



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPT OF
COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT IN THE BOOKS
“JAPAN ENDEMIN SELETENECH” AND “MENGISTINA YEHIZIB
ASTEDADER”

BY
DANIEL ZEWDU

ADDIS ABABA
June 2011

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPT OF
COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT IN THE BOOKS
“JAPAN ENDEMIN SELETENECH” AND “MENGISTINA YEHIZIB
ASTEDADER”

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE
STUDIES OF ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTERS OF ARTS IN JOURNALISM AND
COMMUNICATIONS

BY
DANIEL ZEWDU

June 2011

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPT OF
COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT IN THE BOOKS “JAPAN
ENDEMIN SELETENECH” AND “MENGISTINA YEHIZIB ASTEDADER”

BY:
DANIEL ZEWDU

Approved by the Examining Board

Chair Person, Department Graduate Committee

Signature

Advisor

Signature

Examiner

Signature

Acknowledgements

Best of all be glory to my Redeemer for helping me make my dream come true. My earnest gratitude goes to Dr. Negeri Lencho for making constructive comments on my work. I would also like to thank my mother Amsale Retta for making all the sacrifice it takes a selfless mother to see her son's success.

Abstract

The term “Ethiopia” has come to connote starvation and poverty for decades now. It is not because the country is unsuitable for agriculture; however its name invariably raises whenever the international media raise issues related to famine, starvation and drought. Strangely enough, however, before Ethiopia became one of the foremost food aid receiving countries in the world, some Ethiopian scholars had foreseen their country’s doom and had warned that it would have occurred. The intellectuals had been highly concerned about their country’s future and had penned that the problems they had observed should have been dealt with right away: they had not only pointed out the problems elaborately but also had suggested in their own ways the corresponding measures to be taken.

This study also analyzed the concepts of development communication discussed in the books entitled “Mengistina Yehizib Astedader” (1916E.C/1924G.C) and “Japan Endemin Seletenech?” (1946 E.C / 1954G.C) which were authored by two of these Ethiopian intellectuals namely Kebede Mikael and Gebrehiwet Baykedagne. It examined economic, political and cultural aspects of the society the authors commend, criticize and predict upon and identified the effects they brought upon the government. This study was conducted through textual analysis method. Different concepts of development communication the authors raise are dealt with comparatively through point by point method of organization, and sense for sense method of translation is used to translate Amharic texts into English.

The findings of this research indicated that Kebede Mikael and Gebrehiwet Baykedagne’s concepts of development communication cannot be ultimately classed under any of internationally recognized paradigms of development communication though they are slightly similar with Modernization and dependency paradigms respectively. Recommendations made in the two books for the most part went unheeded. Even though those few heeded ideas brought about significant changes, those ignored recommendations like, land reform brought the government down and ruined the country.

Table of Contents

Content	Page
Chapter – 1	
1. Background.....	9
1.1 Statement of the Problem.....	11
1.2 Objectives.....	12
1.3 Research Questions.....	13
1.4 Scope of the study.....	13
Chapter – 2	
2. Review of Related Literature.....	14
2.1 What is Development Communication?	14
2.2 Development Communication Paradigms.....	17
2.2.1 Modernization Paradigm.....	18
2.2.2 Dependency Paradigm.....	20
2.2.3 Participatory Paradigm.....	21
2.3 Historical Overview of Modernization in Ethiopia from 18 55 to 19 74.....	22
2.3.1 The kings and their Readiness to Modernize the State.....	23
2.3.1.1 Emperor Tewodros.....	24
2.3.1.2 Emperor Yohannes.....	26
2.3.1.3 Emperor Menelik II.....	26
2.3.1.4 Lij Iyasu.....	37
2.3.1.5 Emperor Hailesellassie	38
2.3.2 The Role of the Church in Establishing the Mindset of the Public and Influencing the Administration.....	41

