later made to a woman “We need European progress only because we are surrounded by it. . . Such progress was at once a benefit and a misfortune. It will expedite our development but we are afraid of being swamped” (ibid 157/8).

He succeeded in winning recognition by a number of powers that formalized diplomatic relations.

(Likewise positions held by foreigners follows, Norberg 1977 p.81)

Table 6. *Positions held by foreigners in the Ethiopian administration 1941–1944.*

Ministry & Department	Position	Name	Nationality	Period
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Adviser	J.H. Spencer	American	1943–
Ministry of the Interior	Adviser	D.A. Sandford	British	1941–44
		D.A.C. Dallas	British	1942–44
Dept of Public Health	Director	G. Campbell	American	1943–
Police Dept	Commissioner	P. Cullock	British	1942–44
	of Police	P.N. Banks	British	1944–
	of Police	F.E. Stafford	British	1942–44
Ministry of Finance	Adviser	F.E. Stafford	British	1942–44
	Ass Adviser	J. James	British	1942–44
	Ass Adviser	E.C.G. Fuller	British	1942–44
Ministry of Justice	Adviser	C. Mathew	British	1942–44
	Ass Adviser	E. Law	British	–44
High Court	President	H.C. Willan	British	1942–43
	President	P. Russell	British	1943–44
	President	A.N. Thavenot	British	1944–46
Ministry of Commerce & Industry	Adviser	A.D. Bethell	British	1942–44
Ministry of Customs	Adviser	C.T. Underhill	British	1945–
Ministry of Education	Adviser	E. H. Hussey	British	1942–44
	Adviser	J. Hambrook	American	1945–
Ministry of Communications	Adviser	D. Haille-Scott	British	1942–43
Ministry of War				
Ethiopian Army (BMME)	Major-Gen.	A.E. Cottam	British	1942–50
State Bank	Governor	C.S. Collers	British	1941–43
	Governor	G. Blowers	American	1943–

Source: FO 371; NA, Decimal File 1940–44.

Despite his efforts to gain external legitimacy by these concerted campaigns, Ethiopia still remained susceptible to partition by Europeans as spheres of influence. “In 1925, Britain and Italy agreed to support each other’s demands for economic concessions in Ethiopia. The British-Italian agreement meant Britain’s formal recognition of Italy’s exclusive economic interests in Western Ethiopia and virtually put the entire country in Italy’s sphere of influence” (Norberg 1977: 44). Thus the stage was set for the subsequent Italian effort to conquer Ethiopia. As Germany’s resurgence became obvious after 1933, France and Italy drew closer. And Mussolini was eager to reach an agreement with France similar to the one already existing. As Norberg (1977: 45) states it “on 7<sup>th</sup> January 1935, a French-Italian entente was signed. To Mussolini the essential political condition was that France would not resist his plans in Ethiopia. Once France had accepted Italian ambitions, Mussolini thought that the British government would not create any problems.” Having achieved this objective by the entente of 1935, Mussolini launched the invasion of Ethiopia culminating in the flight of Haile Selassie to Europe.

The Imperial Ethiopian Government of Emperor Haile Selassie ultimately collapsed in 1974. According to Clapham (2000: 6), even before “the collapse of the imperial regime in 1974, there was two critical points at which the project of Ethiopian state formation was clearly failing. The most obvious was the failure of political integration in Eritrea, where the resistance that had started in the early 1960s had by ten years later turned into a major insurgency. The second, less immediately threatening but with still more damaging potential long-term consequences, was the failure of integration in much of southern and western Ethiopia, on which the country had become economically dependent, and which was subjected to a system of social, political and economic exploitation which would eventually become unsustainable. From the point of view of the radical intelligentsia who provided the intellectual basis for the 1974 revolution, both of these failures could be ascribed to the structure of the state itself.”

### **3.3, State formation Under the Military Junta (1974 to 1991)**

The military junta came to power by hijacking

Emperor Haile Selassie’s regime was brought down in 1974 as a result of factors that were accumulated ever since he ascended the throne. These accumulating factors ultimately gave rise to a number of social forces confronting the system. Students, who have been locked in conflict with the imperial regime since the failed coup of 1960, capitalized on every available grievances to whip up the masses to rise up against the regime. Their most popular slogan was “Land to the Tiller,” which was first aired during a demonstration in 1965. This

happened at a time when the imperial “parliament” was debating land tenure. Composed of mostly landowners, the parliament was not about to address the fate of landless tenants. At this stage, the man who happened to be the President of the Parliament, Tessema Negeri, contacted his fellow Oromo leader of the University Students Union, Baro Tumsa, to stage a demonstration calling for “Land to the Tiller.” From that time on, this slogan recurred in every student demonstration which took place at least once a year. By 1973, the students found another issue of deep significance; the famine then raging in large parts of the empire.

They staged sit-ins, fasts and other measures to publicize the plight of famine victims, which was being suppressed by the government media.

This also happened to be right after the price rise of petroleum products, which forced the regime to raise the price of gasoline, which in turn drove the taxi drivers of the capital to go on strike. While these developments were rocking the political scene in the urban areas, a more important development was unfolding far from the capital. On January 12, 1974, “rank-and-file soldiers of a small garrison in Neghelle, Borana, . . . mutinied against their commanding officers. It was not political grievances that motivated the revolt, but vile food and shortage of drinking water. The soldiers’ pump was out of order, and the officers refused to allow them to use their own. After first detaining their superiors, the soldiers had the audacity to seize the Emperor’s personal envoy, commander of the Ground Forces, Lt. Gen. Deresse Dubale, and force him to eat and drink as they did. In this dramatic fashion the ordinary Ethiopian soldiers, the NCOs, and low ranking officers entered upon the stage of Ethiopian history” (Ottaways 1978: 1/2).

When news of this development spread soldiers elsewhere started taking unexpected steps. “A month later, on February 10, the technicians and NCOs at the Debre Zeit Air Force Base near Addis Ababa rose up in a similar revolt, imprisoning their officers in a mess hall and holding them hostage for 3 days while they pressed their demands for better pay and working conditions. Enlisted men and NCOs of the Second Division in Asmara were the next to rise up, and their revolt on February 25 finally brought to the attention of the outside world what was happening in Ethiopia.” (ibid. :2)

The escalation of the worrying situation continued as, led by 7 corporals and sergeants, “the mutineers took over the country’s second largest city and began broadcasting their demands over the radio station for the entire world to hear” (ibid.: 2). Three factors led the spread of the spirit of rebellion to the civilian population: inflation, famine in Wello and the review of education policy. “Sensing people’s irritation, students in Addis Ababa and elsewhere began agitating against the government, which in late January recklessly imposed a 50 percent hike in the cost of petrol, while refusing an offsetting increase in taxi and bus fares. Addis Ababa’s cabbies were irate, and on 18 February they went on strike to reverse the price rise,

underscoring their determination by forcing the capital's buses off the roads. Their action was coordinated with a teachers' strike for greater pay and more job security and against a government plan requiring many of them to teach in provincial posts. The students, meanwhile, kept up their pressure, going out on strike, taking to the street, and stoning expensive private cars" (Marcus 2002: 182).

At this stage, even previously neglected religious grievances started being aired. "On April 20 (1974), a huge crowd of Moslems marched through the capital to demand religious equality and the separation of church and state. It was probably the largest demonstration ever held in Addis; some estimates put the number of participants as high as 100, 000. Whatever the figure it effectively exploded the myth promoted by the Emperor that Ethiopia was a Christian country in which Moslems were only negligible minority (Ottaways 1978: 4).

Meanwhile, rebellion by the military was going from strength to strength. In order to calm down soldierly rebellion, "the Emperor himself went to First Division Headquarters to handle a small mutiny and satisfied the soldiers' grievances by promising to improve their living conditions and by pointing to a military pay raise of approximately 20 percent (a private would receive E\$ 100, or US\$ 40, monthly) announced that morning. . . [Which was turned down by the soldiers.] [Hence] On 27 February, from the balcony of his palace, Haile Selassie told a hastily convened meeting of supposedly loyalist soldiers that the country could not afford another military pay raise, that enemies were coordinating an attack on Ethiopia's unity, and that they should do their patriotic duty by obeying their officers. The appeal to patriotism was ignored as garrisons throughout the country joined the insurrection" (Marcus 2002: 183/4).

After the soldiers joined the insurrection, "Haile Selassie's government became vulnerable to its ideological enemies. Rumors began circulating that the soldiers to be rid of the cabinet, and Aklilu Habtewold, the prime minister, reasoned the crisis might ease if he and his ministers resigned. At 8:00 p. m. on 27 February, the nightly television news told its stunned audience about the cabinet's unprecedented action" (Marcus 2002: 184).

The insurrection continued in a spontaneous and unorganized manner until 28 June, when the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Police, Territorial Army came into existence. The Coordinating Committee "proclaimed its 'unswerving loyalty' to the Emperor and its determination to assure the 'smooth functioning' of the civilian cabinet. At the same time, it started a much more widespread wave of arrests not only among former officials but also among those still in positions of high power – in the Emperor's Crown Council, in the army, and by the end of July in the cabinet itself" (Ottaways 1978: 5). These measures had the implication of turning "the Elect of God was quickly reduced to figurehead who could no longer protect even his closest associates. They were arrested one by one" (ibid. 5).

The Coordinating Committee systematically conducted propaganda in order to blemish the highly respected image of the Emperor. “The state-run media that had for decades sang his daily praises were suddenly being used to undermine his prestige and authority and published articles detailing the horrors and corruption of the imperial order. Thus, when the proclamation announcing his deposition came on September 12 there was no public outcry. The Elect of God was taken off in a small Volkswagen – without a shot being fired or a cry raised in his defense” (ibid. 6).

The Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Police, and Territorial Army became the Provisional Military Administrative Council (Derg) after it overthrew the Emperor and assumed power. Its original slogan of *Ethiopia Tikdem* was later elaborated as *hebretesebawinet* (home Ethiopian socialism), meaning “equality, self-reliance, the dignity of labor, the supremacy of the common good and the indivisibility of Ethiopian unity” (Ottaways 1978: 8). As heir to the imperial power, the Council’s commitment to the “indivisibility of Ethiopian unity” would become central in due course. Meanwhile, two other civilian aspiring heirs to the imperial power were competing to out do each other as the only genuine Marxist Leninist force. They were the All Ethiopia Socialist Movement (more widely known by its Amharic acronym MAESON and the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Party (EPRP).

Pressured by the criticisms of the EPRP and persuaded by the advice of MAESON, the Derg “officially announced the adoption of ‘scientific socialism’ and a program for a ‘National Democratic Revolution’ leading eventually to the establishment of ‘People’s Democratic Republic’ on April 20, 1976 (Ottaways 1978: 9). One of the issues addressed in the National Democratic Revolution Program was to resolve the inequality of nationalities living in Ethiopia, in the following words (quoted in Clapham 1988: 199).

The right to self-determination of all nationalities will be recognized and fully respected. No nationality will dominate another one since the history, culture, language and religion of each nationality will have equal recognition in accordance with the spirit of socialism. The unity of Ethiopia’s nationalities will be based on their common struggle against feudalism, imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and all reactionary forces. This united struggle is based on the desire to construct a new life and a new society based on equality, brotherhood and mutual respect. . . .

Given Ethiopia’s existing situation, the problem of nationalities can be resolved if each nationality is accorded full right to self-government. This means that each nationality will have regional autonomy to decide on matters concerning its internal affairs. Within its own environs, it has the right to determine the contents of its political, economic, and social life, use its own language and elect its own leaders and administrators to head its internal organs.

As concluded by Leenco Lata (1999: 200) “It was their association with MAESON that paved the way for the military officers to increasingly Marxist-Leninist terms and concepts in defining their policies. Adopting apparently Leninist tactics to resolve the numerous issues that they faced also emanates from this association. Appropriating to themselves the exclusive role of leading any popular movement, with a view to contain it and to invert its objectives, was gained from the lessons they learned from their civilian leftist supporters. Perhaps one of the Derg’s most insincere declarations, the National Revolution Program of Ethiopia, typifies such a disingenuous championing of a cause with the ultimate aim of foiling a meaningful realization of its objectives.” The declaration of the equality of nationalities was no more than a ploy to disarm those demanding their rights since it was never translated into practice. It was to hoodwink such societies and to win their support.

The Derg, EPRP and MAESON shared in common the conviction that the “revolution” should come under the leadership of a single Marxist-Leninist party. As the result, MAESON joined the Derg in the attempt to liquidate the EPRP. Once it got rid of EPRP with the support of MAESON, the Derg turned on MAESON and liquidated it as well. This was a truly bloody chapter in the history of the empire known as the Red Terror versus White Terror period. After this bloody period was concluded with the victory of the Derg, it became the sole ruler of the empire under the dictatorial leadership of Mengistu Hailemariam.

Christopher Clapham (1988: 1) lists the factor that qualify an event as a revolution in the following words: “A revolution marks a fundamental and irreversible change in the organisation of a society; the destruction, often rapid and violent, of a previous form of social and political organisation, together with the myth which sustained it and the ruling groups which it sustained, and their replacement by a new institutional order, sustained by new myth and sustaining new rulers. Such a change has taken place in Ethiopia: a change indeed in many ways comparable to those experienced during the ‘classic’ revolutions of France and Russia.” Although Clapham (ibid. 13/4) enumerates the changes that followed the outbreak of the revolution he is also emphatic in stating “Much has changed. But a sense of what has changed, and how, is to be gained only through an appreciation of continuity. . . . Indeed, it is one of the central conclusions of this book that the Ethiopian revolution has ‘succeeded’ – in so far as it can be said to have done so – not despite but because of its inheritance from imperial Ethiopia. It must equally be recognized that there is much that a revolution does not try to change: that its goals are, in many respects, the same as those of past regimes; and that many of its differences from them lie simply in a determination to achieve these more effectively.”

Furthermore, “In Ethiopia, as in many revolutionary states, this continuity of goals is most obvious in the determination to maintain the national territory, and in the opportunity this gives the new regime to establish its legitimacy as a successor to a national political tradition.



. . The Ethiopian revolutionary regime is able to recognise distant events, continuing for example to celebrate Menelik's victory over the Italians in 1896, while displaying an extraordinary amnesia towards more recent history. Inherited attitudes or institutions which have managed to struggle across the chasm between past and present are readily treated as 'residues' which are doomed to disappear once the new revolutionary system is fully established. Since such attitudes are no more than the product of the socio-economic system spawned them, they resemble, in Marx's famous analogy, the hair which continues to grow on a corpse" (ibid 13). Hence, the Derg regime continued to extol the legacy of Menelik, the builder of empire while demonizing its immediate predecessor. This shows the Derg's aspiration to preserve the imperial content of Ethiopia while repackaging it in Marxist-Leninist term.

As Clapham (1988: 43) state "it is essential to bear in mind that the Derg came to power in a situation in which the Ethiopian state appeared to be collapsing with the monarchy that had created it. In a society founded on a Hobbesian conception of the centrality of power relations to the maintenance of public order, the removal a once-dominant authority figure always carried the threat of anarchy." And this threat of anarchy was further exacerbated by the "concept of Ethiopia, the feeling of being a member of the Ethiopian nation, affected only a tiny élite. Danton's definition of the French nation during the ancien régime, 'an aggregate of disunited peoples' may, almost exactly, describe the Ethiopian nation at the beginning of the 1970s" (Lefort 1983: 33). In addition, despite "government propaganda depicting a country unified by 3,000 years of independence, Ethiopia, although possibly an acceptable concept to some of the educated elite, was by no means a recognized entity for the average peasant to whom village and region were the only spatial and political concepts of any significance" (Wood 1983: 520). Thus a Hobbesian mentality coupled with disunited peoples posed as the major concern of the military junta.

The Derg took over power when challenges to the empire were increasing momentum and spreading to new areas. The struggle for independence in Eritrea was entering a new and higher phase. At the same time, the Ogadeni Somalis, support by the regime of the Somali Republic, were renewing their struggle against Ethiopia imperial rule. At the same time, adjacent Oromos of Bale and Sidamo provinces were resuming their armed struggle for liberation which had been suspended since the late 1960s. The conflict with the most decisive implication was the one that erupted between Ethiopia and Somalia. The Somalia benefitted from generous Soviet provision of arms and built up a military force far superior to that of Ethiopia. The rulers of Somalia considered this time as an opportune moment for realizing their decades-old irredentist agenda of annexing Eastern and Southeastern Ethiopia. The Soviet ultimately chose Ethiopia over Somalia and changed their alliance, which was reciprocated by Somalia re-entering the pro-US camp.

Once the alliance with the Soviet camp was achieved “The Soviet Union engaged in rebuilding the colonial army that was necessary to recreate and reconsolidate the crumbling empire. Korn estimates that from 1977 to 1986 the Soviet Union alone provided arms valued between \$2 and \$4 billion for the military regime that failed to feed its famine-stricken population. Between 1977 and 1989, Soviet military assistance was estimated at \$7 billion. Between 1974 and the mid-1980s, the army increased tenfold, from 45,000 to 480,000” (Jalata 1993: 128). And Christopher Clapham (1988: 109) concurs by stating that “The regime’s basic means of control is provided by the armed forces, which have expanded by between 6 and 8 times since the revolution. Most estimates put the total number at about 300,000 though it is not clear whether this needs to be supplemented to allow for the number of national service men. The four-division army inherited from the imperial regime has been expanded to twenty-four divisions, which are grouped together as ‘task forces’ for specific operations.”

At this time, “A friendless Somalia made a sharp contrast with Ethiopia, which had become an internationalist cause célèbre, not only receiving weapons and other assistance from the Socialist bloc but also enjoying the services of 13,000 Cuban and 4,000 South Yemeni soldiers. The latter helped to train the Ethiopians in the use of Soviet tanks, and the former helped to contain and finally expel the Somalis” (Marcus 2002: 199). With this kind of backing the Ethiopian empire was preserved and Somali irredentism was frustrated.

With the end of Ethio-Somali war, however, peace did not prevail in the empire. Having succeeded in foiling the threat posed by the Somalis in the East and Southeast, the Derg shifted its attention to the rest of the empire in order to quash all liberation forces. In the North, it confronted both the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF).

The struggle of the Oromo to throw off imperial rule was also rekindled at this time. What started in Bale in 1960s was revived and transformed into a more coherent national liberation struggle. Quashing this much more threatening challenge also became one of the obsessions of the Derg regime. Another challenge in the Southeast came from the Sidama Liberation Movement (SLM), which had to be dealt with. Likewise, putting down the armed struggle by the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) became another mission for the military. Not once did the regime try to seek a political and peaceful resolution to the quest for freedom by these diverse forces. As we have already observed, the Derg held in common with its predecessors the agenda of using sheer force in order to hold the empire together but only differed “from them lie simply in a determination to achieve these more effectively” (Clapham 1988: 13/4).

The emergence and survival of the Ethiopian empire would have been impossible without the support of European powers. For example, the restoration of Haile Selassie to power by expelling the Italians from Ethiopia was possible due to British support. As the US started replacing Britain as a global power, it became a new source of political and military support for the Haile Selassie regime in exchange for a communication's base in Asmara known as Kagnew. During this close alliance between the empire and the USA, neighboring Somalia was a close ally of the USSR. As the Derg grew closer to the Soviet camp, the empire's relation with Washington got increasingly strained and finally broke down in 1977. At the same time, the Soviet were expelled from Somalia and moved into Addis Ababa. At the same time, the US became a new ally of Somalia.

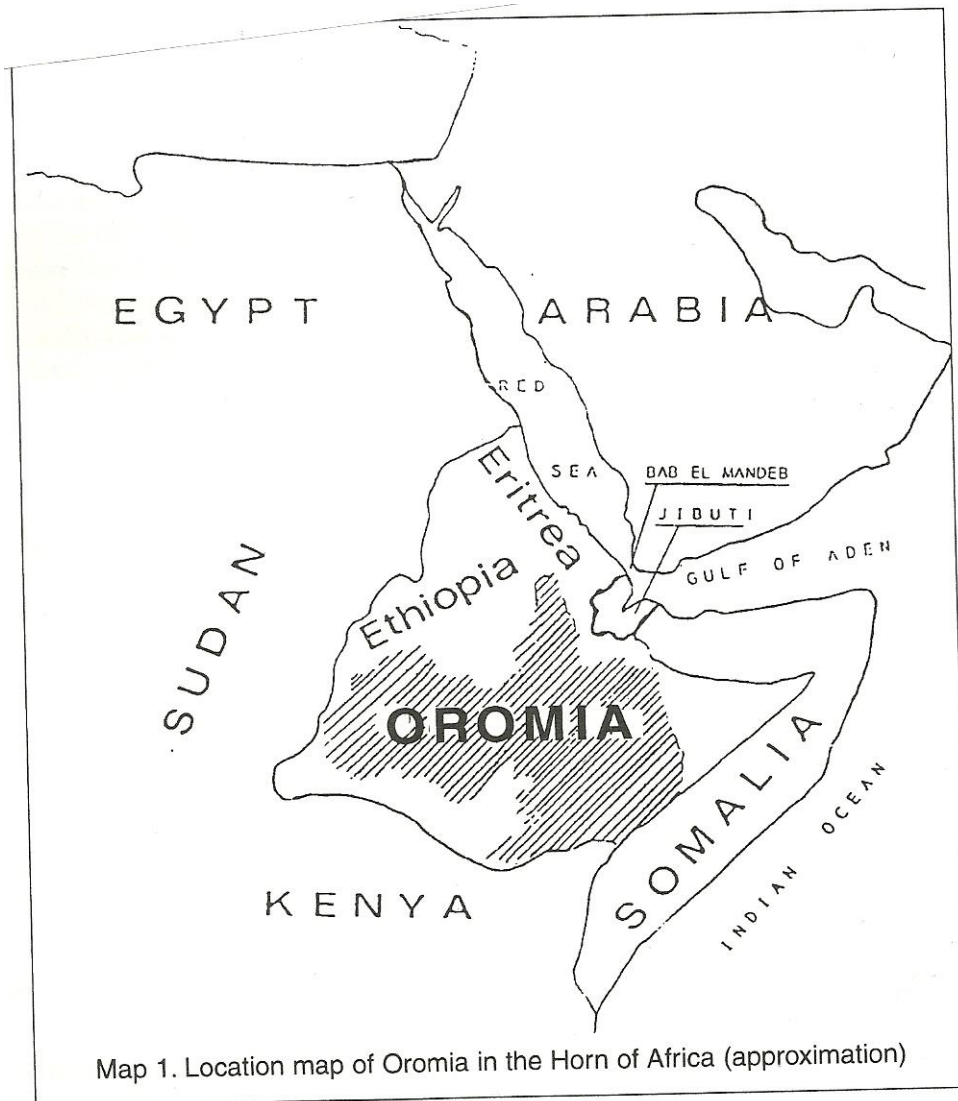
The success of the revolution that sealed the fate of his reign was primarily due to part of his military going over to the side of the revolution. 's decision to stop defending Haile Selassie was deposed by his own imperial military junta in 1974.

Upon accession to power, the military junta proclaimed itself "Communist" and Organized overnight "workers party of Ethiopia" and declared "Red Terror" against what it called "White Terror". Against every body it thinks as opposition. Soviet Union gave billions of dollars worth of modern weapons and poured in thousands of Soviet experts including north Yemen's, Cubans and East Germans.

Eritrean Liberation forces were active in Eritrea and Ogaden National Liberation was also active in Ogaden.

Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) was organized in 1973 and started armed struggle in 1976.

The map of Oromia from Gadaa Melbaa (1988: 12)



Sidama Liberation Movement was operating with Oromo Liberation front .

Eritreans trained and organized Tigray peoples liberation front (TPLF)- which is an other Abyssinian group.

### **3.4 The TPLF/EPRDF Version of State Formation (1991---**

The contemporary Ethiopian state is an empire made up of traditional Abyssinia and the societies incorporated through the conquests of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Abyssinian society is further divided between the Amharic-speaking and Tigrinya-speaking communities sharing the same religion and history. Nevertheless, after the demise of the Axumite kingdom, these two communities never constituted a meaningful state of their own. As the result, they never built an Abyssinian national state. Restoration of centralized rule was attempted by the Amhara Emperor Tewdros who was temporarily successful. After the death of Tewdros while fighting in Magdala (Wallo Oromo) the Tigrean Emperor Yohannes ascended the throne and

who died fighting the Sudanese Dervishes. The next Emperor to impose his rule on Abyssinia and to conquer the rest of contemporary Ethiopia was Menelik II. From the beginning from Menelik until 1991, the Amhara exercised dictatorial rule over the empire.

The force that emerged as the new dominant power after the overthrow of Amhara state power are the present Tigrean rulers. The Tigreans have always been a distinct sub-section of Abyssinia as shown by the following: “The Tigrinya-speaking areas of northern Ethiopia have historically possessed an intensified sense of regional identity, expressed not only in language, but in differences in customary land tenure, and in adherence to distinctive doctrines within the Orthodox Church. Strategically, the area was a frontier region, since it was there that the Ethiopian highlands came to closest to the Red Sea, and to the main Islamic centres of the Sudan. Politically, it was governed very largely through an indigenous aristocracy, which intermarried with the Amhara aristocracy to the south, and intervened readily in national politics, but maintained both a distinctive identity and a high level of functionalism among its own members. The Ethiopian emperors normally maintained an indirect control over the area through the manipulation of these local conflicts . . . “ (Clapham 1988: 205).

An additional complicating factor was the inclusion of part of Tigrinya-speakers in the Italian colony of Eritrea in the period after 1890. The fate of the former Italian colony of Eritrea was an issue that was ultimately discussed at the UN. While the highland Tigrinya-speaking Christians leaned towards joining Ethiopia, the lowland Muslim societies of Eritrea largely opposed such a scenario. When Eritrea was annexed by the Haile Selassie regime in 1960, the lowlanders had already launched an armed struggle for independence led by the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF). Soon after even members of the Christian highlanders took up arms against the Haile Selassie regime under the leadership of the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF). By the middle of the 1970s, the EPLF trained and supported groups from adjacent Tigray province, which emerged as the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF).

The armed struggle in Eritrea and adjacent Tigray was intensifying famine recurred in the area and elsewhere in Ethiopia. The famine of mid-1980s in particular triggered a global outpouring of sympathy and aid symbolized by Bob Geldof’s Band Aid. This initiative alone raised £5 million, according Gill (2010: 12).

Both the EPLF and TPLF benefited significantly from the aid raised in order to alleviate suffering as a result of famine and related disasters. The flow of huge resources into TPLF controlled areas enabled the Front to purchase arms and to even recruit and re-indoctrinate the prisoners of war under their control and the EPLF. In addition to direct political support from some Arab countries, European and American sources channeled aid in the form of humanitarian assistance. “The Norwegian Church Aid alone provided assistance worth tens

of millions of NoK, as food aid, almost without any monitoring. The local recipient was able to convert this support to its own political capital” (Terje Tvedt 1995: 23; interpretation mine). Furthermore, “Norway in the Cross Border Operation from Sudan into Eritrea and Tigray channeled half a billion Norwegian kroner (Norwegian and USAID). At the end of the war, ERDS yearly budget was a billion kroner. The support was instrumental for Eritrea’s victory and, especially with this the USA started to use Norwegian Church Aid and ERD as a channel for enabling the Tigreans to capture Addis Ababa upon the overthrow of Mengistu” (ibid 23/4; translation mine). External support hence played a pivotal role in the victory of the TPLF and EPLF. This development changed the balance of forces in favor of TPLF and EPLF and against such forces as the OLF, Sidama Liberation Movement, etc. In addition, this largesse enabled the TPLF to create proxy organizations for various ethnic groups known as Peoples Democratic Organizations (PDOs). The Oromo version of PDO was pitted against the OLF and similar developments occurred elsewhere. Just one year before capturing the capital the TPLF assembled these proxy “organizations” and created the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF).

The TPLF by 1985 had achieved the objective for which it was originally organized; the liberation of Tigray. Its efforts thereafter were emerging as the new dominant power by unseating the incumbent Amhara. The PDOs constituted of POWs became its instruments for hoodwinking their own ethnic constituencies and allowing the TPLF to extend its exploitation and dominance over other societies.

The military junta was overthrown in May 1991 by an alliance of national liberations fronts composed of EPLF, TPLF and OLF. The capital, Addis Ababa, was captured by units of the TPLF spearheaded by contingents of EPLF troops. By the time Addis Ababa was captured, the whole of Eritrea had fallen under the control of the EPLF.

According to Harold Marcus (2002: 231), “During the first third of 1991, the Addis Ababa regime suffered defeat after defeat and was forced to ask the United States to sponsor a peace conference that would preface a transitional government.” The London Conference was ultimately organized by Herman Cohen, then assistant secretary of state for Africa. Subsequently, “On the morning of 28 May, just hours before the parley convened in London, the acting president of Ethiopia, General Tesfaye Gebre Kidan, informed the American embassy that he had lost control over what remained of the army.” Under the circumstances then unfolding, the US Government “asked the EPRDA to enter the city to ensure law and order” (ibid). The capital was in reality captured jointly by the EPLF and TPLF/EPRDF.

Once the fall of Addis Ababa was supported at the London Conference, “the EPLF, EPRDF, and OLF deputations agreed to meet shortly in Addis Ababa to negotiate a charter for a two-year transitional period, then returned home to pursue separate goals” (ibid). The EPLF



established the Provisional Government of Eritrea in Asmara, while the TPLF formed the Provisional Government of Ethiopia in Addis Ababa immediately after capturing the two capitals. Meanwhile, a delegation of EPLF, TPLF and OLF met in Sana'afe, Eritrea, and agreed on a draft Transitional Period Charter of Ethiopia. This was ultimately presented to the conference of Peace Loving and Democratic Forces present in the Ethiopian society, which took place from July 1 – 5, 1991, in Addis Ababa. Representatives of twenty-nine organizations purportedly representing the interests of various national communities in the empire met at this conference and ratified the Charter. Such a collective bargaining, which in Rokkan's theory constitutes the first phase of state formation, appeared imminent. Unfortunately, later developments aborted such a promising beginning.

One issue on the agenda of the Conference was the future of Eritrea. Eritrean leader, Isaias Afewerki, addressed the delegates and promised to delay the declaration of Eritrean independence until after a referendum to be conducted after two years. Concerning the remainder of Ethiopia, addressing the outstanding quests for self-determination was a central issue. The Charter's Article Two recognized the right to self-determination of nations, nationalities and peoples. (See the inserted copy of the Charter herebelow from Lata 1999: 255 - 261). As can be seen the Charter was signed by the leader of the TPLF representing his party and his surrogate groups, Meles Zenawi. Within no time after signing the Charter he took steps that nullified the contents of the Charter and turned out to be one of the worst totalitarian dictators on earth. The same holds for its predecessor, the military junta. This reminds one of Østerud' (1991:197) assertion that "before the Russian revolution, the Bolshevics under Lenin developed a strategy of tactical alliance with the national movement in opposition to the Tsar dictatorship. The presupposed that the proletarian fellowship after the revolution will wash away the meaning of national belongingness. This failed. The new Soviet state used iron hands in 'nation-building' and minority oppression to hold multinational empire together. From the end of 1980s, when Soviet empire seriously began to totter where the demand for national independence was specifically strong in the Baltic and Caucasian republics. Nationalities conflicts came partly as expression of conflict between the republics and central power, partly as the conflict between social groups in border areas between republics, and partly as a conflict between national groups and immigrants from other areas. As a joint in a planned political control were especially Russians which made a good half part of the whole of Soviet population – spreaded out in all areas, both in Baltics and Asiatics and Muslim republics. We find such nationalities problems in many other multinational states. Ethiopia is, for example, an empire in a minor measure stick, and many African countries are riven by deep ethnic-culture chasms" (translation mine).

## TRANSITIONAL PERIOD CHARTER OF ETHIOPIA

WHEREAS the overthrow of the military dictatorship that has ruled Ethiopia for seventeen years presents a historical moment, providing the Peoples of Ethiopia with the opportunity to rebuild the country and restructure the state democratically;

WHEREAS the military dictatorship was, in essence, a continuation of the previous regimes and its demise marks the end of an era of subjugation and oppression thus starting a new chapter in Ethiopian history in which freedom, equal rights and self-determination of all peoples shall be the governing principles of political, economic and social life and thereby contributing to the welfare of the Ethiopian Peoples and rescuing them from centuries of subjugation and backwardness;

WHEREAS peace and stability, as essential conditions of development, require the end of all hostilities, the healing of wounds caused by conflicts and the establishment and maintenance of good neighbourliness and co-operation;

WHEREAS for the fulfilment of the aforementioned conditions and for the reign of a just peace, the proclamation of a democratic order is a categorical imperative, and;

WHEREAS to this end, all institutions of repression installed by the previous regimes shall be dismantled, regional prejudices redressed and the rights and interests of the deprived citizens safeguarded by a democratic government elected by and accountable to the People;

WHEREAS from The Peace Loving and Democratic forces present in the Ethiopian society and having Varied Views, having met in a Conference convened from July 1 - 5 in Addis Ababa, have discussed and approved the charter laying down the rules governing The Transitional Government as well as setting down the principles for the transitional period,

NOW, THEREFORE, it is hereby proclaimed as follows;

## **PART ONE**

### **DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS**

#### ***Article One***

Based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly by resolution 217 A (III) of 10 Dec. 1948, individual human rights shall be respected fully, and without any limitation whatsoever. Particularly every individual shall have:

- a) The freedom of conscience, expression, association and peaceable assembly;
- b) The right to engage in unrestricted political activity and to organise political parties, provided the exercise of such right does not infringe upon the rights of others.

#### ***Article Two***

The right of nations, nationalities and peoples to self-determination is affirmed. To this end, each nation, nationality and people is guaranteed the right to:

- a) Preserve its identity and have it respected, promote its culture and history and use and develop its language;
- b) Administer its own affairs within its own defined territory and effectively participate in the central government on the basis of freedom, and fair and proper representation;
- c) Exercise its rights to self-determination of independence, when the concerned, nation/nationality and people is convinced that the above rights are denied, abridged or abrogated.

## PART TWO

### PRINCIPLES GUIDING FOREIGN POLICY

The Transitional Government will conduct its foreign relations on the basis of the principles of respect for the sovereignty and equality of states and non-intervention and non-interference in internal affairs, as well as the promotion of mutual interests. Accordingly;

#### *Article Three*

The policy of destabilization and conflict-promotion hitherto actively pursued by the previous regime with respect to the country's neighbors shall cease forthwith with the issuance of this Charter.

#### *Article Four*

It shall abide by all mutual agreements that respect the sovereignty of Ethiopia and are not contrary to the interests of the People.

#### *Article Five*

Local governments shall have the right to establish direct contact with relief organizations with respect to relief work.

## PART THREE

### STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

#### *Article Six*

There shall be established a Transitional Government consisting of a Council of Representatives and a Council of Ministers.

#### *Article Seven*

The Council of Representatives shall be composed of representatives of national liberation movements, other political organizations and prominent individuals, to make-up a total of no more than 87 members.



**Article Eight**

The Transitional Government shall exercise all legal and political responsibility for the governance of Ethiopia until it hands over power to a government popularly elected on the basis of a new Constitution.

**Article Nine**

The Council of Representatives shall exercise legislative functions as follows and oversee the work of the Council of Ministers:

- a) draw-up it's rules of procedure.
- b) election of its Chairperson, who shall also be the Head of State, and a Vice-Chairperson and Secretary, the Head of State shall appoint the Prime Minister, whose appointment shall be approved by the Council of Representatives. The Head of State, the Prime Minister, the Vice-Chairperson and Secretary of the Council of Representatives shall be from different nations/nationalities;
- c) approve the Prime Minister's nomination of the members of Council of Ministers drawn-up on consideration of ascertaining a broad national representation, technical competence and unswerving adherence to the Charter;
- d) initiation and promulgation of proclamations and decrees pursuant to the Charter;
- e) adoption of national budget;
- f) provide for the administration of justice on the basis of the Charter; the Courts shall, in their work, be free from any governmental interference with respect to items provided for in Part One, Article One of the Charter;
- g) establish the Constitutional Commission;
- h) ratify international agreements;
- i) create committees for defence and security policy during the transitional period;
- j) provide the mechanism to ascertain the fair and impartial application of the mass media;
- k) issue just labour law that protects the rights and interests of the workers;

**PART FOUR**

**TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME**

The following provisions for a transitional period have been adopted in order to lead the country towards full democracy.

**A. POLITICAL**

*Article Ten*

The Council of Representatives shall constitute the Constitutional Commission to draw up a draft constitution.

The Constitutional Commission shall submit to the Council of Representatives the draft constitution.

*Article Eleven*

Upon adoption of the draft constitution by the Council of Representatives, the Constitution shall be presented to the people for discussion.

The final draft shall be presented for adoption to the Constituent Assembly to be elected pursuant to the final draft of the Constitution.

*Article Twelve*

Elections to a National Assembly shall be held on the basis of the provisions of the new Constitution.

The Transitional Government shall handover power to the party or parties that gain a majority in the National Assembly.

The said national elections shall be held no later than two years after the establishment of the Transitional Government. Provided, however, that the period can be extended by the Council of Representatives for no more than six months.

*Article Thirteen*

There shall be a law establishing local and regional councils for local administrative purposes defined on the basis of nationality. Elections for such local and regional councils shall be held within three



months of the establishment of the Transitional Government, wherever local conditions allow.

## **B. RELIEF AND REHABILITATION**

The Transitional Government is unequivocally determined to ensure the delivery of relief assistance to areas ravaged by war and drought. In connection with this:

### ***Article Fourteen***

It shall give priority to the rehabilitation of those areas that have been severely affected by the war, prisoners of war, ex-prisoners of war as well as those sections of the population that have been forcibly uprooted by the previous regime's policy of villagization and resettlement.

The rehabilitation of those forcibly uprooted by the previous regime's policy of villagization and resettlement shall be done in accordance with their desire.

### ***Article Fifteen***

It shall take immediate steps to reconstruct or repair the infrastructure that has been destroyed or damaged by the war.

### ***Article Sixteen***

It shall give special consideration to hitherto neglected and forgotten areas.

### ***Article Seventeen***

It shall make special efforts to dispel ethnic mistrust and eradicate the ethnic hatred that have been fostered by the previous regimes.

APPENDIX

PART FIVE

LEGALITY OF THE CHARTER

*Article Eighteen*

This Charter shall serve as the supreme law of the land for the duration of the transitional period.

Any law or decision in contrary to the Charter shall be null and void.

*Article Nineteen*

The Amharic and the English texts of this Charter have equal authenticity. Where disparity occurs between the two languages the Council of Representatives shall decide.

*Article Twenty*

This Charter shall be effective upon publication in the *Negarit Gazetta*.

*Addis Ababa this 22<sup>nd</sup> day of July 1991*  
**MELES ZENAWI**  
**CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE**

One of the outcomes of the Conference was paving the way for the formation of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE), made up of an interim legislature, the Council of Representatives and the Executive. Soon after being constituted, the Council of Representatives debated on how to demarcate the territories belonging to various nations. However, the TPLF leaders purposely conducted a most blatant gerrymandering in the process of conducting this demarcation. First, northern Wallo Oromoland was annexed to Tigray, as was northern Gondar including the historic Matamma. Second, southern Wallo Oromoland was demarcated as part of Gonder.

The first test of the commitment to end the imperial nature of Ethiopia by shaping it into a democratic multinational federation according to the Charter, was conducting local and

district elections in June 1992. In the lead up to the local and district elections, an agreement was concluded to encamp the troops of both the OLF and EPRDF. In violation of this agreement, the TPLF/EPRDF deployed its troops in order to abort the freedom of electors. In addition, large scale harassment of OLF cadres and members, including abducting, imprisoning and killing, throughout Oromia was unleashed at the same time. It was under this circumstance, that the OLF leadership was also asked to leave the country. Some went abroad while others joined their troops in the rural areas. The TPLF/EPRDF leader declared his government's intention to disarm OLF troops, which has continued to be implemented to date.

This was attested to election observers of the US National Democratic Institute for International Affairs "observers tended to find evidence of institutional rigging and manipulation of the electoral rules by the EPRDF. This pattern existed in almost all of Region 4 (Oromia) and 13 (Harer). There was a direct correlation between the degree of electoral competition and the level of imprisonment, harassment, misuse of authority and materials, name-calling and cheating. Military forces were more visible in these areas as well" (quoted in Lata 1999: 66). The overall implication of aborting the fairness of the elections was also forthrightly put by the observers as follows "The formal process of democratization in Ethiopia, as it was conceived in 1991 and carried out in the following years, was thus a failure. The Ethiopian government was more narrowly based and had less legitimacy in 1994 than in 1991" (ibid. 66/7).

Kjetil Tronvoll (2009: 57) aptly writes "Just as political legitimacy for the new government following the 1974 revolution lay in solving the land question, no government following the Derg could hope to win legitimacy and support without addressing the issue of ethnicity in governance. This was grounded in the fact that all the main opposition movements operating at the time of the fall of the Derg were organized on an ethnic basis, and in the central government's subjugation of the various non-Amhara ethnic groups in the country. The new power-holders thus saw the need to redress the ethnic question and emphasized ethnic equality and autonomy within a new Ethiopian federal state as a mean of abolishing the many enemy images that flourished in the country." Therefore, "only by granting every ethnic group in Ethiopia the right to autonomy and secession if so desired could the groups overcome their fear of belonging to the Ethiopian federation (as enshrined in Article 39 in the new Ethiopian constitution)" (ibid 57).

These pressures led to a decision "By abolishing the deep historical trajectories of the Abyssinian state, and launching the 'hundred years of Ethiopian history' paradigm, the EPRDF signaled that it did not believe in the primordality of the Ethiopian state, and that consequently the state could be reconfigured into a different structure without too many problems" (ibid 58).

Under Tigray peoples liberation front, Ethiopia is called the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

Although it used this title as a trade mark with which it gets more than 3 billion dollars as development aid every year from western countries, it is the worst authoritarian and centralized state.

It even produces starvation and misuses the humanitarian assistance coming from outside world.

“Ethiopian Federal State” is nominal and fake. The existing opposition political parties could not campaign in a free and fair atmosphere to get support from electorates because of fear of insecurity. The regime never tolerates any serious opposition party. All the elections conducted in Ethiopia from 1992 to 2010 were not free and fair. Because of its oppressive and exploitative nature, Abyssinian (Ethiopian) empire state never gained internal legitimacy. As an invention and dependent colonial power, its existence and maintenance has been depended on its external legitimacy.

### **3.5 Summary**

After the conquest, Menelik declared himself “Conquering Lion of Judah, Elect of God, King of Kings of Ethiopia and of the Gallas (Oromo)”. What makes Ethiopian/Abyssinian colonialism very different from other varieties was the absence of any constructive relations with the conquered societies. Menelik’s primary aim did not go beyond forming the present Abyssinian/Ethiopian Empire only with sheer force. The Oromo people and other conquered societies were destined for permanent subjugation and exploitation and the expropriation of their land which was granted to Abyssinians. On those who submitted the payment of heavy tribute was imposed. Those who resisted and were defeated fared even worse. Many areas were depopulated through outright murder, disease and export as slaves. He set up a colonial system without any redeeming elements. As Evelyn Waugh states it “It was to the interest of the exploiters to preserve the exploited from the endemic ravages of plague, famine and massacre to which they were heirs, to educate them for profitable contacts with an advanced machinery of commerce and administrations. . . The Abyssinians had nothing to give their subject peoples, nothing to teach them. They brought no crafts or knowledge, no new system of agriculture, drainage or road-making , no medicine or hygiene, no higher political organization, no superiority except in their magazine rifles and belts of cartridges. They built nothing, they squatted in the villages in the thatched huts of the conquered people, dirty, idle and domineering, burning the timber, devouring the crops, taxing the meager, stream of commerce that seeped in from outside, enslaving the people” (Evelyn Waugh 1936:24).

Looking back to Rokkan’s functional segments of force, culture, law and economy, we can now establish the type of state formation conducted by Menelik. As discussed earlier,

Menelik used military hardware and expertise imported from abroad to overwhelm and conquer the relatively unarmed population to the west, south and east of Abyssinia. The Abyssinian center and the conquered Oromo people as periphery remained distinct and never attracted each other. At the same time, the periphery of the Abyssinian center and the entire conquered Oromo remained not only distinctive, economically, politically, culturally, linguistically, and religiously, at loggerheads. Rather they repelled each other. The conquered peoples were never afforded any voice in the running of affairs. What the conquest achieved was only forceful penetration, subjugation, and lack of loyalty driving the demand for exit.

Culturally as well the two entities remained distinct and never attracted each other. Up to date the two repel each other. In the cultural sense as well the conquered had no voice. The system was built to destroy Oromo culture and to replace with the Abyssinian variety. Cultural distinctiveness remained and thus no sense of sharedness emerged. The language and religion of the conquerors were elevated to the official status while those of the conquered were suppressed. The two societies remained distinctive in the cultural and language arena as well. The same applied to religion. This led to the lack of loyalty and drove the demand for exit.

Similarly, concerning the laws of the Oromo and the Abyssinian were antithetic to each other. While the Oromo legal system was egalitarian and issued from the open deliberation by member of society, that of the Abyssinians was highly hierarchical and was handed down by imperial court without any consultation with the subject peoples. Here also the peoples had voice regarding the nature and application of law. As the result, the subjects had no loyalty to the legal system and no sharedness emerged leading most to aspire to exit.

Since the economic condition was so backward anyway, there was no possibility for integrating the economies of the conquered and the conqueror. The system of exploitation was direct pillage and plunder of both human and material resources. Here also there was no chance for developing loyalty because of the absence of voice and hence made the demand for exit inevitable.

Equally, as Adrian p. wood (oct.,1983:513), says “The conquests not only laid the basis of disunity by incorporating unwilling subjects into the Empire and exploiting them economically, but also by increasing the diversity of the country’s population”. Wood continues “This diversity did not result in any cultural tolerance and flexibility on the part of the politically dominant Amhara-Tigreans despite the fact that they were no longer the largest group” (ibid: 514).

The state that Emperor Haile Selassie inherited was made up of the Abyssinian center and its periphery and the conquered territories (periphery of periphery). Violent uprisings of varying intensity took place in all these peripheries during the entire reign of Emperor Haile Selassie. The cause of the uprisings in the Abyssinian periphery was the outright rejection of Haile

Selassie's rule. In order to appease members of these Abyssinian societies, Haile Selassie expanded and implemented Menelik's policy of granting them the land of the Oromo and other conquered societies. The rebellions in the conquered territories were motivated by the aspiration to regain the rights they lost on the battlefield. While uprisings were occurring in these zones, the Emperor was determined to expand the Empire by annexing Eritrea, which was concluded in 1962. Thereafter, the Eritreans joined the conquered communities in the effort to throw off Ethiopian rule.

The Haile Selassie era was interrupted by five years of Italian occupation (1935 – 41). Despite their fascist brutality, the Italians abolished slavery and the gabar system, something that was unthinkable for Haile Selassie. The Italians were ultimately expelled from the Empire and their other colonial holdings by the British armed forces. The British in the lead up to their campaign considered promising the Oromo and other subjugated societies their freedom if they rose up against the Italians. This shows that the British were aware of the illegitimacy of Ethiopian rule over the Oromo and other subjugated societies. The policy of allowing these peoples to regain their freedom was aborted by Haile Selassie's appeal to Churchill.

Waugh characterizes Abyssinians like this “tricking the European was a national craft; evading issues, promising without the intention of fulfilment, tricking the paid foreign advisers, tricking the legations, tricking the visiting international committees- these were the ways by which Abyssinia survived and prospered”(Waugh 1936 :25).

Instead of seeking internal legitimacy, Haile Selassie entered into pacts with many countries in order to gain the military know-how and war arsenals. This was done with the simple aim of keeping the empire in tact.

Because says (Melbaa 1988:127) “The Ethiopian rulers could colonize, suppress and subjugate Oromo people and others only with the political and material assistance of others. Sahle Selassie was supported by the British and French. Tewodros was supported by the British; Yohannes by the British and Italians; Menilek by the British, French, Italians, Russians and Germans. Haile Selassie was supported by the British, American, French and Israelis; and the Derg (Mengistu Haile Mariam) by the Soviet Union and her allies like Cuba and the Democratic Republic of Germany, but also paradoxically, by the West as well”.

Immediately after his restoration to power by the British, Haile Selassie faced a new round of uprisings in the Abyssinian periphery and in the periphery of the periphery (the conquered territories).

His regime never attempted to forge cultural bonds with the conquered peoples. The Emperor built a number of institutions in the conquered territories bent on the exploitation of their human and material resources. The beneficiaries were the Crown, the Church and the



settler neftagna colonialists. Haile Selassie's regime never attempted political, economic, and cultural unification at the elite level. Bargains with the elite of the peripheries never took place.

Emperor Haile Selassie was overthrown by members of his own armed forces at a time when rebellions in the peripheries were entering a more organized level. The imperial military regime in order to confuse the struggle of the various people for liberation introduced new tactics and ideology. They overnight embraced Stalinism and ultimately baptized the empire-state as the Peoples Democratic Republic. They also changed their external alliance by entering into an agreement with the Soviet bloc just as Haile Selassie did with the United States.

Again Melbaa (1988. 127) says when quoting "Spencer, J.H (1984), advisor to Haile Selassie's government for about 40 years, described the Ethiopian rulers' perpetual dependence on external powers for its survival and continued occupation of the peoples she colonized as follows: "Ethiopia's supreme crisis were of external origin and often resolved by foreign *deus ex machina*. The sixteenth century invasion led by ...Gran were repelled by the Portuguese. The defeat of Italy at Adwa ... was achieved in part with French and German arms. The Emperor (Haile Selassie) fell from power because of the European support of the Fascist invasion.... It was the British who put him back on the throne.... Like Britain and Portugal and Britain before it, the Soviet Union became the third *deus ex machine*.""

Alliance with the Soviet bloc afforded the military regime a huge supply of sophisticated weapons and military advisors. These provisions were put to achieve only the purpose of ending the liberation struggles of various societies. However, the more the regime resorted to naked force, the more these rebellions became stronger and stronger. Ultimately a combination of the liberation fronts that were fighting against it overthrew the military junta. Under the military regime as under Haile Selassie, political, economic and cultural unification had never taken place. Bargains were not struck with the different categories of society.

The military regime was overthrown by the Eritrean, Tigrean and Oromo liberation forces. The EPLF immediately after defeating the military regime assumed full control of Eritrea and set in place the process that culminated in the formalization of independence. Eritrean independence and TPLF taking over the rest of the Empire attested to utter failure of nation building project of the Amhara elite. The TPLF took over the remainder of Ethiopia and structured it as a 'federation' not to allow self-rule to the various peoples but to use it as a divide and rule tactic. The state that the TPLF is ruling was renamed the Federal Democratic Republic although it is neither democratic nor a true federation. The TPLF rule also faced and facing armed rebellion by Oromos, Ogadenis, Gambellas and etc. TPLF also resorted to the

use of naked force in keeping the empire in tact just like its predecessors. Like its predecessor the TPLF also failed to achieve political, economic, and cultural unification with the various elite groups. As already stated TPLF received a lot of material support from different donors when in the bush conducting guerilla war. After it took over the rest of the empire both political & material support have been flooding in from USA, Canada, Britain, Norway, European Union and above all China and others.

“Ethiopia is still one of the biggest recipients of UK development aid, getting about £300m a year. Money also pours in from the US. Nega believes it is misspent: The west has left us, left the people. The US is aiding dictators and turning a blind eye to us. Why? The same with Britain, which has democratic values. They give the taxpayers money for buying weapons or for the police station to handcuff people” (The Guardian 2014, oct.22:8).

Emboldened with these, TPLF, in the name of “development” and with all intents and purposes evicts from and dispossesses Oromos their ancestral lands and sell them on auction to its generals and other capital owners. And in such a way it marginalizes and gradually eliminates Oromos from the town. Simple example is what is going on in Addis Abeba (Finfinne original Oromo name).

And again above all It leases out large sector of Oromo and others land to foreign states/companies, such as India, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, .. etc. It is with such a policy that Tigrayans (Tigrés) are extremely robbing Oromos both their material and natural resources including life.

David Smith of The Guardian says “The Oromo Federalist Congress, representing Ethiopia’s biggest ethnic group, is resisting the government’s “masterplan” for expanding Addis Ababa, claiming it has forced 150,000 Oromo farmers off their land without compensation. Witnesses say police killed at least 17 protesters, including children and students, during demonstrations this year and hundreds more are being detained without charge”(The Guardian 22 Oct 2014 :7).

## ***Chapter IV Cultural Standardization (National State Building)***

### **4.0.1 Introduction**

In phase II, larger sectors of the masses are brought into the system through conscription of armies, schools, direct contact between a limited numbers of the populations of the periphery and the central elites will be established through the emerging mass media.

Standardization of language and culture through school system and assimilation of minorities and creation of widespread feelings of identity with the political system takes place at this phase.

This chapter looks at the performance of four successive regimes in drawing larger and larger sectors of society into the political system and in integrating the various conquered societies by conscription into the army, by establishing schools in order to create widespread feelings of common identity with the total system will be analyzed.

#### **4.0.2 A short definition of Nation**

A group of people with a common culture-that means people with ethnic identity, common history, religion, language and other building cultural characteristics.

German nation is a language fellowship-

Switzerland is a historical unit with the language and religion diversity

The nation of Pakistan is a religious community

Indian nation is a community of fate.

It is the French revolution of 1789 that brought the basic concept of national state power.

This revolution empowered the Third Estate to proclaim its' self to the national parliament and made patriotism its' ideological program and passed Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the citizen. By this revolution, dynastic and absolute power of the king abolished. The French nation was not any longer the privilege of the aristocracy.

Hence the nation became the new bond between and within the legal citizens, the new symbol of equality based on equal fellowship and voluntary association.

The national state was raised as a new constitutional order and replaced autocracy. It was in this sense, the principle of *popular sovereignty* became the national states' basic program. National own art is based on subjective criteria.

The idea of nationality got fuller contents with cultural nationalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. specially the German alternative was based on language as a national marker. It was assumed that the nations' defining character embodied in its' language, traditions and artistic expressions. The German version is called "*cultural romantic*". It assumed that national own art is based on objective criteria. The Abyssinian/Ethiopian attempt was based neither on the objective nor subjective acceptance of the conquered peoples.

Several factors stood in opposition to effective assimilation and integration. The first and perhaps most important is the relationship between Abyssinian identity and Orthodox Christianity. Abyssinian identity is antithetical to Islam as Islam is considered antithetical to

Abyssinian identity. Hence, it became a contradiction in terms to refer to the Moslem population as Ethiopian thus necessitating the coinage of the phrase “Muslims Living in Ethiopia” in official use until the 1974 revolution ended the official status of Orthodox Christianity as the state religion. The second fact is the need for anybody to trace descent to the House of Solomon to qualify as a genuine Abyssinian. The other factors that need to be discussed are the mechanisms by which integration was supposed to be promoted. These included the dissemination of Amharic language and culture through the dual processes of modern education and urbanization, both of which were unfolding in self-contradictory process.

#### **4.1 Cultural Standardization/National State Building Under Menelik**

Menelik’s only focus was extending the area under his rule as far as Lake Malawi in the south and up to Khartoum in the northwest. From the areas that came under his control he raided for human and natural resources that he exported to pay for more firearms. He entertained no idea about integrating the societies under his rule into a common community and thereby set the stage for building a national state. Force was the only means for achieving his aim. He signally failed to incorporate any element from the conquered societies. From among the Abyssinian family alone he failed to regain highland Eritrea from the Italians.

Hence, Menelik II never had any national state building project.

Most of the activities that need to be conducted during this phase have not been witnessed in the Abyssinian/Ethiopian experience. As far as compulsory schools were concerned, no schools whatsoever were ever established to educate Oromos. The only school established, the Menelik School, was to educate members of his own group in his capital city. The forging of a common identity has not been realized because such mass media were non-existent. The only attempt did not go beyond forceful Christianization predicated on the coercive erasure of other religions. During the reign of Menelik no attempt was made in order to launch mass media. Concerning the standardization of culture and language, the only measures adopted were the forceful imposition of Amharic as the official language along with the deliberate erasure of other languages and cultures.

##### **4.1.1 Forceful Conversion**

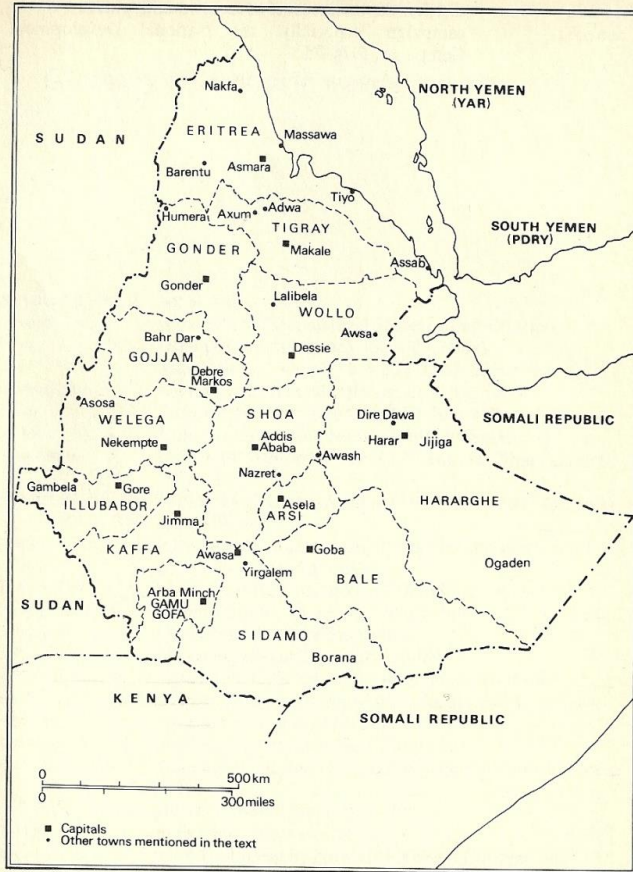
Similarly, his desire was to convert all the conquered societies to Ethiopian Orthodoxy. With this mind, he also forced Oromos to construct Orthodox Churches throughout their country. As Harold Marcus (1966: 275) writes, “When the Chiefs left their provinces [in newly conquered Gallaa lands], they were followed clerics transporting the Tabot [Ark], sacred

objects and bell. In all spots where the pagans honored their cults, a church was built.” And the process of conversion that was imposed on the conquered were quite superficial, as attested to by the following “Then the Amhara priest necessary for the occasion divides the group [of potential converts] into two, gives to those who are on the right the name of Wolde Mikail and to those who are on the left the name of Wolde Giorgis” (Marcus 1966: 274). The official use of the Oromo language was banned and Amharic was legally imposed. He deposed all legally elected Oromo leaders and replaced them with his hand-picked neftegna rulers.

## **4.2 National State Building Under Haile Selassie 1916 - 1974**

### **4.2.1 Cultural standardization**

He put the administrative division of the Empire in the context of his policy of divide and rule. Prior to the Italian conquest the administrative division of the Empire followed the prestige of the various conquering overlords of Abyssinian soldiery. After the restoration of his reign, however, Haile Selassie divided the country administratively initially into 12 and later in to 13 provinces. With the annexation of Eritrea the number of provinces rose to 14. Each province (governorate general) “was divided into a number of *awradjas* and each *awradja* into a number of *woredas*. Each administrative unit is headed by a governor appointed by the Emperor and paid a fixed salary from the central treasury. The governors are assisted by vice-governors and secretaries and they command a police force. The line of command in hierarchical, the *woreda* governors report to the *awradja* governors who report to the provincial governors. The formal authority of the provincial governors is the Ministry of Interior. Below the level the *woreda* the semi-official government continues, the hereditary office of balabbat being subordinate to the *woreda* governor” (Ståhl 1974: 61).



Administrative regions of Ethiopia, 1974-1987



During this phase, according to Rokkan, larger and larger sections of the masses are brought into the system. Under Haile Selassie's rule the direct opposite was happening because the imposition of the *gabar* on the Oromo and other conquered peoples played an alienating role. Instead of bringing larger and larger sectors of these societies into the system and thus establishing peace a deliberate policy of holding them down as exploited subjects kept the feeling of alienation palpable. And recruitment into the armed forces, which was expected to promote national state building by bringing people from various social backgrounds and thus enhancing integration, was having the direct opposite implication due to several reasons.

The armed forces by becoming internally cohesive were expected to enhance cohesion among the social sectors from which they were recruited. Instead, in the Ethiopia experience, the armed forces were playing the direct opposite role. Haile Selassie's aim in building up his military was the following three: (1) He wanted to avert the armed forces from over time challenging his absolutist rule by deliberately pitting them against each other. (2) Their only role was thus reduced to protecting his dominance against any challenges. (3) Finally, the military's most important role was suppressing the rebellion of the colonized societies. None of these could contribute to the promotion of national integration. On the contrary, the military itself served the directly opposite mission of sowing discord among various social sectors. This manifested in various ways.

First, the composition of the armed forces, particularly the officer corps, shows that recruitment favors the Amharas by discriminating against others. According to Lefort (1983: 189), "Recruitment [into the army] favoured the Amharas and, among them, those who were originally from the northern provinces. An estimate made in 1970 put the number of officers who were Amhara at 70%, Tigreans and Eritreans 10%, and most of the rest Oromos." The rank and file is forcefully recruited from the conquered societies, particularly the Oromo, and are deployed mostly as cannon fodder.

Second, the main mission of the Ethiopian armed forces is using violence in order to exploit the resources and labor of the conquered societies, particularly the Oromo. As Tsegaye Tegenu (1996: 238) writes: "In the final analysis the underlying mechanism of resource extraction . . . lay with the military means". Third, even maintaining the loyalty of the military required dividing it on the basis of professional and ethnic differences. Pitting members of the officer corps against each other is attested to by Partick Gilkes's (1975: 87) statement that "One of the most important elements in holding loyalty has been the negative one of encouraging dissension among the various elements of the Armed Forces and in particular the army. The importance of this was demonstrated in 1960 when it was army units that were responsible for crushing the Body Guard's attempted coup." In addition, the arrogance of the *neftegna* class was most vocally and often expressed by members of armed forces. The statement of a mere "mulu asir-alika" or (corporal) that "the Galla [Oromo] are

Amhara's slaves – they do as they are told” (Greenfield 1965: 58) attests to this reality. This kind of attitude permeates the military and offends non-Amhara rank and file as well as concerned civilians. Hence, the Ethiopian military under Haile Selassie lacked internal cohesion because the ruler divided it on the basis of professional and ethnic differences. Furthermore, the military instead of promoting societal cohesion had the direct implication because of the openly expressed insult to members of the conquered societies.

However, even before he was crowned, Haile Selassie was determined to establish a modern military with the assistance of advisers from numerous European countries. As Norberg (1977:71/73) writes “Military missions were recruited from Belgium and Sweden, Belgium also supplying a police mission. The Belgian military mission had been invited in 1929 to train Ras Tafari's Bodyguard. Swedes were thus recruited for top positions in the Ethiopian administration.” The purpose Haile Selassie wanted to achieve by the Belgian-trained army was “to enable him immediately to cow any rebellious Ras” Mockler (2003: 15). Second, it was instrumental in containing regional ambitions, for, as Marcus (2002: 137) states, “By early 1933, a Belgian mission had readied a 2,250 man imperial guard for rapid deployment in company strength to Gojam and other trouble spots.” The Emperor continuously expanded his military both “to maintain internal order and to supply a national defence. Besides the Holeta Military Academy, which had been founded by Swedes in 1934, a second military academy was set up in Harer in 1958, run by Indians. The size of the armed forces increased substantially. During the 1960s the territorial forces were organized and increased. The Police Force was also enlarged, improved and augmented by special and commando units” (Norberg 1977: 49). An agreement with Sweden was pivotal in the growth of the Emperor's military. As Norberg (1977: 136) states, “In the middle of September [1934] a message from the Military Office of the Swedish Minister of Defence informed the Swedish corps of officers of Emperor Haile Selassie's plans to recruit Swedes. There were many applications for these positions. When Virgin learned that Captain Viking Tamm had applied as Head of the Military Mission, he immediately recommended him for the position. Colonel af Klercker at the Military Office of the Swedish Minister of Defence then notified the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the following officers had been recommended by the Minister of Defence: Captain V. S. H. Tamm (Svea Life Guards, Director of School); Lieutenants A. W. Thorburn (Bohus Regiment), N. E. Bouveng (Norrbottens Regiment), G. V. Heuman (Göta Artillery Regiment) and A. Nyblom (Engineers)” were among those employed by the Emperor. After the liberation of Ethiopia, “the country started reorganizing the embryonic air force that had existed prior to the Italian invasion. In 1944, a group of WWII African-American veterans set up a flying school at Lideta airport in Addis Ababa. The nation acquired a few aircraft through military aid from the US and UK; and the school had some 75 students by 1946. As neither the UK or US were interested in providing assistance, Ethiopia turned to Sweden to help create a modern air arm.

The Swedes agreed to provide assistance and Carl Gustaf von Rosen was appointed as the head of the newly formed Imperial Ethiopian Air Force (IEAF)” (Wikipedia). ([en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethiopia\\_Air\\_Force](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethiopia_Air_Force))

Similarly, the “Czeck government provided an ammunition factory and technicians to run it until Ethiopians were trained” (Marcus 2002: 161).

In due course the Emperor built up even a naval force with the help of various foreign powers. “Emperor Haile Selassie I appointed Royal Norwegian Navy officers to help in organizing Ethiopia’s new navy, and they oversaw much of the training. Retired British Royal Navy officers also served as trainers and advisors during Haile Selassie’s reign. Some Ethiopian navy officers received naval education at the Italian Naval Academy in Livorno, Italy, while others attended at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland” (Wikipedia).

The policy of recruiting trainers from so many countries was to weaken the internal cohesion of the military. They often harbored suspicion towards each other. The Air Force looked down on all other units, while the Army looked down on the police. The Imperial Body Guard looked down on all others because of its proximity to the person of the Emperor. The Emperor tactfully manipulated these sentiments in order to avert the military acting as a body.

Concerning compulsory education as a method of assimilation, it is notable that there were an insignificant number of schools in Oromia. Moreover, various techniques were used to deter Oromos from entering schools. The few available schools were located in the neftegna-dominated urban areas thus clearly favoring the colonial class. The other strong deterrent was the role assigned to the clergy of the official Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The role of the Orthodox clergy as instructors of religion clearly deterred the non-Orthodox families from sending their children to school. The very few who dared to attend school had to walk long distances from their rural homes to the schools located in the towns. The official language of instruction was Amharic thus favoring children of Amharas. And Oromo children who could not speak Amharic were teased and often had to withdraw. Whatever the content of the education system its primary purpose was to promote assimilation into Amhara/Abyssinian culture and identity. School attendance varied from province to province.

Mass media as mechanisms for integration also was an utter failure. There was no public dissemination of information. The government monopolized the entire mass media system, which was restricted to the radio, TV and a few newspapers. The official content of the mass media dissemination was singing the praise of the Emperor and the system of rule presided over by him. Overall, it had integrative content but was discriminatory. The fact that the medium for all of these was the Amharic language and publication and publicity in any other

language was legally banned demonstrates this discriminatory policy. The mass media, hence, did not play any role to ‘generate widespread feelings of identification with the total political system.’

**4.2.2 Culture/Religion** “Ethiopia is the only country in Africa with a large number of ethnic groups where one of these groups has imposed its rule and its language over the rest” (Levine 1965:3). And the imposition of Amharic as the official language “ensured the continuing Amhara domination of Ethiopia’s political life” (Sholler and Brietzke 1976: 39). Donald Donham (1986: 13) states that according to ruling Amharas, “the Galla were pagans. They were uncivilized. *Ye Galla chewa ye gommen choma yellem* (it is impossible to find a Galla gentleman as it is to find fat in greens) again *Galla inna shinfilla biyatbutim ayetera* (even if you wash them, stomach lining and a Galla will never come clean.” As Teshale Tibebu (1995: 18) asserts, the Amhara also say “Gallana sagara eyadar yegamal” meaning “Gall and human feces stink more every passing day.” They also ask the question “Saw naw Galla” meaning “is it human or Galla” thus casting doubt on the very humanity of Oromos.

Evelyn Waugh explains some of the characteristics of Abyssinians like this “to boast in his cups of his own bravery and the inferiority of all other races, white, black, yellow and brown—these after centuries of self-development were the characteristic pleasures of the Abyssinian” Waugh (1936:49).

“The Abyssinians traditionally considered others, including white and yellow, inferior to themselves. In particular they looked down upon blacks, whom they considered slaves (*baria* or *shanjilla*), and Arabs” (Melbaa 1988:71).

The misery of the Oromo and other oppressed nations drove Ernest Gellner (1983: 85) to conclude that the “Amhara empire was a prison-house of nations if ever there was one.” The language policy of the Haile Selassie regime constitutes part of its policy of integration. As Markakis (1974: 341) puts it “Even though the Ethiopian government does not pursue a defined integration policy its actions . . . do follow a definite pattern. . . . Its main features are the Christian faith and the Amharinya language.” As the result “Amharinya is vigorously promoted as the national language while the development of all other Ethiopian languages is actively discouraged” (ibid. 339). The overall aim of the integration policy is rather “than trying to merge the diverse groups into a new national framework, it is attempting to absorb them into the culture of the dominant ethnic group” (ibid. 341). This indicates the determination to pursue total assimilation in a top-down manner.

Haile Selassie’s assimilation policy had the implication of ethnocide or cultural genocide as defined by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The Declaration stipulates five policy areas that amount to ethnocide or cultural genocide:

- (a) Any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities;
- (b) Any action which has the aim or effect of dispossessing them of their lands, territories or resources;
- (c) Any form of population transfer which has the aim or effect of violating or undermining any of their rights;
- (d) Any form of assimilation or integration by other cultures or ways of life imposed on them by legislative, administrative or other measures;
- (e) Any form of propaganda directed against them. -----

All of these genocidal policies were openly implemented under all successive Ethiopian regimes.

In the official Abyssinian thinking there is an “inextricable bond that unites Christianity, the Ethiopian nation, and the Solomonic throne in the traditional conception. Faith, nation, and throne are linked by divine ordinance and are ordained to remain united forever. Their origin and past are common; their future is one. One part of the trinity cannot be rejected without destroying the other. [This so-called] the role of religion as a primary integrating force [breaks down because] thus according to tradition, Ethiopian nationality is theologically defined, its primary creation being faith. A non-Christian could not be an Ethiopian, nor could an Ethiopian adhere to any other creed” (Markakis 1974: 30). Teshale Tibebe (1995: 49) concurs on the close link between being a Christian and an Ethiopian and contrasts it with being the follower of any other religion: “. . . modern Ethiopia baptized its cultural mosaic with the holy waters of its old civilizational vocation – its tabot Chrititanity, on the one hand, and the Amharic language, on the other. It declared both to be the sole official seals of its identity. Its throne was the exclusive possession of the Christian descendants of the House of Solomon and Saba, and its emblem the ‘Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah’. All those outlandish to its religious-cultural universe that happen to live inside Ethiopia were declared unfit to rule. Ethiopia was a Christian island surrounded by a heathen sea. Thus Ethiopian Muslims were referred to as ‘Muslims living in Ethiopia.’ This link between Abyssinian Christianity and the Solomonic throne is “integrated most of the basic beliefs and ideas of Ethiopian tradition into a consistent ideological scheme which is dramatized through the medium of the ancient legend of Solomon and Sheba. . . . The Kebra Negast (the glory of kings) is commonly viewed as a cosmological defense of the claims of the Solomonic dynasty. Indeed it establishes the legitimacy of the Solomonic throne on grounds that are beyond human challenge. It is ordained, according to the Kebra Negast, that no one except the male seed of David, the son of Solomon the King, shall ever reign over Ethiopia” (Markakis 1974: 30).

Furthermore, “. . . Ethiopian and Christian became synonymous terms and are indeed interchangeable in popular usage. Groups professing alien creeds could be accommodated

within the framework of the state, but never within society, and always in distinct roles and subordinate status” (Markakis 1974: 32).

Markakis elaborates the contradictory use of religious conversion stemming strictly from coercion. He states “The Ethiopian Church exhibited little zeal for missionary work, and proselytizing never was methodically pursued. The politico-military advantage of Christianity proved the major agent of conversion. Mass conversions, often dictated by imperial fiat, frequently followed the initial surge of Ethiopian power abroad” (ibid. 31). Forceful conversion, hence, entailed no amount of teaching of the Scripture in any language leave alone the language of the concerned society. This remained true under both Menelik and Haile Selassie. As the result those forced into conversion have no clue about the religion to which they have converted. And as part of the mass forceful conversion process, individuals were given new baptismal names in Ge’ez – the liturgical language. Individual who continue to use their original name are not allowed to be buried at the Church’s burial ground. By extension, this infers that those who are not forcefully baptized and still continue to carry their original names are not destined to enter paradise. These forcefully converted individuals also have to endure the lengthy lent of forty days every year thereby completely upsetting their established dietary life. In addition these forcefully converted individuals have to kiss the cross made of either metal or wood any time he comes across an Ethiopian Orthodox priest. The sense of acting like a demigod is observable from such priests. And every Sunday converts have to carry to the Church drinks and food that is blessed by the priest in a language that is incomprehensible to the local population. All these practices and rituals are not only contrary to traditional Oromo religion and values but are also intended to erode and eliminate them.

The imposition of Orthodox Christianity was resisted by those who remained loyal to their traditional religion and values. On the other hand, others converted to Islam as an act of resistance. For example, “the mass acceptance of Islam by the highland Arssi of Arussi province in the 1930s was, in part, a mass demonstration of anti-Amhara sentiment and rejection of all the values of their Amhara colonizers” (Baxter 1978: 285). An Abyssinian cleric, called Astmagiorgis, wrote “Even now, the rest of the [Oromo] prefer to be Muslim rather than Christian, because they hate the Amhara; the Amhara priests, the bishop and the clergy do not like the Oromo. They believe that Christianity cannot be understood by those whose ancestors were not Christians. Therefore, they do not teach them” (quoted in Gnamo 2014: 170).

The minority Amharas aspired to transform all peoples into a single-Amharic speaking nation through a top down policy of coercive assimilation. Hiltin (2003: 405) draws a parallel between this process and Russification by writing “In the ‘Russifying’ or, in this case, Amharisation project of turning the polyethnic empire-state into a contemporary nation-state



the language of the Amharic – and Tigrinya – speaking elite got a privileged position. Amharic, which was spoken by between a quarter and a third of the population and which less than 10% could read or write, was proclaimed to be the ‘national language’.” It was the only language that was allowed in schools, courts, and other public contexts”. As Mohammed Hasan (2002: 21/2) writes “The assault on Oromo culture and identity was part of the policy of Amharization, which was pursued with greater intensity during the long reign of Haile Selassie (1930-1974) with the goal of ensuring the dominance of Amharic culture and the power of the Amhara elite. To implement the government’s policy of Amharization or de-Oromization, Oromo cultural and religious shrines and places of worship were destroyed. Oromo place names were replaced by Amharic names. The Oromo language was banned from being used for preaching, teaching and writing. The Oromo national identity was attacked and the Oromo way of life was condemned in every way. The regime’s educational system, cultural institutions, and government bureaucracy were deployed for the express purpose of denigrating the Oromo people, their history, culture, and way of life. All this was done to ensure ‘the establishment of the hegemony of the Amhara culture masquerading as ‘Ethiopian’ culture’.”

The policy of forcefully erasing Oromo identity extended to include changing the identities of localities in the Oromo country. This started when Menelik renamed the Oromo locality known as Finfinne as Addis Ababa. During the era of Haile Selassie the Oromo area known as Bishoftu was renamed as Debre Zeit and Hadama became Nazreth. Similarly many other localities were given brand new Abyssinian names in order to change their ownership and sense of belonging.

Education was the primary vehicle for imposing and expanding the Amharization agenda. But education was advancing at a painfully slow pace as attested to by an important, who stated in 1971, that “at the present rate of growth it will take the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century before all primary age children are in school” (Gilkes 1975: 93). Since the few schools opened during the reign of Haile Selassie were located in the urban areas, settled primarily by the descendants of the conquering, they were off-limits to the Oromo and other peoples. Their number was totally insignificant when the population of the Oromo and other peoples is taken into account. Hence, the educational opportunities for Oromo children was next to non-existent. And even in these limited schools various policies were deployed to frustrate Oromo pupils. One of these policies is the conduct of teaching in Amharic, which favors children from Amhara families and discriminates against Oromos. Passing tests in the mastery of Amharic, however, is a key factor for promotion to the next class, which many Oromo youngsters fail and are hence forced to drop out. In addition, the discriminatory education policy involves setting higher passing grades for Oromos and lower passing grades for Abyssinians for the same exams. At the same time, localities are assigned

quota for entry into higher institutions of learning, which is exploited by the Abyssinians by moving to Oromo localities in order to take advantage of the available quota.

Selassie followed Menelek II's foot steps in exploitation and oppression of the Oromo people. He transferred Abyssinian gun-holders and settled them on Oromo land. He gave them land with peasants as private property to settlers. He institutionalized and legalized "Gabbar System" =serfdom.

Haile Selassie worked very hard to destroy the social fabric of the Oromo people by destroying the culture, language and religion of the Oromo and others. His regime built Abyssinian Coptic Orthodox church by forced labour and with material resources of Oromo people. Other religions were discriminated against. And children had to master the Amharic language as no one could be employed without mastering it. Abyssinian rulers strongly pursued total top-down assimilation policy while destroying the identities of the conquered people. "The explicit rationale behind the language policy of both the imperial and the Dergue(Military Junta) regime was the creation of a centralized, homogenous state; where B. Buzan's territorial legitimacy would be created as a result of the imposition of Amharic on the various ethnicities(80 of them) living in the territory of Ethiopia-.....To become civilized meant to renounce one's identity and accept the culture of the colonizers, not doing so resulted in being labeled as barbaric. From this followed a lack of respect and recognition in the society" (Evan Lukas : 104-105).

As Donald Donham (1986: 24) states, even "the poorest peasant from the north [Abyssinia] considered himself superior to any southerner" indicating that no horizontal linkages, which would have promoted national state building were not existent. One of the enduring implications of the national state building effort under Haile Selassie was "developing tension between the definitions of national and ethnic identities" (Donham 1986: 34), which contributed to the multiplication of secessionist movements especially after 1974.

When it comes to administration, "assigning local notables as administrators of Abyssinian provinces" remain in forces. As the result, "from 1944 to 1966, 72% of the governors of awrajas (counties) in Tigray were Tigrean, 68% in Wollo, 52% in Gojame, 83% in Shoa. Outside Abyssinia, on the other hand, the highest offices were held by the Shoan nobility, middle level posts by Amhara colonists, while the local elites occupied – sometimes – only posts at the lowest level, that of the woreda (district)" (Lefort 1981: 17). Consequently, while the ruled and the ruler in Abyssinia shared a common history, religion, language, and customs, the direct opposite prevailed in the conquered areas. There, the identity of the people was neither "recognized nor rendered recognizable by the state organs and their functionaries" (Leenco Lata 2004: 119).

### **4.3 National State Building Under the Military Junta (1974 to 1991)**

#### **4.3.1 Cultural Standardization**

The military junta came to power by hijacking the revolution that broke out in 1974. Therefore, the junior officer and lower ranks that composed the Derg did not have a prior political agenda but developed the habit of merely reacting to what others were proposing. Nevertheless, the change that the regime was willing to accept was quite significantly overshadowed by what it desired to maintain. As stated by Clapham (1988:14) “It must equally be recognized that there is much that a revolution does not try to change: that its goals are, in many respects, the same as those of past regimes: that many of its differences from them lie simply in a determination to achieve these more effectively. In Ethiopia, as in many revolutionary states, this continuity of goals is most obvious in the determination to maintain the national territory, and in the opportunity which this gives the new regime to establish its legitimacy as the successor to a national political tradition.”

As we have already discussed conscription into the military serves the policy of integration by bringing together persons of diverse backgrounds and localities. In the Ethiopian experience during the rule of the military junta this assembling of people from diverse localities and communities happened on truly large scale. According to one account, the “government claimed in June 1976 that there were already 500,000 militia men and women, and that any army of six million peasants could easily be raised. By the authors’ own reckoning, the size of the peasant militia in early 1977 was closer to 200,000, still a very large number” (Ottaway 1978: 180). This recruitment continued to expand in the following years but contributed little to the promotion of integration. Surprisingly, this large number of recruits into the military ultimately contributed to disintegration. This was due to various reasons.

First, conscripts were often forcefully abducted from their homes, schools or market places and sent to training camps. The recruitment was eventually formalized by the National Military Service Proclamation of 1983. According to the proclamation, “all Ethiopians aged between eighteen and thirty to undergo six months military training followed by two years active service, remaining on the reserve until the age of fifty. In practice this call-up has been selective rather than universal, with each peasants’ association or urban kebele being required to forward lists of eligible young men to the military commissariat established in the ministry of interior ” (Clapham 1988: 109). The procedure set down by the proclamation the urban or peasant association leaders “responsible for delivering a given quota of recruits on the due date. Recruitment takes place in a series of campaign with a first batch in May 1984 followed by a second in January 1985 each raising about 60,000 recruits. . . [when some of these were later deployed to fight the EPLF] “some of these fledgling soldiers were captured

almost immediately by the EPLF around Nakfa, and the overall casualty rate appears to have been very high” (Clapham 1988: 110). The rough manner by which this recruitment proceeded thus made the military weaker instead of having the direct opposite impact. Second, even more importantly, their experience after they arrived at the battlefield contributed to their loss of allegiance to the regime and empire state. The groups against whom they were ordered to fight, EPLF, TPLF and OLF, were demanding the legitimate rights of their constituencies to self-determination. In addition to putting up a stiff resistance these forces were also conducting propaganda to win the support of the recruits or at least to sow doubts in their minds. The pitched battles into which these raw recruits were thrown was basically a mass slaughter of cannon fodder coercively mobilized mostly from the conquered societies.

As can be seen from the following table, the proportion of Oromos among the military officer corps was insignificant. And the few who rose to high ranks are from those that were made to distance themselves from their roots. The large majority of the officers were Amharas.

#### **The List of High Ranking Military Officers under the Military Derg Regime**

	<b>Full Name</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Highest known Position Held During The Derg regime</b>	<b>Ethnicity &amp; Region</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
1	Tesfaye Gebre Kidan	Lt. General (Army)	Minister of Defense	Oromo from (parents from Selalie Showa, grew up in Harar)	Derg Standing committee & WPE Politburo member, one of the most powerful persons in the system, Vice President after 1986. President for one week.
2	Haile Giorgis Habte Mariam	Maj. General (Imp. Bodyguard, 2nd course)	Minister of Defense	Amhara from Showa	Chief of Staff Under Lt. Gen. Tesfaye , took over as Minister of Defense
3	Merid Negussie	Maj. General (Imp. Bodyguard, 3rd course)	Chief of Staff	Oromo from Showa	Chief of Staff, committed suicide during the 1981 aborted coup
4	Gebre Kirstos Bulli	Brig General (Army, Holeta)	Chief/head of Derg's National Military Campaign Department	Oromo from Wolega	Subsumed and oversaw functions of Defense Ministry operations Department, parallel but more powerful structure under the Chairman of the Derg himself until 1984.
5	Hailu Gebere Michael	Maj. General (Army, Holeta)	Commander of the Ground Forces	Oromo & Gurage (mixed)	Executed after the aborted coup of 1989.
6	Tesfaye Birhanu	R. Admiral (Navy, 1st course)	Commander of the Navy	Wolayita	Imprisoned after the 1989 aborted coup.
7	Fanata Belay	Maj. General (Airforce)	Commander of the Air Force	Amhara from Gonder	Killed after the 1989 coup while in prison.

8	Demissie Bulto	Maj. General (Imp. Bodyguard, 3rd course, Airborne)	Commander of the 2nd Revolutionary Army, Eritrea	Oromo from Showa	Killed during the aborted coup of 1989
9	Amaha Desta	Maj. General (Air force)	Commander of the Air Force	Amhara from Showa	Committed suicide during the aborted coup of 1989.
10	Zelege Beyene	Maj. General (Army, Holeta)	Commander of the 4th Revolutionary Army, (Central)	Amhara from Wollo	Member of the Derg Central Committee, promoted from Col to Maj. General after serving many years as a civilian. Served until 1991.
11	Asrat Biru	Maj. General (Imp. Bodyguard, 3rd course)	Commander of the 3rd Army (Tigray)	Oromo from Showa	Held various high level positions
12	Haddis Tedla	Lt. General (Air force)	Chief of Staff	Amhara from Showa	Dergue's Standing Committee & WPE politburo member, promoted after the coup from a rank of a major and long time life as civilian top official. Served until 1991
13	Mesfin Gebre Kal	Maj. General (Army, Harar Academy, Sandhurst)	Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations	Eritrea	Son of a patriot who fought the Italians during the fascist invasion, previously held high level positions in the minister of Defense, promoted after the coup -1991
14	Yewalashet Girma	R. Admiral (Navy)	Commander of the Navy	Amhara & Gurage from Showa	Derg & WPE CC member, promoted after the 1981 coup from a long life as a civilian minister and a Lt. Commander to R. Admiral, held until 1991
15	Sioum Mekonnen	Maj. General (Army, Holeta)	Deputy Chief of Staff for Intel.	Amhara from Showa	Promoted as Deputy Chief of Staff after the coup of 1989. Held the position until 1991.
16	Abebe Wolde Mariam	Maj., General (Air Force)	Deputy Minister of Defense for logistics	Gurage and Amhara (mixed) from Shewa	From early years to 1983
17	Alemayheu Agonafer	Maj. General (Air force)	Commander of the Air Force	Amhara from Shewa	Promoted after the coup of 1989 and held until 1991.
18	Embibel Ayele	Maj. General (Army, Harar Academy 1st course)	Commander of the Ground Forces	Amhara from Harar	Promoted after 1989 and held the position until 1991
19	Berhanu Jembere	Maj. General (Army, Holeta)	Commander of the 1st Revolutionary Army	Amhara from Gojam	Promoted from a Major and a civilian official. Died of plane crash before 1991.
20	Wubshet	Maj. General	Commander of the	Oromo from Arsi	Derg Standing

	Dessie	(Army, Harar Academy)	2nd Revolutionary Army (Eritrea)		Committee member, a major who was a long time civilian, promoted after the 1989 coup.
21	Kefelgen Yibza	Maj. General (Army, Holeta)	Commander of Central Command, Commander of ground forces	Sodo Gurage	Held various high level positions in the military until 1991.
22	Tilahun Argaw	Maj. General (Army, Holeta)	Core commander, Commander of Special Command, Assab	Gurage & Amhara	Until 1991.
23	Regassa Jimma	Maj. General (Imp. Body Guard, 3rd course)	Commander of the 2nd Revolutionary Army	Oromo from Illubabur	Held various high positions in the military as a commander and commandant of the Holeta Military Academy, until 1991
24	Getachew Gedamu	Maj. General (Army, Holeta)	Deputy Commander of 1st Revolutionary Army (Harar)	Amhara from Gojam	Held various high level positions until 1991
25	Kinfe Gebrel Dinku	Maj. General (Imp. Bodyguard, 3rd course)	Head of Mil. Operations Ministry of Defense	Gurage	Held various high positions until 1991
26	Hussien Ahmed	Maj. General (Army, Harar Academy 1st course)	Deputy Commander of 2st Revolutionary Army (Eritrea)	Amhara from Wollo	Held the position before and after 1989 coup until he fled to Saudi Araba with other top generals in Eritrea in 1991.
27	Alemayehu Ayele	Maj. General (Army, Holeta)	Deputy Commander for Logistics of Ground Forces	Amhara	Until 1991
28	Bedlu Duki	Maj. General (Army, Holeta)	Head of Logistics Ministry of Defense	Oromo from Showa	Until 1991
29	Wegayehu Gashaw	Maj. General (Army, Holeta)	Deputy Commander 2nd Revolutionary Army	Amhara & Oromo (Mixed)	Held various positions Until 1991
30	Merdasa Lelisa	Maj. General (Army, Holeta)	Core commander, Commander of Tewodros Task force 1991	Oromo from Showa	Until 1991
31	Abera Abebe	Maj. General (Army, special force, Holeta)	Chief/Head of Military Operations Department Ministry of Defense	Oromo from Showa	Killed after the aborted coup of 1989
32	Abdulahi Umer	Maj General (Army, Harar Academy 1st course)	Head of Logistics Minister of Defense	Aderi	Imprisoned after the 1989 coup.
33	Mulatu Negash	Maj. General (Army, Holeta)	Commander of the third Revo Army,	Mixed ethnic background	Imprisoned after the army's' defeat in Tigray until 1991.
34	Kumleachew	Maj. General	Deputy Commander	Amhara from Gojam	Fled to exile after the



	Dejene	(Army, Holeta)	of the 2nd Revo Army (Eritrea)		1989 coup.
35	Worku Zewdie	Maj. General	Commander of Ethiopian Police Forces	Amhara from Harar	Executed after the aborted coup of 1989.
36	Zewde Gebreyes	Maj. General	Core Commander	Amhara from South	Executed after the aborted coup of 1989
37	Alemayehu Desta	Maj. General	Deputy Commander of Ground Forces	Amhara from Showa	Executed after the aborted coup of 1989.
38	Gebreyes Wolde Hana	Maj. General	Head of Political Department of the Revo. Armed Forces	Amhara from Showa	Derg & WPE CC member, but assigned as head of military cadres from early days. Killed in a plane crash accident before 1991.
39	Negussie Wolde Michael	Maj. General	Commander of Ethiopian Police Forces pre 1986	Amhara from Gojam	Later transferred as a civilian Minister in the Council of State.
40	Girma Neway	Maj. General	Commander of Ethiopian Police Forces after 1989 Aborted coup	Amhara & Gurage (Mixed)	Derg & WPE CC member, promoted from a long life as civilian Major after the 1989 coup.

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Those who were stationed in Eritrea were subjected to this kind of propaganda on a daily basis for more than a decade. As the result, tens of thousands surrendered to the Eritrean fighters or others. In some cases, these joined either the Eritreans or their own liberation fronts. Others were captured by the TPLF in Tigray neighboring to Eritrea. In due course, the TPLF created PDOs for each major nationality to struggle against the Derg.

The military junta aspired to implement a “high authoritarian modernization,” (total transformation of society). (a) *zemacha* (campaign) or the ‘Development through Co-operation Campaign’ was declared in 1975. The *zemacha* led to closing high schools, colleges and sending out students to the subject peripheries for forceful Amharisation campaign. This was the military junta’s ambition to preserve and raise to new heights the Amharaization (just like ‘Russification’) of the conquered subject societies. It employed every available opportunity coercively to carry out its Amharization policy. One of the earliest such incident took place during an event when estimated 40,000 students were dispatched to the rural areas to carry out ‘literacy’ among other tasks. Since literacy was conducted in Amharic this became the most extensive policy of Amharization. This policy of promoting forceful integration through imposed literacy in Amharic led to serious disagreements at least in one station. In Enango and elsewhere, the issue of carrying out literacy in Amharic triggered a dispute between the *zemacha* participants and a representative

of the junta. After lengthy discussions, “the students had decided not to impose the Amharic language on the peasants who were mostly Oromos, for although Amharic was the official language of the Empire, it was also the instrument and the symbol of Amhara ‘cultural oppression’. The revolution, they thought, was going to put an end to this injustice by restoring to each ethnic group its cultural rights and its privileges” (Lefort 1981: 96).

Although the regime claims to profess Marxism-Leninism its persecution of religious organizations did not victimize all equally. For example, the Lutherans were persecuted much more severely simply because they were defending human rights or were protesting the mistreatment of Oromos.

Anyway, from the very outset, the incoming regime’s commitment to preserve Ethiopia as it was became obvious in its earliest slogan “Ethiopia Tikdem” (Ethiopia First). Thus its continuation of the Amharization policy became part and parcel of promoting “Ethiopia Tikdem.”

(b) Resettlement of northern among Oromos and other societies. The second most important element in the military junta’s high authoritarian transformation was moving millions of settlers from the north into the homeland of Oromos and other societies. As stated by Scott (1998: 248) “resettlement can be seen as a century-old project of the imperial dynasty to subjugate non-Amharic-speaking peoples and, more generally, to bring fractious provinces under central control.” The people of the localities in to which these settlers were moved were forced to build homes for them, to provide with food and utensils among providing other services. This provision of service was very similar to what happened at the time of conquest when the neftegna-gabar system was pioneered. Further, the regime armed the settlers again reviving the memory of the 19<sup>th</sup> century invasion.

(c) villagisation: The third element of the regime’s high authoritarian transformation was implementing villagization. Villagization entailed forcing rural dwellers to move into central state-designated location. It was the most extensive policy of the regime moving 4.6 million peasants into 4,500 villages (Scott 1998: 248). The regime justified this massive movement of people on various basis. But the peoples’ conclusion was that “the new settlement was devised to control dissidence and rebellion, to prevent people from leaving, to ‘make it easier to watch the people’, to control the crops, to register possessions and livestock, and (in Wollega) to ‘allow them to take our boys to war more easily’” (ibid 249). As concluded by Scott (1998: 248 – 250), “The draconian conditions of Ethiopian villagization meant that it was even more destructive of peasant livelihoods and of the environment . . . A full appreciation of the toll of forced resettlement in Ethiopia extends far beyond the standard reports of starvation, executions, deforestation, and failed crops. The new settlements nearly always failed their inhabitants as human communities and as units of food production. The

very fact of massive resettlement nullified a precious legacy of local agricultural and pastoral knowledge and, with it, some thirty to forty thousand functioning communities, most of them in regions that had regularly produced food surpluses.”

The Derg’s integration policy was copied from Stalin. As history has shown, however, Stalinism proved totally a failure in its birth place, the USSR.

At the end of the day, the struggles of liberation forces contributed to defeat of the military junta in 1991. But the two most strong of all, the Eritrean people’s Liberation front and Tigray peoples’ Liberation front captured Eritrean capital and Addis Ababa.

Oromo Liberation Front was invited to join transitional government, a charter was signed, the colonized people’s territories were demarcated and general election was scheduled to 1992.

Eritrean people’s liberation front opted for independence and scheduled referendum to take place in Eritrea in 1993. In the mean time preparation for election in the rest of Ethiopia started. But all of a sudden, Tigray people’s liberation front changed its mind and closed many of OLF’s regional offices and chased away Oromos who it thought will vote the OLF. When it was very clear to the OLF, that election fraud was under way, it withdrew from the election campaign. In return tigray peoples’ liberation front told OLF leadership to leave the country- and declared war on OLF. And that war is still going on.

#### **4.4 National State Building: TPLF Version 1991 --...**

Cultural Standardization: No effort to standardize culture. The assimilation policy of its predecessor was overthrown. Nevertheless, the trend of promoting Amharic has continued in the conquered areas. Meanwhile, in Tigray the Tigrinya-language has been extolled. The regime continued its predecessors’ approach of employing the Orthodox Church for its legitimacy. Just as the Emperor and the Derg had promoted their favorite Amhara Patriarchs, the TPLF/EPRDF forced on the election of a Tigrean Patriarch. This required illegally unseating the Amhara Patriarch who was at the head of the Church when the TPLF came to power.

Structuring Ethiopia was implicit in the Charter of 1991 and became explicit in the so-called Constitution ratified in 1994. Why it qualified as so-called has to do with the lack of genuine representation of the various national groups in its drafting and ratification. What was ultimately ratified was narrowly based on the wishes of the TPLF/EPRDF and had no allegiance outside this clique.

#### 4.4.1 Structuring Ethiopia as a Federation

According to the so-called Constitution of 1994, Ethiopia's federation is composed of six federal units. See map below.



Wheare (1947: 37) enumerates the following six prerequisite for founding a federation: “ a sense of military insecurity and of the consequent need for common defence; a desire to be independent of foreign powers, and a realization that only through union could independence be secured; a hope of economic advantage from union; some political association of the communities concerned prior to their federal union either in a loose confederation, as with the American states and the Swiss cantons, or as parts of the same Empire, as with the Canadian and Australian colonies; geographical neighbourhood; and similarity of political institutions – these half-dozen factors all operated in the United States, Switzerland, Canada and Australia, to produce a desire for union among the communities concerned.”

According to Elazar (1995: 474 – 475), “Federal systems are based on six fundamental principles. These are noncentralized, they predisposed toward democracy; they have established a system of check and balances; they operate through a process of open bargaining; they have a written constitutions; they have constitutionally determined the fixed units of power within the polity.” Then he goes on to elaborate on these principles in the following words:

According to him, “federalism stands in opposition to a hierarchical pyramid in which power and authority are concentrated in or gravitate toward an apex, with all other power centers seen as ‘levels’ subordinated to the apex. By the same token, federalism does not have a power center and a periphery, whereby elites are formed by or gravitate to the center” (ibid.

477). By this standard the present set up in Ethiopia fails to qualify as a federation because a hierarchical pyramid with TPLF leaders at the apex dictate state affairs. On Democracy he writes the following: “Federal systems are strongly predisposed toward democracy. Some would even argue that to be truly federal a system must be democratic, since it must involve public and constitutional choice in every arena. Federal democracy is built on a somewhat different set of premises than democracy based on the two other models of the polity: Westminster democracy and consociational democracy. In Westminster model (based on the British system) the parliament is supreme, and the government exercises power as long as it is supported by a parliamentary majority. A consociational democracy is one that deep ethnic, linguistic, or religious divisions and that makes special arrangements to accommodate the needs of various groups” (ibid. 477). This feature of federation also fails in Ethiopia because the kind of democracy practiced by the EPRDF is Revolutionary Democracy, which is closer to Leninist vanguard system than to democracy.

On Check and balances, he writes “Federal democracy rests on a system of checks and balances. . . . The legislature, executive and judiciary are checked and balanced by each other. Institutions have their own constitutionally based authority that are sufficiently autonomous to sustain themselves politically and socially” (ibid 477). Here also the system in place in Ethiopia fails to qualify as a federation because division of powers was never realized. Judges are dependent on the leaders of the executive are known to be corrupt in various ways. The parliament, the legislature, whose majority is composed of members of the ruling party. And hence there was no open public debate on matters of concern to the population. As stated by Aalen (2011: 43), “The Ethiopian federal system is highly centralised, and regional governments are extremely dependent on the central level in making their decisions and running their daily affairs. The explanation lies in part with the institutional framework itself: it provides for a strong executive with few checks and balances by other institutions, and the revenue sources that the constitution grants for the regions are relatively meager. But the major explanation for the continued centralization is the nature of the ruling party itself. Its internal organization, featuring, ‘democratic centralism’ and ‘accountability upwards,’ and blurred distinction between the party and the state both contribute to a situation in which the ruling party is able to closely control regional and even local affairs.” She also writes “The court system is also under severe pressure from the ruling party and has a hard time defending decisions which go against the interests of the EPRDF” (ibid. 47).

Open Bargaining : “Federalism must allow for bargaining. Bargaining must take place among institutions and their representatives and it must be done openly as legitimate part of the federal political process. . . . Federalism, however, is the only political system that makes bargaining an integral and required part of the process, subject only to the requirement that it

be open and accessible” (Elazar 1995. 477). Here also there complete absence of bargaining because most policy decisions are taken and dictated by the Politburo of the TPLF. Second, there is no opposition party to bargain with because they have been criminalized and marginalized. Lovise Aalen (2011: 43) writes “The introduction of self-determination for nationalities was done without the benefit of broad consultation with the Ethiopian people, and there was no bargain between competing political forces which federal theory holds to be an essential part of a sustainable federal system. This again points to the problem of sustainability inherent in the Ethiopian federal project. Federal solutions that have been imposed from above have less chance of success than those that have been negotiated in a democratic and participatory way.”

Constitutionalism: “The complexities of making non-centralization, check and balances, and bargaining work in federalist systems – not to mention managing authority and powers shared among the constituent polities . . . requires mutually agreed upon fundamental rules embodied in written constitutions. A written constitution is needed to bring the federal system into existence and to give all parties to it a common understanding of the system they have erected or joined” (Elazar 1995. 477/8). Although a written Constitution does exist in Ethiopia, its legitimacy is questioned by all outside the TPLF/EPRDF. The main violators of the so-called Constitution happen to be TPLF/EPRDF leaders. They pass laws that violate the very rights supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution. As stated by Leenco Lata (1999: 232) “the authorities which granted this constitution to the Ethiopian peoples be the first ones to start treating it with respect. Freedom of assembly and of expression are guaranteed – on paper. International humanitarian and human right conventions are declared as part of the law of the land – on paper. Hence, torture, extra-judicial killing, disappearance, and unlawful detention are proscribed – on paper. But the regime, according to local and foreign observers, has routinely violated these same principles that it has written into its constitution.”

As stated by Lovise Aalen (2011:5), “Representatives of each ethnic group within their regional states were also given the right to be represented in the institutions at the central level. On paper, these arrangements upheld the central principle of federal systems: that the regional units are autonomous from the central government, while the central government at the same time incorporates regional units into its decision-making procedures according to constitutional mandate. But these constitutional and institutional structure largely contradict another basic structure of the Ethiopian state: the centralized party system. As my earlier study of regional autonomy in the Ethiopian federation from 1991 to 2000 has demonstrated, the centralized party organization of the EPRDF, which essentially controls all the regional governments, undermines to a large extent the regional states’ ability to operate independently from the central government.”



In a genuine federation the division of power takes place in two dimensions: vertically and horizontally. Neither kind of division has happened in Ethiopia.

Fixed Units: “The demarcations of the polity in federal systems must be fixed constitutionally. The divisions can be either territorial, consociational, or both” (Elazar 1995: 478).

There are naturally fixed units in Ethiopia that can constitute a federation but that resulted mostly from gerrymandering by the TPLF/EPRDF leaders. For example, the units assigned to the Amhara and Tigray are immune to changes by other sectors, while that of Oromia is subject to land grab by foreign companies, individuals and governments. Forcefully displacing Oromos from their traditional land on the excuse of promoting development, which in effect contributes to their wealth while impoverishing and liquidating the Oromos.

Lovise Aalen (2002: 15) lists the following factors that go into the making of a federation. These are:

1. The basis of its representation is territorial;
2. This territorial representation has at least two tiers (local and regional governments).
3. At a minimum the regional units are electorally and perhaps otherwise incorporated into the decision-making procedures at the national center.
4. The basis of such regional representation at the center cannot be easily altered, as by resort to the bare majoritarian procedure, which serves normal purposes.

Based strictly on these criteria, a federation seems to be in place in Ethiopia – on paper. But the power delegated to the federal bodies (PDOs) is withdrawn by the strict centralization of the single ruling party. Aalen’s (2002: 103) overall conclusion is “the Ethiopian federation . . . is maintained by coercion from above . . . , the Ethiopian polity should not be defined as genuinely federal.” Because the central control is exercised by the minority from Tigray, it heralded the emergence of ‘an Abyssinian minority-dictatorship, this time dominated by the 6 per cent Tigray minority’” (Lata 2012: 114).

Arend Lijphart (1999: 187) lists the following essential features of a federation, “a bicameral legislature with a strong federal chamber to represent the constituent regions, a written constitution that is difficult to amend, and a supreme court or a special constitutional court that can protect the constitution by means of its power of judicial review.” Based upon these principles also the Ethiopian set up fails to qualify as a genuine federation.

As has been discussed in the theoretical background, Rokkan lists the following factors that underpin national state building: inclusion of larger and larger sectors of the masses;

conscription of armies; compulsory schools system; and mass media. As argued above, structuring the country as a federation became a new ploy for installing a new imperial rule replacing the one that was overthrown in 1991. The key mechanism for installing this new dominance is creating PDOs for every nations and nationalities from former POWs. This demonstrates that the inclusion of larger and larger sectors of society has taken place under TPLF/EPRDF by force and in order to enhance control. Furthermore, access to education and state employment came to depend on becoming a member of the EPRDF. Even ordinary member of society are forced to vote for the EPRDF by the denial of government services to those who do not. The overall result of this policy does not promote voluntary incorporation but using coercion to capture and subordinate members of subjugated society.

Conscription to the armed forces serves the purpose of national state building by bringing members of various social sectors into the same command and thus contributes to integration. Under the TPLF/EPRDF, however, there is no conscription into the armed forces but people are fooled into joining the armed by various fake promises. Those who are exposed to starvation are promised food aid if they provide a quota of their youth. Furthermore, the present armed forces do not contribute to integration because the command is made up strictly by people from Tigray. All officers, from the lowest to Lt. General, are Tigreans (see the list below).

### **The composition of the officer corps under TPLF rule**

#### **High Ranking Military Officials Principal Defense Departments (Woyane)**

<b>No</b>	<b>Job Division</b>	<b>Name &amp; Rank</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
1	Armed Forces Chief-of-Staff	General Smora Yenus	Tigre
2	Armed Forces Head of Training	Lt.General Tadesse Worde	Tigre
3	Head of Logistics	Lt.General Gezae Abera	Tigre
4	Head of Intelligence	Br. General Gebre Dela	Tigre
5	Armed Forces Head of Campaign	Major General Gebreegzher	Tigre
6	Armed Forces Head of Engineering	Lt.General Berhane Negash	Tigre
7	Chief of the Air Force	Chief of the Air Force	Tigre

#### **Heads of the Nation's four Military Commands (Woyane)**

<b>No</b>	<b>Job Division</b>	<b>Name &amp; Rank</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
1	Central Command	General Abebaw Tadesse	Agew
2	Northern Command	Lt.General Saere Mekonene	Tigre
3	South Eastern Command	Lt.General Abraha Wolde	Tigre
4	Western Command	Br. General Seyoum Hagos	Tigre

#### **Army Divisional Commanders (Woyane)**

##### **Central Command (Woyane)**

<b>No</b>	<b>Job Division</b>	<b>Name &amp; Rank</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
1	31st Army Division	Colonel Tsegaye Marx	Tigre
2	33rd Army Division	Colonel Kidane	Tigre

3	35th Army Division	Colonel Misganaw Alemu	Tigre
4	24th Army Division	Colonel Work Aynu	Tigre
5	22nd Army Division	Colonel Dikul	Tigre
6	8th Mechanized Division	Colonel Jamal Mohammed	Tigre

#### Northern Command (Woyane)

No	Job Division	Name & Rank	Ethnic Group
1	14st Army Division	Colonel Wodi Antiru	Tigre
2	21st Army Division	Colonel Gueshi Gebre	Tigre
3	11th Army Division	Colonel Workidu	Tigre
4	25th Army Division	Colonel Tesfay Sahiel	Tigre
5	22nd Army Division	Colonel Teklay Klashin	Tigre
6	4th Mechanized Division	Colonel Hinsaw Giorgis	Tigre

#### South Eastern Command (Woyane)

No	Job Division	Name & Rank	Ethnic Group
1	19st Army Division	Colonel Wodi Guaae	Tigre
2	44st Army Division	Colonel Zewdu Tefera	Tigre
3	13th Army Division	Colonel Sherifo	Tigre
4	12th Army Division	Colonel Mulugeta Berhe	Tigre
5	32nd Army Division	Colonel Abraha Tselim	Tigre
6	6th Mechanized Division	Colonel G/Medhin Fekede	Tigre

#### Western Command (Woyane)

No	Job Division	Name & Rank	Ethnic Group
1	23rd Army Division	Colonel Wolde Belalom	Tigre
2	43rd Army Division	Colonel Wodi Abate	Tigre
3	26th Army Division	Colonel Mebrahtu	Tigre
4	7th Mechanized Division	Colonel Gebre Mariam	Tigre

#### Commanders in Different Defense Departments (Woyane)

No	Job Division	Name & Rank	Ethnic Group
1	Agazi Commando Division	B.General Mohammed Esha	Tigre
2	Addis Ababa & Surrounding Area Guard	Colonel Zenebe Amare	Tigre
3	Palace Guard	Colonel Gerensay	Tigre
4	Banking Guard	Colonel Hawaz Woldu	Tigre
5	Engineering College	Colonel Halefom Eggigu	Tigre
6	Military Health Science	B.General Tesfay Gidey	Tigre
7	Mulugeta Buli Technical College	Colonel Meleya Amare	Tigre
8	Resource Management College	Colonel Letay	Tigre
9	Siftana Command College	B.General Moges Haile	Tigre
10	Blaten Military Training Center	Colonel Salih Berihu	Tigre
11	Wourso Military Training Center	Colonel Negash Heluf	Tigre
12	Awash Arba Military Training Center	Colonel Muze	Tigre
13	Birr Valley Military Training Center	Colonel Negassie Shikortet	Tigre
14	Defense Administration Department	B.General Mehari Zewde	Tigre

15	Defense Aviation	B.General Kinfe Dagneu	Tigre
16	Defense Research and Study	B.General Halefom Chento	Tigre
17	Defense Justice Department	Colonel Askale	Tigre
18	Secretary of the Chief-of-Staff	Colonel Tsehaye Manjus	Tigre
19	Indoctrination Center	B.General Akale Asaye	Amhara
20	Communications Department	Colonel Sebbhat	Tigre
21	Foreign Relations Department	Colonel Hassene	Tigre
22	Special Forces Coordination Department	B.General Fisseha Manjus	Tigre
23	Operations Department	Colonel Wodi Tewk	Tigre
24	Planning, Readiness and Programming Department	Colonel Teklay Ashebir	Tigre
25	Defense Industries Coordination Department	Colonel Wodi Negash	Tigre
26	Defense Finance Department	Colonel Zewdu	Tigre
27	Defense Purchasing Department	Colonel Gedey	Tigre
28	Defense Budget Department	Ato/Mr. Berhane	Tigre

***From Ginbot 7 Report Originally Posted on February 20, 2010***

Compulsory education never existed under previous regimes and does not exist today either. Even the very few that used to attend schools, face the disadvantage that the standard of education has purposely made to deteriorate. Although the number of schools has increased under the TPLF/EPRDF, teachers lack proper training and the curriculum is substandard. As the result, a graduate from any one of the present so-called colleges can hardly compete with those who graduated from university prior to 1991. On the contrary, the educational system in Tigray is of a high standard. The number of Tigrean youth being sent abroad, including to Norway, for further education is disproportionate to the Tigrean population. The resulting sense of being discriminated against, is one of the factors that are negatively impacting integration.

Mass media serve national integration by providing channels of communication between the central elite and the parochial populations of the peripheries and to generate widespread feelings of identity with the total political system. Mass media in Ethiopia are strictly channels for passing to the public the views of the rulers and to promote their particular interests. They serve as instruments for shaping societal mindset in such a way to serve the aims of the TPLF. They are owned and centrally controlled by the government and serve the policy of maintaining their dominance in the political and economic sphere. Any attempt to establish alternative media has been forcefully stifled. Journalists are harassed through imprisonment and other forms of intimidation forcing many of them to flee abroad.

## 4.5 Summary

This second phase in Rokkan's theory constitutes the second step in the progression of political development. Likewise, Dietrich's summary of Habermas's work (a critique of functionalist reason) concerns steps in political development. These two and other approaches to political development has been harnessed in order to evaluate if political development has taken place in Ethiopia under four successive regimes.

During the reign of Menelik the top agenda of the conquerors was to take control of as much territory as possible. Political development beyond imposition of power was not given any consideration. What happened was intensifying control by settling armed personnel among the conquered. Regarding cultural standardization, Menelik was determined to erase the culture and identity of the Oromo and other conquered society. Menelik mandated the forceful construction of Abyssinian Orthodox churches in the conquered territories.

Haile Selassie inherited Menelik's policy of erasing the culture and identity of Oromo and other conquered societies. His only difference with his predecessor was the diversification and intensification of the effort to attain this eradication. The main purpose of his military was not promoting integration by bringing together recruits from different backgrounds but forcefully sustaining Amhara rule over other societies. The synonymy between being an Ethiopian and an Orthodox Christian alienated those who did not belong to it. Its most extreme manifestation was the need to refer to "Muslims living in Ethiopia" for Ethiopian Muslims were officially contradiction in terms. Amharization became the policy of imposing the language and culture of the minority on the majority without giving any consideration to its sharedness. This set the stage for mutually repelling in terms of culture, language and religion. The overall result was the continuation of rebellion by the subject masses. This clearly demonstrates that integration, the creation of common identity and the forging of genuine political community were not realized.

The military junta aspired to achieve integration and cultural standardization through active assimilation. The military regime raised its predecessor's failed policy of imposition and tried to do it more effectively. Erasing the culture and language of the Oromo and other peoples became the primary agenda. More than 40,000 students were dispatched to rural areas to kick-start such a process. Resettling Abyssinians in the homeland of the Oromo and other societies was to new level. The military regime became the first to impose conscription into the armed forces. However, instead of promoting integration, this contributed to alienation because the recruits were more interested in supporting the struggle for liberation by leaders of their communities. Once again, the military regime failed to promote widespread feeling of common identity.

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The sociological terms of classical dichotomization between the “traditional” and “modern” societies often marks the idea for the conditions of national integration- from *gemeinschaft* to *gesellschaft*, from ‘mechanic’ to ‘organic’ solidarity, from status-society to contract society. These dichotomies express the “necessary conditions” for the development of functional labour divisions among groups and institutions across local fellowships. Such developments were never allowed in Abyssinia/Ethiopia. But institutional specialization and functional labour division were limited to parallel segments within the “national territory”. And these segments create hindrance for national integration.

Abyssinians and the conquered nations and nationalities have remained as segmented as they were. The diversity of social, economy, and cultural groups could not be integrated by crossing conflict lines or cleavages.

The TPLF/EPRDF could not continue its predecessors’ policy of imposing assimilation and forceful conversion. Instead of adopting “consociationalism”-national coexistence across socio-cultural segmentation, it structured the country as a fake federation basically as a tactic of divide and rule. This evidenced the futility of cultural standardization by imposing Amhara culture and language. At the same time, it maintained the privileged status of Amharic as the ‘national’ language. Forceful recruitment into the army also continued under TPLF/EPRDF rule. The proportion of Tigrean officers in the armed forces was made up of almost completely of Tigreans, as the inserted statistics shows. Under the TPLF/EPRDF, as under its predecessors, no effort was made to promote integration. To day “Activists and journalists describe an Orwellian surveillance state, breathtaking in scale and scope, in which phone conversations are recorded and emails monitored by thousands of bureaucrats reminiscent of the Stasi in East Berlin. The few who dare to take to the streets in protest are crushed with deadly force. Amnesty International has called it “onslaught on dissent” in the runup to elections next year” (The Guardian 2014 oct.22 :3).

Amnesty International in its report of (index: AFR 25/006/2014, because I am a Oromo) says “Thousands of members of Ethiopia’s largest ethnic group, the Oromo, are being ruthlessly targeted by the state based solely on their perceived opposition to the government...The Ethiopian government’s relentless crackdown on real or imagined dissent among the Oromo is sweeping in its scale and often shocking in its brutality....At least 5000 ethnic Oromos have been arrested between 2011 and 2014 based on their actual or suspected peaceful opposition to the government. These include peaceful protesters, students, members of opposition political parties and people expressing their Oromo cultural heritage” (Amnesty Annual Report 2013:1). See also (BBC report october 28 2014 & may 2 2014) “Ethiopia ‘targets’ Oromo ethnic group”, The Telegraph October 31 2014.

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Amnesty continues “in addition to these groups, people from all walks of life- farmers, teachers, medical professionals, civil servants, singers, businesspeople, and countless others- are regularly arrested in Oromia based only on the suspicion that they don’t support the government... Family members of suspects have also been targeted by association-based only on suspicion they shared or “inherited” their relative’s views- or are arrested in place of their wanted relative. Many of those arrested have been detained without charge for months or even years and subjected to repeated torture. Throughout the region, hundreds of people are detained in unofficial detention in military camps. Many are denied access to lawyers and family members... The majority of those targeted are accused of supporting the Oromo liberation Front (OLF). “people are arrested for the most tenuous of reasons: organizing a student cultural group, because their father had previously been suspected of supporting the OLF or because they delivered the baby of the wife of a suspected OLF member. Frequently, it is because they refused to join the ruling party,” said Claire Beston (ibid: 1).

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## CHAPTER V

### 5 Active Political Participation--

#### 5.0.1 INTRODUCTION:

**Phase III** “brings these subject masses into active participation in the workings of the territorial political system: typically through the establishment of privileges of opposition, the extension of electorate for organs of representation, the formation of organized parties for the mobilization of support and the aggregation and articulation of demands (Rokkan 1975: 572).

Political participation, according to Rokkan (1970: 79), happens through four institutional thresholds. These institutional thresholds are: legitimation, incorporation, representation, and executive power. Legitimation refers to the right of petition, criticism, and demonstration against the regime as well as the rights of assembly, expression and publication.

Incorporation refers to the time it took for the right of potential supporters of the rising movements of opposition to have formal rights of participation in the choice of representatives on equal footing with the established strata.

The representation threshold concerns the degree of the “original barriers against the representation of new movements and when and in what ways were the barriers lowered to make it easier to gain seats in the legislature” (ibid: 79)

The threshold of executive power concerns “how immune were the executive organs against legislative pressures and how long did it take before parliamentary strength could be translated into direct influence on executive decision-making, whether under some form of *Propoz* rule of access for majority parties or through the institutionalization of cabinet responsibility to legislative?” (ibid.79).

As Rokkan (1970: 82) states, empirically “changes in the one threshold sooner or later generated pressures for change in the other but the timing of such decisions varied significantly from polity to polity.”

In summary, political participation demands the inauguration of a democratic order in which legally recognized *demos* have the right to determine their political order.

Of the four regimes that ruled the Empire to date, the first one, that of the empire builder, Menelik, did not pretend that allowing political participation was necessary. The next three regimes that followed him took fake steps with such an aim. Hence, the approach of these regimes in allowing equal political participation will be analyzed one after the other.

### **5.1 Political Participation Under Menelik:**

According to Cohen (1971: 7), “Democracy is that system of community government in which, by and large, the members of a community participate, or may participate, directly or indirectly, in the making of decisions which affect them all.”

There was no intention to allow political participation under Menelik. The major obsession was conquering and subduing societies. The structures put in place during Menelik’s time were only focused on permanent subordination and exploitation.

### **5.2 Political participation under Haile Selassie:**

Haile Selassie granted the first constitution for the empire in 1931. It was in this constitution that he “officially dropped the term “Abyssinia” in favour of “Ethiopia”,(melbaa1988:40).With this constitution, he centralized the administration of the empire, introduced taxation system and created a national army and a salaried civil service. One of the issues for which Haile Selassie is often commended is the fact that he granted to his subject population the first written constitution in the history of Abyssinia/Ethiopia. In the speech he made on the day the constitution was publicized he stated that “it was voluntarily granted (unasked and of Our own free will) was very close to the truth” (Markakis 1974:

271). One of its drafters offered the reasons why the constitution was adopted in the following words: “we had particular interest in letting foreign governments know that we had a constitution and that the government of Ethiopia was constitutional. This was mainly done to answer our accusers of arbitrariness, existence of feudalism, undefined rulers, and all in all chaotic rule. In this we had been successful and we had a good ground to fight against Italian accusations in the League of Nations” (quoted in Markakis 1974: 271). The real rationale behind granting the constitution, however, is put as follows by Abera Jambare (2000: 168) “The most important historical goal that the 1931 meant to achieve was to breakdown the powers of the regional lords who gradually had become strong, so as to bring them under a powerful centralized state machinery.” Markakis (1974: 271) concurs with him by stating the “constitution was designed as a legal weapon in the process of centralization of governmental power and the struggle against the nobility” Nevertheless, in the constitution of 1931 “the titles of the nobility, together with their corresponding *rest gult* (granted landholding), were recognized and their rights and privileges were expressly provided for” (Abera Jambare 2000: 170).

The constitution of 1931 established a parliament composed of “Deliberative Chambers: the Senate (*Yaheg Mawossena Meker-bet*), and the Chamber of Deputies (*Yaheg Mamria Meker-bet*). Neither of which was elected; nor was either, strictly speaking, representative. The members of the Senate were appointed by the Emperor ‘from among the Nobility and the local Chiefs, who served his Empire as Princes or Ministers, Judges or high military officers. As for the Chamber of Deputies, temporarily, and until the people are in a position to elect them themselves, the members of the Chamber of Deputies shall be chosen by the nobility and the local Chiefs” (Markakis 1974: 272). The local of ultimate power is stated in article 6 of the constitution in no unmistakable manner by stating “In the Ethiopian Empire, supreme power rests in the hands of the Emperor. The Solomonic legend was duly reaffirmed, and imperial succession was reserved to the line of Haile Selassie, although succession rules were not specified. The emperor’s person was declared ‘sacred’, his dignity inviolable, his power indisputable” (Markakis 1974: 272).

Robert Hess and Gerhard Loewenberg (1964: 949) state that a “new constitution was promulgated by the Emperor in 1955. While it largely confirmed the concentration of powers in his [Emperor’s] hands, it did provide for an elected Chamber of Deputies in a bicameral parliament which also included a Senate whose 101 members are all appointed by the Emperor.” In addition these authors discuss various forms of political parties in the 1960s Africa and conclude that only “in Ethiopia (Eritrea excluded) have there never been political parties. The Empire of the Conquering Lion of Judah can well be termed a no-party state. In Ethiopia today no organization exists that would or could describe itself as a political party.” Despite the absence of political parties election to the Chamber of Deputies was conducted in

1957. According to the Central Board of Registration and Election, a government agency, 491 candidates qualified to stand for 210 seats. Candidacy required wealth of 1000 Ethiopian dollars and property ownership of twice this amount, total holdings in US terms of \$1200. In a nation then having a per capita income of US \$56, the Chamber of Deputies was bound to consist overwhelmingly of members of the traditional nobility” (ibid: 949). However, “the sole function of this elected parliament has been that of legitimating the Emperor’s acts” (ibid.).

Although the Emperor’s authority is protected by his own constitution, “it also leaves the vast majority of the population unaffected by economic change. Untouched by new political organizations, politically informed only by the government’s communications monopoly and by the traditional local aristocracy, it is beyond the reach of political appeals from the new elites. But it remains also beyond the reach of economic and social changes. It is still illiterate, engaged in subsistence agriculture, governed by traditional village authorities, divided ethnically and religiously. The question of how it can be mobilized for economic purposes without-being political organized is still unanswered” (ibid. 950). The other unanswered question concerns “the chances of survival of the traditional political system when the Emperor’s powers pass to a successor. Although the position of the present Emperor appears strong, it depends in part on his special international reputation, in part on the personal loyalty of his appointees, and in part on his highly personal use of legitimacy myths. Can these sources of power be transferred to a successor except through a new political organization? (ibid. 950).

Robert Hess and Gerhard Loewenberg (1964: 950) go on to contrast the political evolution of Ethiopia with that of colonial states of Africa. In colonial Africa, the rising elites “developed institutions parallel to the colonial administration, with judicial, administrative, police, education, and social welfare functions. They have provided a new set of values and given expression to new interests, in opposition to those of both the colonial regime and the traditional African milieu. They have been powerful agents for political agitation, education, and communications. . . . Above all they have created a new political elite. They have given Africans a new sense of solidarity, and have resolutely sought the modernization of African economies. They have given legitimacy to new political systems. In Ethiopia, however, all of these functions have been monopolized by the Emperor and an elite recruited largely by ascriptive criteria. This has placed a special obstacles in the path of economic development and created prospects of ultimate political instability.”

Jan Hultin (2003: 407) builds on these peculiarities of Ethiopia in the following words “Haile Selassie’s Ethiopia was a no-party state in a continent of one-party states. There was not even a government party . . . all political organizations were forbidden. All public

discussion of the burning social and economic problems of the country was banned; there was no forum for policy debates and no freedom of expression.”

### **5.3 Political participation under the Military Regime:**

The revolution that the Derg rode to power started as a mass uprising lacking leadership. In due course, however, it opened up possibilities for political parties to appear on Ethiopian landscape for the first time in its history. The first to appear almost simultaneously were: (1) the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party (EPRP) and the All Ethiopia Socialist Movement more widely known under its Amharic acronym MAESON. These two, although led by former leaders of the Ethiopian student movement turned out to be each other’s arch enemies. In the end, MAESON joined the Derg in liquidating the EPRP during the period known in Ethiopian history as the Red Terror. As the result, the “EPRP was effectively destroyed by mid-1977” (Clapham 1988: 56). However, “the destruction of the EPRP removed the need for the Derg and MEISON to cling together against a common enemy. . . [allowing] the Derg . . . to relieve itself from dependence on MEISON” (ibid: 57). Thereafter, the MAESON as a participant in Derg’s political life was liquidated.

Several other civilian parties remained in alliance with the Derg after MAESON was liquidated. One of these was established by an American trained engineer, Senay Likke, called Wazleague. Wazleague’s alliance with the Derg lasted until early 1980’s when some of its key members were executed (Clapham 1988: 69). By the time the Derg launched the process that culminated in the announcement of the formation of the Workers Party of Ethiopia in 1984, not a single party other than the official one remained legally operating.

The Workers Party of Ethiopia thereafter became the sole legal political organization in the country. And it created civilian subordinates, like the Revolutionary Ethiopia Women’s Association, the Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Organization, the All Ethiopia Peasants’ Association, and the Ethiopia Trade Union, to serve not as instruments for popular participation but as transmission belts for the Derg’s centrally commanded economy and politics. These so-called Mass Organizations of the Party were nothing other than control levers for the dictator.

### **5.4 Political participation under TPLF:**

The TPLF started its political life aspiring to become the most authentic Marxist-Leninist vanguard party in Tigray. Later on it expanded this aspiration to cover the whole of the Ethiopian empire. Initially, it created the Marxist-Leninist League of Tigray in 1985 and adopted the Albania of the period as its role model. However, at the time it came to power in 1991, proclaiming ML vanguard party was becoming awkward because of the manner by which the Cold War came to an end. As the result, as it was capturing power pretending to

practice multi-party democracy became imperative. In reality, however, it was determined to stick to its original aspiration of being the only ruling party in Ethiopia.

With the intention of extending this system to the whole of Ethiopia the TPLF created PDOs to oppose autonomous representatives of various nationalities in the Empire. The most important of which is the OPDO created to undermine the OLF and to hoodwink the Oromo People. Ever since, the OPDO was formed by prisoners of war, its leadership has always been handpicked by TPLF leaders.

The election of 1992 exposed that the highly centrally controlled TPLF structure had already been extended to the whole empire, demonstrating that its ML vanguard party posture was still functioning. This became obvious by how the local and district elections of 1992 were conducted. The Norwegian Observer Group verdict on elections is as follows: “In conclusion, the elections did not in any meaningful way represent the free and fair will of the Ethiopian people in a democratic manner. [The boycott of competitors out of frustration] “undeniably made the elections non-competitive in very many places of the country.” The Norwegian Observers went to list the factors that made the election neither free nor fair in the following words: “Allegations about inappropriate preparations, including the failure of the NEC [National Election Commission] and the TGE [Transitional Government of Ethiopia] to comply with Proclamation 11 of the Election Laws, calling for the establishment and management of impartial election committees; allegations about closing of party offices of the opposition parties; and alleged political arrests, intimidation (sic) and detention of candidates without reason” (Report of Norwegian Observer Group 1992: 14) One of most able competitor for the TPLF in these elections was the OLF. Thus, in order to tilt the playing field against the OLF, the TPLF closed down its offices, killed its cadres and candidates ultimately forcing the OLF to withdraw from the elections. One of the implications of these local and district elections was to demonstrate that the TPLF/EPRDF “lacked genuine support in certain regions” according to one of the observer agencies (quoted in Leenco Lata 1999: 27). Once it realized lack of support, the TPLF/EPRDF coerced voters to support only its candidates as the result of which voters “especially those in areas where EPRDF conflicts with other parties were most intense, experienced little difference between the June 21 elections and the one-party elections conducted during the Mengistu era” (ibid:27).

The Norwegian Observer Group report of 1995 clearly demonstrates again that “The Norwegian Observer Group, however, dismisses these elections as ‘neither fair, free nor impartial’ for several reasons. Firstly, the elections cannot be considered competitive, hence it is difficult to assess whether the new government has such a relatively broad-based support as the election results reflect. Secondly, the process leading up to elections was the exclusive



in character, preventing many legal political actors in Ethiopia from participating. Thirdly, although the technical performance of the procedure of balloting has improved compared to the two previous elections, in all areas of observations violations of the Electoral Law were noted. Fourthly, government structures and bodies acted in such a way as to create apprehension in the rural populations” (Tronvoll and Aadland 1995: 1).

The structure closest to rural dwellers, inherited from the Derg regime, is called kebeles (neighborhood dwellers association). The TPLF expanded the kebele structure by adding a subsidiary cell made up of 30 to 90 households, and another one below it composed of five households headed by a ruling party member and sometimes attended by armed militia men. All these subsidiary bodies are answerable to the kebele chairman. These elaborate structures, instead of serving as instruments for popular political participation, were turned into mechanisms for control and monitoring of society. “Kebele officials determine illegibility for food assistance, make referrals for secondary health care, provide recommendations for jobs and educational opportunities, and control access to state-distributed resources such as seeds, fertilizers, credit, and other essential agricultural inputs. They also run the community social courts, which deal with minor claims and disputes, as well as local prisons and, in some places, local militia that are used to maintain law and order” (Human Rights Watch 2010: 16).

As stated by Lovise Aalen (2011: 96), “An apparent, but perhaps not deep or genuine, difference between the old and new regimes was that the EPRDF . . . adopted the modern rhetoric of democracy and human rights to legitimize its actions. But this did not prevent the EPRDF from continuing one of the Derg’s main project for the Ethiopian state: ‘capturing the citizens’, or encadrement, incorporating every member of the community into its structures of control.”

The TPLF formalized its adherence to the Marxist-Leninist paradigm when it declared that it has communist leading body called the Marxist-Leninist League of Tigray (MLLT) in 1985. From then on, a structure of a vanguard within a vanguard was put in place, in which the TPLF serves as the vanguard of the Tigrean society while the MLLT serves as the vanguard of the TPLF. This carefully designed instrument for control guarantees a top-down system of political operation. In this kind of set up the only role left to the ordinary members of society is receiving instructions coming from above and putting in practice. This stands in the way of any meaningful participation.

After taking over central power with the help of EPLF in 1991, the TPLF leaders systematic extended the operation of this approach to the entire country. It is the imposition of this system that undid the federal system as stated by Markakis (2011: 242) “a highly decentralised federal system of government would be a serious obstacle in the path of a

regime seeking to impose uniformity of rule, especially in a country as diverse as Ethiopia. The EPRDF surmounted this problem by superimposing a political system controlled and guided from the centre, which enabled the centre to retain its hegemony and the regime to impose its programme. It did so by merging party and state in the familiar ‘scientific socialist’ pattern, which had been tried by the TPLF in Tigray earlier and proved successful.”

## **5.5 Summary**

Active political participation by the people was simply incomprehensible to Menelik. His successor, Haile Selassie, called himself “Elect of God” demonstrating a belief that guidance comes from above. Even his so-called constitution was a grant by him. When he allowed elections to occur competition was person and individual without reflecting interest aggregation of the societies. Hence, there was not a single legal political party. Freedom of speech and assembly was never allowed.

The military regime ultimately embraced the one-party Stalinist structure. Once again, top-down approach to transmitting the demands and interests was pursued. The people had no saying about policy. Only the single ruling party was legal and any pursuit of politics had to be made strictly by armed opposition groups. It was the armed opposition groups that finally succeeded in overthrowing the military regime.

Under TPLF/EPRDF legal political parties were allowed for first time. But in practice the TPLF was determined to rule the country alone and indefinitely. This has been confirmed by a successive election monitoring reports from 1992 on that concluded “not fair and free.”

And even to day “ Of 547 MPs, only one belongs to an opposition party” (The Guardian 2014 oct.22).

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **6: Agencies of Redistribution/Welfare State**

#### **6.0.1 INTRODUCTION:**

Rokkan’s final phase of nation building model represents the expansion of the administrative apparatus of the territorial state: the growth of agencies of redistribution, the building of public welfare services, the development of nationwide policies for the equalization of economic conditions, . . .

The extent to which these factors have been recognized and dealt with under the four regimes that succeeded in ruling Ethiopia will be analyzed one after the other in the following pages.

#### **6.1 Redistribution under Menelik**

Oromos caught while resisting subjugation were sold to slavery. Menelik II allocated Oromo land with Oromos living on it to his settler colonial armies, to Orthodox church and to the Abyssinian crown Royal families). Thus Oromos were reduced to serfs or serfdom. In Waugh's own word "...peoples in the south and west treated with wanton brutality unequaled even in the Belgian Congo...some areas were depopulated by slavery, in others Abyssinian garrisons were permanently quartered on the people, whose duty it was to support them and their descendants. The Abyssinian officials, with retinues which varied in size from a royal guard to a standing army, lived upon the work and taxes of the original inhabitants; their function was not to protect, but to hold in subjugation; fighting was the only occupation they recognized" (Waugh 1936: 23).

### **6.1.1 Settler Colonialism**

The resulting transfer of destitute Abyssinians to the conquered areas gave rise to the neftegn/gabar system. The conquering armies were settled in garrison towns called *Ketemmas*. And the conquered people living within the environs of these Ketemmas were distributed among the neftegnas based on their rank.

### **6.1.2 Gabar**

Teshale Tibebu mentions three terms from which the word geber is derived. These are: (1) gebare (farm-worker, peasant), (2) Gabre (name for servants and slaves, (3) geber (tax tribute or labor service paid to the Emperor and the various ranks of the imperial ladder below him.) After discussing the root word of gabar, Tibebu (1995: 4) positions it within the tripartite class configuration of "those who fight, organized as the beta mangest (royalty); those who pray, organized as the beta kehnat (clergy); and those who provide for daily subsistence, disorganized as gabbars."

He goes on to assert "The geber system was not a mode of production and appropriation of material life but it was also a mode of production of *social and moral etiquette*. The three classes of the geber system were also classes of manners, values and moral expectations. . . Central to the social construction of etiquette of the geber system was the concept of honor. Honor meant name, status, prestige, social standing, recognition, above all, respect. . . . The producing classes were defined as honorless. Their 'honor' was in recognizing the honor of their masters or superiors" (Tibebu 1995: 5). Thus a gabar had to be stripped of any feeling of self-respect or honor.

Teshale Tibebu (1995: 33) describes this system as the predatory state "The predatory state thrived in part on plunder and predatory appropriation of gabbars' belonging, as well as the belongings of other plunderers. Predatory appropriation was the taking away of whatever belonged to the gabbar by force... Predatory appropriation is one 'compulsory transfer of

wealth', as opposed to voluntary transfer of wealth." This practice is deep-rooted in Abyssinia where

it is a custom even when the king, ras or governor at home, for their soldiers to form themselves into a small parties and put one, whom they consider worthy, at their head, and go into the country from farmer to farmer living at free quarters, no one daring to deny them unless they are too exorbitant and unreasonable in their demand. On these occasions, the villagers will give a general alarm, and raise the neighbouring villages to their assistance, and many lives are lost on both sides (quoted in Tibebu 1995: 35).

As used in the neftegna/gabar system, gabar means the former owner of the land who became the servant of the neftegna assigned as his lord. The allocation of gabars to the conquering armies is put differently by different authorities. According to Margery Perham (1969: 296) governors were allocated thousands of serfs, district commanders from 30 to 80, officers from 7 to 10 and ordinary soldiers from 2 to five families each. And according to Addis Hiwet (1975: 31), "the number of gabars allotted to each person depended on his rank and social position. The feudal governors (Rases, Dejazmathes) might have 1000 gabars each; a Fitawrary up to 300 gabars; a Qegnasmach up to 150 gabars; ordinary soldiers (neftegnas) were allotted between 10 and 20 gabars each, depending on the soldier's rank and status in the army." Addis Hiwet (1975: 33) lists the duties of the gabar as follows: "The gabar bore all the brutalities and the degradation of the process of conquest and post-conquest social-economic structure of military-feudal-colonialism: landless, treated as nothing more than a chattel by neftegna, melkegna and balabat alike. The gabar tilled the landlord's plot, erected the house of the neftegna, and also provided the household of the latter with food, drink, and firewood. The gabar continued to serve the family of a neftegna even after the latter's demise. Indeed the feudal obligations imposed on the gabar were on all counts intensive and onerous."

The conquered societies were parceled out to serve the neftegna along with the land. Land allocation, just as that of the gabar, depended on rank and social status. Thus "A shalaqa (leader of a thousand) received up to 30 gashas of the land; a metoaleqa (leader of a hundred) was granted up to 10 gashas; an amsaleqa (leader of fifty) up to 5 gashas; and, the ordinary soldier got 2 or 3 gashas" (Addis Hiwet 1975: 32). "Traditionally all the land in Ethiopia is the property of the emperor" (Gilkes 1975: 110). As put by Markakis (1974: 108), "all conquered land became state property, and its disposal rested solely in the hands of the emperor. The Shoa dynasty had earlier claimed this prerogative over all Galla [Oromo] lands which it had incorporated since the days of Sahle Selassie [Menelik's grandfather]. . . In theory, land was divided into three equal portions, two of which passed to the state, while the third was left to the inhabitants of the area." Markakis (1974: 110-111) discusses how land in the conquered areas were distributed to the crown, nobility and the church. He states that the

“Crown was a major claimant of land in the south. Portions of land selected for fertility were reserved for the needs of the Palace (Markakis 1974: 110). In addition, the “state retained control over portions of land which were given, in lieu of salary, for the maintenance of officials in its service. The officials enjoyed rights over such land only during their period in office. Such land was various known as *metekeya/mankeya* (plant/uproot), *shum-shir* (‘appoint/remove) or more commonly, *maderia*, (literally, ‘to spend the night) land (ibid 110). Likewise, the “clergy was another group which received a large share of the appropriated land in the south. The establishment of churches in the new provinces was the duty of the northern governors, who were not remiss in this respect. . . *Samon* (land given to the clergy) rights over such land were granted to the clergy in the manner customary in the north, while church officials received grants of *rist gult* in the same manner as the nobility” (ibid 111).

It is to be remembered that Menelik claimed all the territory as far Lake Nyanza up to Khartoum, including all the Gallas [Oromos]. Although he did not conquer all the territory he claimed, he did manage to conquer the bulk of the Oromo country. The purpose of this conquest was to pursue naked exploitation. Land and people were distributed to the members of the conquering army. Thus, instead of redistributing resources Menelik took from the conquered societies to give to the conquerors.

## **6.2 Redistribution under Haile Selassie:**

The transfer of members of Abyssinian society to the conquered areas was only intensified under Haile Selassie. The exploitation of the land and labour of the Oromo and other conquered societies was made systematic. Just as it happened under Menelik, the granting of land to the Abyssinians was also continued and intensified under Haile Selassie. David and Marina Ottaway (1978: 12) state how the Ethiopian state related to the conquered communities in the following words: “Under Haile Selassie, the empire was dominated by Christian Amharas and to a lesser extent by Christian Tigreans with the backing of the powerful Orthodox Christian Church. In regions conquered by Emperor Menelik in southern Ethiopia at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Amhara established virtually a colonial relationship over the native Galla, or Oromo, peoples, taking their lands and imposing an alien rule on them.”

The neftagna/gabbar system of exploiting the Oromo and other conquered societies was intensified under the reign of Haile Selassie. In 1933, he decreed that, “—once a person was given to a naftanya (Gun-holder, settler colonialist) he was not allowed to leave the land against the landholder’s will” As a report by the League of Nations states “The inhabitants of the conquered country were registered in families by the Abyssinians chiefs, and to every family of Abyssinians settled in the country there is assigned one or more families of the

conquered as gabbar (serf). The gabbar family is obliged to support the Abyssinian family, it gives that family its own lands, builds and maintains, the huts in which it lives, cultivates the fields, grazes the cattle, and carries to every kind of work and performs all possible services for the Abyssinian family. All this is done without any remuneration, merely in token of the perpetual servitude resulting from the defeat sustained thirty years ago” (League of Nations Report c. 240,M.171, VII, p.41, 1935).

C. F. Rey (1922: 180) had a conversation with the governor of a Southeastern fertile district and advised him to introduce “modern agricultural machinery on his estate. He stated ‘I had explained the advantages motor-ploughs, and had given him figures of the cost of ploughing per acre with these machines and the rapidity with which the work could be done. His reply was ‘Yes, that may be cheap in your country, but it is very dear in mine. For what does it cost me to plough? Every man in my district is obliged to come with a yoke or more of oxen and do a given amount of ploughing on my lands. . . . Why should I spend all this money ploughed a little more quickly?’ That may be good for the governor, but it does not help progress. This last example shows a vicious state of affairs which is one of the several factors accounting for the non-development of the country.” Keeping the conquered societies in this situation only raised destitution to higher and higher level instead of contributing to redistribution.

In the years following conquered the governors ruling the conquered areas were not paid any salary because they are expected to “rely on taxation of their province for their income” (ibid). The implication of this system of taxation is that “the peasants are on the whole pretty badly treated, as the soldiery, who are ill paid, are apt to supplement their official salaries in ways that would not commend themselves to British farmers. It must of course be borne in mind that this is probably to some extent due to the fact that quite a large extent of the country, more than a half, has comparatively recently been conquered, and that these tracts are for the most part not inhabited by Abyssinians properly so called, but by Gallas, Danakils, Somals, Falashas, Shangallas and Gurages, etc” (ibid: 181).

As Cohen and Weintraub (1975: 12) state, The conquering Abyssinians were often insecure among these hostile tribes, and needed to develop a more direct and uncomplicated pattern for governing, attracting colonizers, rewarding soldiers, and otherwise guaranteeing order and collecting taxes in the newly acquired territories. Because of these concerns and needs they imposed a form of feudal rule which differed from that found in their northern broadland. In particular, the altered pattern of feudal rule led to an altered land tenure system. It is for this reason that northern tenures differ from those of the south, and that southern tenures are more onerous and extractive than those of the north.”



The misery visited on the victims of this exploitative system is graphically depicted by Asbe Hailu's historic article that appeared in *Berhanena Selam* of 1927 (quoted in Donham 1986, front page). Asbe describes how a *gabbar* arrives at the home of his lord with a donkey loaded with mandatory tribute. He is welcomed by being given the new assignment of going to another estate of the lord to fetch some grain. The *gabbar's* laments stating "Oh, Sire, it is harvest time in our area and if I do not harvest now, before the approaching rains, Sire, I will be finished, evicted, uprooted. Oh, Sire" is dismissed. He is left with no other choice than heading for the said estate where he is put to be sent on another mission.

What prevailed was an extreme form of exploitation. One of the most graphic depiction of devastating forms of exploitation under his rule is put as follow: "No sooner had the peasant unloaded the tribute due to the lord than the latter 'congratulates' the peasant for having come just at the right time to be sent to the lord's measured lands somewhere beyond the Awash, from which the peasant is supposed bring a load of *tef*. The toil-worn peasant supplicates, pleads and laments: "Cursing the day he was born, like the Biblical Job, he takes to his heels in the direction of the [estate]. At the estate, the inevitable happens. The lord's representative engages the peasant in the renovation of the lord's house there. That takes a whole week's work. Only then does the peasant reach Addis Ababa with the load of *tef*. At Addis another task, another order! Endless! The peasant now collects the whole lot of grain – that from the Awash estate which he would have to have ground into flour and that he himself had brought earlier – and stores them properly." When he finally "comes back exhausted, sick, and diseased. Like a sick old dog with his head resting on a heap of animal dung, the peasant passes his last torturous and agonizing days below the fence of the lord's compound. When at last he dies, the lord's house-hold servant carry out the body on a stick and after a few scratchy digs, they 'bury' him in a ditch." And his donkey "No problem, somebody has helped himself to it as the peasant lay dying below the fence." When a lady living nearby asks a lady of the lord's household: "Sister, I saw a dead body leaving your household for burial today. Who could he possibly be?" her reply was "Do not mind him Sister" . . . He was not human born; he was only a *gebbar*."

The other method for exploiting the conquered territories was implemented through the imperial institution of land grants. As Michael Ståhl (1974: 63) states, after the restoration of "Imperial rule in 1941 Haile Selassie activated the age-old Ethiopian policy of granting land to politically important individuals and groups. Haile Selassie rendered new features to the grants. Earlier merely temporary rights had been granted to exact tribute from the produce of the peasants, but now the Emperor started giving freehold status to the grants." Haile Selassie gave the rationale for granting land in the following words: "The purpose in granting you

land, besides increment in pay, is to enable you to have a lasting capital which can also be inherited by your children” (Ståhl 1974: 67). Imperial Orders were proclaimed numerous times with the underlying purpose “to strengthen the loyalty of these important groups to the grantor and to prevent smouldering discontent from bursting into flames. . . . The Government used its theoretical claim of over lordship over all land as an instrument for transferring vast amounts of land from peasant and pastoral communities into private hands. The individuals who received land belonged primarily to groups which the Emperor had to remunerate, lest they should challenge his political supremacy.”

The repercussion of these land grants was to enrich the potential contenders of power by imposing exploitative relations on peasants. “Those who received grants amounting to several gashas of land, in particular the beneficiaries of the Emperor’s Special Grants, were people who already held important positions. They did not take up agriculture themselves but demanded rent from the peasants and pastoralists living on their private property” (ibid. 67).

As Keller (1988: 77) writes “After the war, Haile Selassie began again an attempt to harness the landed classes by introducing measures to increase the state’s jurisdiction over land ownership, land use, and taxation. In March 1942 the Emperor issued his first post war economic reform. He introduced the law relating to the taxation of land according to its quality. . . Resistance to these new regulations was swift and it was most intense in the Amhara-Tigre heartland where communal tenure predominated. Rebellions broke out in Gojjam, Tigre, and Begemder, where tax assessors were violently prevented from assessing the land. By 1944 the Emperor decided to retreat on this issue, but only in those provinces where resistance had been stern. Proclamation No. 70 of 1944 excluded Gojjam, Tigre and Begemder from the rules laid down in the 1942 law.” Markakis (1974: 120) draws a similar conclusion concerning “Northern Shoa, where the rist system of land tenure prevails, was taxed at a lower rate than the rest of the provinces.” As Donham (1986: 24) observes by the early twentieth century Abyssinia “contributed very little to Addis Abeba, with the bulk of state revenues coming from the south. In other words, it seems that exactions from northern peasants lightened, just as those from southern peoples were made more heavy.”

While the resources required for maintaining the Ethiopian state was extracted from the Oromo and other subjugated societies, “a high and unrepresentative percentage of senior government employees came from Amhara and Tigrean groups” (Ottaways 1978: 27). The same authors observe that schools were disproportionately located in Shoa and Eritrea favoring the same sectors. The same applies to the provision of medical services.

### **6.3 Redistribution Under the Derg**

One of the potential redistributive measures taken by the Derg was the land reform proclamation of 1975. Even this proclamation that was forced by popular demand, instigated the resistance of Abyssinian communities. As stated by Adrian Wood (1983: 522) “In Begemder and Gojam provinces, noted for their conservatism and strong support of the traditional *rist* land tenure system, there was widespread unrest over the land reform measures. This was encouraged by the anti-government right-wing, Ethiopian Democratic Union, and also by traditional local distrust of government intentions concerning land.”

Land reform ended individual landlordism but was replaced by the colonial state becoming the sole landlord because land became the property of the colonial state. As the result, “The role of government in extracting money, goods, and services from its subject [became] much more evident in the countryside than in the cities. In cash terms, peasants have to pay considerably more than their nominal taxes of twenty birr a year; one study of eight districts in Shoa indicated an average payment of nearly 90 birr” Clapham goes on to list association fees, contributions for various local ‘development’ project such as roads, schools, clinics, offices and public stadium as new mechanisms of extraction. But the resources raised on these pretexts went into funding the bureaucracy, the urban population and the regime’s various wars against the liberation and nothing was expended on the matter benefiting the taxed. Even more onerous was “The compulsory purchase of crops at substantially less than open market prices is another major form of surplus expropriation” (Clapham 1988: 161). This implies that the non-Abyssinian rural societies in the south transfer resources to the Abyssinian dominated urban areas.

Taxation steadily rose under the Derg regime rising “at an average rate of 17 per cent a year in cash terms over the six financial years from 1974-75 to 1979-80” (Clapham 1988: 106). In addition to paying taxes peasants were forced deliver numerous labor services on various pretexts. These included farming for families whose head had been sent to the war front, harvesting crops raised on government owned farms, and building houses for settlers from Abyssinia. In addition, the growing size of the army placed ever increasing burden on peasants. The “burden of maintaining it [the military] was placed directly on the rural

community by requiring peasants' associations to support their own militiamen" (Clapham 1988: 123).

The practice of moving destitute Abyssinians into the country of the Oromos and other conquered societies, that was in place under both Menelik and Haile Selassie, was raised to new heights during the reign of the military government. The famine of 1984 provided the pretext and resources to move millions of Abyssinians into the homeland of the Oromo and other conquered societies. As Holcomb and Ibssa (1990: 368) aptly put it "Since the technical groundwork had already been laid by studies under pilot projects conducted in Haile Selassie's day, and since the bureaucratic apparatus of All-Ethiopian Peasant Association was in place to implement the program on both the sending and receiving ends, all that remained was for the financial needs to be met. The 1984 drought provided an ideal opportunity to arrange for all settlement to be funded by the infusion of cash, food stuffs, and other resources into the government and into the economy in general through the generosity of international humanitarian agencies. . . The Soviet bloc provided most of the transport."

#### **6.4 Redistribution under the TPLF:**

The TPLDF/EPRDF dominated government used governmental and non-governmental institutions in order to enrich Tigray and Tigreans instead of promoting equalization of economic conditions. Immediately after taking over central power in the empire, it started building up Tigray with the financial and other resources forcefully taken from the rest of Ethiopia. For example, electric power generated in central Oromia was immediately channeled to Tigray although the towns and cities adjacent to the dam generating it were denied access. Furthermore, even timber acquired by deforestation of Oromia was loaded on hundreds of trucks and transported to Tigray. Whatever forest remained was torched under the pretext that guerrillas of the OLF were hiding in them. When Oromo students volunteered to put out the forest fires they were arrested and harassed in a number of ways evidencing that the regime harbors ill-will even towards the environment outside Tigray.

The exploitation of mineral resources from Oromia and elsewhere followed the same discriminatory and destructive policy. Gold mined in Oromia became the exclusive preserve of either TPLF members or businessmen allied to them, like the Saudi tycoon, Mohammed Alamudi. The old platinum mine in Oromia also came under the exclusive control of either the TPLF or business men allied to them. The drilling for oil and gas with the use of Chinese expertise in the Somali-inhabited areas of the east triggered the anger of the local community. Insurgents from the local community had to put a stop to the drilling by attacking and capturing the Chinese involved in the exercise.

The collection of taxes and customs duties is also conducted in a manner to favor Tigray and Tigreans. While ordinary peasants in Oromia are heavily taxed in market places, those in

Tigray are not subjected to a similar taxation process. Moreover, government-backed extension of credit and micro-credit is extensively available to Tigrean peasants. Tigrean importers do not pay customs duties whatsoever while their non-Tigrean competitors are duty-bound to do so.

The TPLF/EPRDF maintained the Derg's policy of vesting ownership of land in the government in order to employ it as an instrument of control and self-enrichment. However, under the pretext of leasing land it has been transferring large areas of Oromia and elsewhere to its companies and foreign-owned ones. Such companies are owned by Indians, Saudis, Pakistan, Djibouti, etc. Foreign individuals also lease land in Oromia on favorable terms. These include the former president of Nigeria, Obasanjo, and the president of Djibouti, Ismael Umar Gelle. These land allocations resulted in the eviction of thousands of Oromo peasants from their ancestral land. On the other hand, none of this has happened in Tigray.

Land in the capital and surrounding areas are grabbed by Tigrean officials and military officers by evicting the local Oromos. By systematically evicting Oromos from their ancestral land in the vicinity of the capital a deliberate policy of changing the demography of the locality is being implemented. This has of late been elaborated in the "10<sup>th</sup> Addis Ababa Integrated Development Plan." According to this plan, even more and more Oromos will be evicted from areas up to 200 kilometer surrounding the capital. The Oromo people from West to East and from North and South rose up protest against this reduction of Oromia. As I am writing these protests are ongoing and many have been killed, wounded and jailed.

The overall implications of these policies are to impoverish the Oromos instead of promoting economic equalization or other aspects of redistribution.

The exploitation of foreign aid similarly contributes to the economic and political dominance of TPLF. Reports about the misuse of food aid and development assistance for political purposes abound. According to Ireland Online (07/02/2006), the Irish government provided assistance to tune of €35 million to Ethiopia in 2005. The misuse of this fund became an issue of controversy among Irish politicians. Fine Gael's foreign affairs spokesman Bernard Allen said "We are propping up what is obviously a corrupt regime." Human Rights Watch report of 2010 confirms the same point as evidenced by the controversy that erupted between its deputy executive director, Jan Egeland, and the UK's International Development Secretary, Andrew Mitchell, on September 29, 2011. The Human Rights report document extensive misuse of foreign aid for political purposes by the TPLF/EPRDF. The International Development Secretary appeared on News night TV program claiming that British aid is free from such manipulation because of its investigation. However, Egeland differed by writing an open letter in which he stated that "a proper investigation capable of drawing conclusions about the nature of abuses by the Ethiopian government would need to be conducted at the

field level, and our understanding is no such investigation has been undertaken” (New Statesman).

According to Rona Peligal, the Africa Director at Human Rights Watch, “The Ethiopian government is routinely using access to aid as a weapon to control people and crush dissent. If you do not play the ruling party’s game, you get shut out. Yet, foreign donors are rewarding this behavior with ever-larger sums of development aid.” She goes on to state “Local officials routinely deny government support to opposition supporters and civil society activists, including rural residents in desperate need of food aid. Foreign aid-funded ‘capacity-building’ programs to improve skills that would aid the country’s development are used by the government to indoctrinate school children in party ideology, intimidate teachers, and purge the civil service of people with independent political views. Political repression was particularly pronounced during the period leading up to parliamentary elections in May 2010, in which the ruling party won 99.6 percent of the seats” (Human Rights Watch Report of October 19, 2010, p. 1).

“Donor aid is also helping the government to spy on its citizens and even turn family members against each other, ....” For any five family members, one will be reporting to the police. Your brother or your sister or your mother””( The Guardian 2014 oct 22:8).

Ben Rawlence, Human Rights Watch researcher, in a BBC interview stated how a six months long research covering 53 villages in 26 districts in three regions in which 200 were interviewed reached the conclusion “We found systematic discrimination from one end of the country to another against people who were members of the opposition party or people who disagreed with the regime.” His investigation uncovered that “villagers, who are often subsistence farmers, were rejected for micro-credit loans, seeds, fertiliser, food aid, housing even they were a member of an opposition party.” In addition, “University places are conditional on ruling party membership, promotion in the civil service – if you are a teacher or a nurse or a bureaucrat in a government ministry – all of these things are conditional on loyalty. People are being asked to dissociate themselves from political parties – rescind comments they’ve made and write out letters of regret – in order to obtain food aid.”

Human Rights reports cites a kebele official stating “You are voting for the opposition? Alright, ask your party to give you land. The constitution says the state owns the rural land. We don’t give land to those who are not loyal to us” (Human Rights Watch Report 2010, p. 17).

The TPLF used even the pretext of privatizing previously government owned businesses in order to enrich itself and other Tigreans. According Pausewang et al (2002: 231) “the ruling party and its affiliates have bought most of the enterprises, directly or through individual



members, as shown in the detailed study by Günther Shcröder (1996 – 2001).” These were all Tigrean-owned companies. The list of these companies is enclosed.

### **Full List of TPLF Companies Under EFFORT**

#### **Companies with investment capital of < 20,000,000 Million Ethiopian Birr**

<b>Company Name</b>	<b>Year Est.(EC)</b>	<b>Capital</b>	<b>HQ</b>	<b>Board Chairman</b>
Selam Transport	1995	10,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Arkebe Ekubay
Segel Construction	1995	10,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Araya Zerihun
Mega Net Corp	1995	10,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Alemseged Gebreamlak
Hitech Park Axion Association	1995	10,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Shimelis Kinde
Fana Democracy plc	1995	6,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Negash Sahle
Express Transit	1995	10,000,000 Birr	Mekele	G/selassie Gidey
Ethio Rental Axion Association	1995	10,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Atkilit Kiros
Dilate Brewery	1995	15,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Kahsay TewoldeTedla
Dessalegn Caterinary	1995	15,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Dr, Maru Erdaw
Addis Consultancy House	1995	10,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Sibhat Nega
Birhane Building Construction	1995	10,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Bereket Mazengiya
<b>Total Capital</b>		<b>116, 000,000 birr</b>		

#### **Companies with investment capital between 20-49 Million Ethiopian Birr**

<b>Company Name</b>	<b>Year Est (EC)</b>	<b>Capital</b>	<b>HQ</b>	<b>Board Chairman</b>
Sheba Tannery Factory Axion Assoc.	1995	40,000,000 Birr	Wukro	Abadi Zemu
Meskerem Investment	1995	40,000,000 Birr	Axum	Tewodros Ayes Tesfaye
Africa Insurance Axion Association	1995	30,000,000 Birr	A.Ababa	Yohannes Ekubay
Global Auto Sparepart	1995	26,000,000 Birr	A.Ababa	Teklebirhan Habtu
Experience Ethiopia Travel	1995	26,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Tony Hiki
Addis Engineering	1995	25,000,000 Birr	A.Ababa	Arkebe Ekubay

Consultancy				
Hiwot Agriculture Mechanization	1995	25,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Yohannes Kidane
Berhe Chemical Axion	1995	25,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Abadi Zemu
Rahwa Yebegina Fiyel Export	1995	25,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Yassin Abdurahman
Star Pharmaceuticals	1995	25,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Arkebe Ekubay
Tesfa Livestock	1995	20,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Yohannes Kidane
<b>Total Capital</b>		<b>307,000,000 Birr</b>		

**Companies with a paid-up capital of >50.000.000 Million Ethiopian Birr**

Company Name	Year Est.(EC)	Capital	HQ	Board Chairman
Almedan Garment Factory	1995	660,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Abadi Zemu
Mesfin Industrial Company	1995	500,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Arkebe Ekubay
Mesob Cement Factory	1995	240,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Abadi Zemu
Almeda Textile Factory	1995	180,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Abadi Zemu
Sur Construction	1995	150,000,000 Birr	A.Ababa	Arkebe Ekubay
Trans Ethiopia	1995	100,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Shimelis Kinde
Dedebit Saving & Loan	1995	60,000,000 Birr	Mekele	Atkilit Kiros
Ezana Mining Development	1995	55,000,000 Birr	A.Ababa	Tewodros H. Berhe
Addis Pharmaceuticals Production	1995	53,000,000 Birr	A.Ababa	Abadi Zemu
Tana Trading House Axion Association	1995	50,000,000 Birr	A.Ababa	Sibhat Nega
<b>Total Capital</b>		<b>1,868,000,000 Birr</b>		

**Companies that did not make their paid-up capital public**

Ambassel Commerce	Dinsho Share Company	Tigrai Tagai Association	Brook Chemical Share Company
Dashen Beer Factory	Express Ethio Travel Service	Tigrai Development PLC	Computer Networking Technology
Amhara Meleso MaquaQuam	Berhan Building Construction	Star Pharmaceutical Importers	National Electromechanical
Saba Emnebered	Guna Trade Services	Biftu Dinsho	Oromia Credit Bank
Adwa Flour Factory	Wendo Trading	Shala Advertisement	National Geo-Textile
Trans Ethiopia	Tikal Agri Tigrai	Wegagen Bank	Alage Forest Products
Sebhat Nega PLC	Addis Transport	Walta Industry	Martha poultry
Dima Honey	Zeleke Agricultural	Tikur Abbay Transport	Beruk Tesfa Plastic Factory

Processing plant	Mechanization PLC		
Aberdele Animal Export Company	Maichew Particle Board		

These 66 companies are owned and managed by ethnic Tigreans

*\*Some Board Chairmen might have moved within the parastatals*

*\*The amount shown on the tables above are initial start up capitals. The total networth of the parastatals has quadrupled.*

*Ethiopian Times of July 30, 2012*

### **6.5 Summary:**

Menelik's motivation for conquering the societies to the east, south and west of his kingdom was simply to exploit their human and material resources. In the initial phase of his interaction with the concerned communities, his primary task was capturing as many individuals as possible for slavery at home and for export. The captured slaves also served as beasts of burden to carry the ivory and other commodities for export.

Menelik regularized his system of colonization by stationing his soldiers drawn from the Abyssinian societies in the conquered areas. These settler-colonialists (gun holders ) were not paid any salary but were allocated *gabar* to serve them in all manners. So two interrelated process of redistribution (only one way ) was put in place by Menelik: (1) Poor armed Abyssinians were transferred from their home areas into the conquered territories and became masters of the conquered living off their labour, land and all needs for sustenance. (2) Direct transfer of resources from the conquered areas to Abyssinia also accompanied this process redistribution. In essence, the only redistribution that took place under Menelik was robbing the conquered in order to enrich the conqueror both at home and in the new settlement locations.

Haile Selassie inherited Menelik's policy of sustaining the Ethiopia Empire on the labor and resources of the conquered societies. He only intensified Menelik's policy by transferring more and more settlers from Abyssinia who became landlords in the Oromo country and that of other conquered peoples. The Orthodox Church, as a major beneficiary of imperial land grants, became one of the most important landlords in the homelands of Oromos and other societies. Haile Selassie introduced taxation but applied it differentially by exacting more from the Oromo and other conquered peoples than from the Abyssinians. Even foreign aid intended to contribute to economic development was abused in order to enrich the neftegna settlers and the empire. The modern economic sector, mining, commercial agriculture and coffee export, were all turned against the benefit of the Oromo and other peoples. In general, the economic backbone of the empire was extracted from the Oromo and other conquered societies. In essence, the only redistribution that took place under Haile Selassie's long reign was extracting resources and labor from the Oromo and other victims of oppression to benefit Abyssinian soldiery, the Church and the imperial order in general. Nothing was returned to

the Oromo and other conquered societies in terms of services such as schools, hospitals, clinics, road, etc.

Concerning appointed governors Perham says like this: “the governor’s interest would consequently be in extorting all he could from his province as rapidly as possible. ‘They are generally more like robbers than governors’, was the conclusion of one witness. ‘The governors purchase their commissions, or to speak properly their privilege of pillaging the provinces’ concludes another” (Perham 1969:282).

The military regime that came to power by toppling Haile Selassie maintained most of the policies regarding transfer of resources from the Oromo country to Abyssinia and transferring Abyssinian to the Oromo country practiced by his predecessors. What it did differently was to intensify these transfers even more. Taxation took various forms and were raised to new heights. The practice of demanding the service of peasants was similarly diversified and intensifies. Redistribution, hence, involved exploiting Oromo labor and resources without any effort to provide services of any kind.

The TPLF’s policy of favoring its constituency was even more glaring than its predecessors approach to favor the Abyssinians in general. State ownership of land was maintained in order to enable the TPLF-dominated government to lease land to its own companies and other investors from home and abroad. The original owners of the leased land were evicted without proper compensation or the availability of alternative employment. The upshot of this policy was raising Oromo destitution to new heights. The TPLF used the pretext of privatizing previously-state owned companies in order to capture strategic positions within the economy. To this end, it set up companies for construction, finance, import-export owned by its officials or others allied to it.

## **Chapter VII**

### **7.1 Conclusion**

Emperor Menelik of Abyssinia declared that he would not be an indifferent spectator as European powers divided up Africa among themselves. Hence, he saw himself as part and parcel of the scramble for Africa. All he needed to demonstrate was effective occupation set down by the Europeans at the Berlin Conference. He managed to create his empire by pitting European powers against each other, tapping their advisors, mercineries, technicians and arsenals. He posed himself as the restorer of Biblical Ethiopia allegedly extending as far north as Khartoum and as far south as Lake Nyasa (Malawi). He waged a war of attrition against the Oromo people reducing its population by a half through massacres and slave trade. He moved hundreds of thousand armed Abyssinians to the conquered areas and settled them in strategic location with primary purpose of exploiting the surrounding areas. In order to implement this he instituted the nefteгна-gabar, Abyssinian unique feudal system.

Therefore, Menelik never dreamt to build a viable national state after concluding his brutal war of conquest and pillage.

Haile Selassie's primary agenda was maintaining the imperial system he inherited by instituting centralization. As the epitome center of the center, he was obsessive in centralizing all power unto himself. And the burden of maintaining this centralized order fell disproportionately on the Oromo and other conquered peoples. He pursued centralization without paying any attention to political development. As centralization gathered momentum, even sectors of Abyssinia repeatedly rose against his rule. The peoples of the periphery of the periphery, Oromos, Somalis, Sidamas, Eritreans, etc. never gave up their quest for freedom. This demonstrates that instead of engaging in bargaining that would have created a viable national state, he obstinately resorted to naked force. In this he tapped support of foreign powers with regards to favourable treaties, expertise, and provision of weapons. His reign was permanently characterized by exploitation, subordination, and alienation, which stiffened the resistance of its victims.

The military junta exploited the revolutionary sentiment that brought down the imperial order for the single purpose of achieving even greater centralization by adopting the totalitarian system similar to what then prevailed in the Soviet bloc. The nationalization of land instead of implementing the popular "Land to the Tiller" slogan constituted the key feature of this abuse. Hence, the military regime adopted some changes in order to sustain the empire characterizing its reign with both change and continuity (Ethiopia Tikdem, Ethiopia First). The military regime came to power at a time when the struggles of oppressed peoples for their rights were entering a more coherent phase. Instead of trying to bargain with the struggling sectors of society he raised the size of the armed forces to unprecedented levels hoping to forcefully containing the aspiration of the concerned peoples. Even the windfall of armaments from the Soviet bloc failed to quash these struggles culminating in the defeat of the regime. The end of the military regime occasioned Eritrean independence and the take over of the rest of the empire by the TPLF. What happened at this historical juncture is a testimony to the failure of Abyssinian Amhara state formation and national state-building project.

The TPLF took over an empire that was reduced in size after the separation of Eritrea. It also instituted some changes, like adopting a 'constitution', restructuring the empire as a 'federation', as a new policy to preserve the empire under its hegemony and benefit. The populations that came to rule were treated like hostages and exploited mercilessly through an apparently democratic, legal and liberal order. It does not uphold even its own 'constitution' and does not hesitate to pass restrictive laws violating the letter and spirit of the constitution. Despite assuming a federal poise, what is practiced is highly centralized and abusive. It monopolized the heights of the economy through its companies, made the officer corps

predominantly members of its constituency and other approaches. Similarly, the security apparatus is monopolized by members of its constituency. In short, it did not attempt any bargaining that would have culminated in the bringing about political development.

Under Emperors Menelik and Haile, no attempt was made to differentiate the private domain of the rulers from that of the state. The practice of both Emperors attests to their conviction that they are the state just like Louis XIV. The same failure to differentiate the domain of the rulers from that of the state persisted during the era of the military junta. The TPLF/EPRDF regime similarly merged the private party structure with that of the state. In the words of Markakis (2011: 247) “the party-state merger functions here as well, turning this base unit of administration into an appendage of the ruling party.” All these rulers did everything possible to make the life of the state coterminous with their own. Which meant that they treated any criticism levelled against as treason and running counter to ‘national’ interest. Thus equating their security with that of the state, they harshly treated any perceived or imagined opposition. The conquered peoples, in particular, have and are treated like the property of whoever is in power.

## **7.2 Challenges Facing the Abyssinian Empire State**

Four phases of Rokkan’s theory have been used to evaluate the extent to which state formation and national state building has progressed or not progressed in Ethiopia since it took its present form in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Bendix’s concept of nation-building as summarized by Østerud has been referred to make this assessment. The functional critique of Habermas as summarized by Dietrich has also been used as a background for conducting this evaluation. The result of this evaluation is the fact that the Empire is maintained strictly by force since the necessary political developments have not occurred. The Empire was birthed by naked force by Amhara Emperor Menelik and force has remained as its only sustainer. The key role of force in keeping the Empire alive was maintained under all the Amhara successors of Menelik. Even the Tigrean TPLF regime continued its predecessors’ reliance on force to maintain the Empire.

The currently ruling TPLF regime structured the Empire as an ethnically-based ‘federation’ while in practice it is being as a unitary authoritarian state. Whatever rights of self-self the various ethnic groups are supposed granted by the TPLF’s ‘constitution’ was more than withdrawn by the central control of the single ruling party. Hence, neither group rights nor individual liberties are upheld by the present rulers.

The Amhara opposition groups are organized as ‘Ethiopian’ parties and their number runs into dozens. They all have one agenda in common; that of restoring the unitary rule of the Empire that prevailed until 1991. They promise to uphold individual liberties so long as non-Amharas are willing to forego their collective cultural and language rights. Restoring the



order of the imperial era, instead of creating a viable stability and genuine resolution to the Empire's problems, will only result in more horrendous bloodshed.

The fate of the Empire falls into two categories. Trying to maintain its imperial feature will be resisted by those seeking freedom possibly resulting in its disintegration. Or, if the peoples composing the population of the Empire are afforded a genuine right of self-rule in true federation, there is a chance for a viable stability. The contradictory nature of the present fake federation is fraught with many dangers and is ultimately not sustainable.

### **7.3 Theoretical Perspective of this Task**

Finally, to what extent is Stein Rokkan's model applicable to analyze the Abyssinian/Ethiopian state formation and national state building? My answer is that it is applicable. Rokkan's model focuses on the central process of Ethiopian state formation and national state building. All of Rokkan's four phases of political development should continually apply to Ethiopia. The reason I say this is because the forceful penetration for territorial control of phase I has been concluded. In achieving this first phase, Menelik relied on the weapons, technicians, advisers and mercenaries from abroad. This reliance on foreign assistance to maintain Ethiopia continues to date. Once phase I has been achieved, one should expect the subsequent three phases to automatically follow. Unfortunately, this did not happen in the Ethiopian experience to date. Østerud's summary of Bendix's concept has equally shown that political development did not occur in Ethiopia. Similarly, summary of a critique of functionalist reason of Habermas by Dietrich shows that the required development did not take place.

Rokkan questions if his model applies to African state that because of cumulation of critical challenges that they face in a short period of time. I argue that this exception does not apply to Abyssinia/Ethiopia because its rulers claim statehood lasting at least three thousand years. This is even longer than the time that Rokkan states it took European countries to go through the four phases. Clapham (2000: 5) argues that the Abyssinian "experience of continuous warfare at most only partially replicated the state-consolidating processes that it had promoted in Europe. . . Most warfare was in essence cyclical rather than developmental. . . and ideologically, from mid-sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, it did not foster the growth of any 'national' sentiment." Abyssinia that did not share a 'national' sentiment itself expanded by sheer military means under Menelik more than a century ago and hence there has ample time for political development. This is what makes Rokkan's model relevant to analyse state formation and national state building in Abyssinia/Ethiopia.

## Maps Inserts

1. Ancient map of Africa indicating the location of Nubia, Upper Ethiopia, Abyssinia, Lower Ethiopia and Galla (Oromo country), p.4
2. Location of Abyssinia and its forceful expansion under Menelik, p.31
3. Location of Abyssinia and the conquered territories, p.32
4. Location of Oromia, p.58
5. Administrative Regions of Ethiopia until 1987, p.78
6. Administrative Division of Ethiopia after 1994, p.94

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