2.4 Modernity as Discussed by the Intelligentsia, and its Effects on the Society and the Monarchs.....	44
2.4.1 The intellectuals and their justifications to urge the administration to make changes.....	45
2.4.1.1 Avoidance of Slavery.....	45
2.4.1.2 Freedom of Religion and Separation of State and Religion.....	46
2.4.1.3 Increasing the Number of schools and Spread of Quality Education.....	47
2.4.1.4 Avoiding the long standing tradition of the nobilities' having their own army.....	48
2.4.1.5 Establishment of constitutional government.....	48
2.4.1.6 Social Justice, Avoidance of Holding the Minorities in Contempt and Avoiding Monopoly of National Wealth.....	49
2.4.1.7 Intellectuals' attitude towards their country and the people.....	50
2.4.1.8 Intellectuals who supported the idea of colonization and/or showed tendency to it.....	50
Chapter - 3	
3. Methodology.....	52
Chapter – 4	
4. Data Presentation and Analysis.....	54
4.1 Modernization.....	55
4.2. Similarities between Japanese and Ethiopian Histories as discussed by the author.....	57
4.2.1 What makes Japanese model of development the best example for Ethiopians to follow?	58
4.3 Factors both authors attribute for the country's poverty	59

4.4 Social, Political and Economic issues the authors	
analyzed in their own ways.....	62
4.4.1 Feudalism.....	62
4.4.2 Population Growth	65
4.4.3 Domestic and International Trade.....	66
4.4.3.1 Tax.....	68
4.4.3.2 Kella/Toll posts.....	69
4.4.3.3 Price.....	70
4.4.3 .4 Exchange.....	71
4.4.4 Nationalism.....	73
4.4.5 Independence.....	74
4.4.6 Foreigners.....	76
4.4.7 Prediction.....	78
4.4.8 Monopoly of Land.....	79
4.5 The Methods of Presentation	
of Concepts the Authors use.....	80
4.6 Fulfilled and unfulfilled Recommendations	83
4.6.1 Gebrehiwet Baykedagne’s heeded and unheeded	
Recommendations and the effects they brought	
on the Administration.....	83
4.6.2 Kebede Mikael’s fulfilled Recommendations.....	84
4.7 What do other scholars say about the concepts of communication for	
development the two authors raised?.....	86
4.8 Are the concepts of development communication the two authors raise related to	
internationally recognized Paradigms of Development?	87
Chapter 5	
Conclusion.....	91
Bibliography	
Appendices	

Chapter - 1

Background

Development should be the goal of any government, democratic or authoritarian, which claims to represent the community. If an administrative body in a country is to earn public trust, it should prove that it is serving the cause of the public. Since its unification as a modern state in 1855 by emperor Tewodros, who is widely believed to be the founder of modern Ethiopia (Adejumobi 2007). In Ethiopia there have come to power different leaders who claimed to be rightful rulers in human and/or divine standards. They unified the different nations under their leadership and then undertook development activities though the activities were said to be slow and not-so significant for an independent nation (Bahru 2002).

Though the main purpose of this study, as the title signifies, is comparatively exploring the development communication concepts propagated through the two books, along the way it also touches upon the efforts the kings exerted to bring in modernity as part of their craving to build the state and to strengthen their hold on power.

This research focuses on the time when development communication was started by means of communication media mostly books during the reigns of Menelik II and Haileselassie I. Accordingly, in this study Emperor Menelik's and Emperor Haileselassie's reigns are classified into old and modern monarchies in Ethiopia. The degree of modern activities the two kings had undertaken is the basis of this classification as opposed to the outward meaning that Haileselassie was open to modern system of administration while Menelik was not. Though Menelik II was highly interested in modernization and is believed to have kept the country open to modern services and new ideas, the activities carried out during the

Haileselassie regime were relatively wider than that of Menelik's (Bahru 2002) . In other words both governments seemed to have one thing in common – a claim to be zealous to attain development.

During the reigns of Menilik II, Lij Eyasu and Hailesilassie I, foreign educated Ethiopians who were impressed with European modernization, had been trying to promote some development concepts to be applicable in Ethiopia. The scholars were apparently dissatisfied with the administration of the monarchs and the primitive life style of the society (Bahru 2002). The books the writer is proposing to compare and analyze are also written by the two of these foreign-educated scholars - Kebede Mikael and Gebrehiwet Baykedagne.

The one entitled “Japan Endemin Seletenech” (1946 E.C/1954G.C) was written by the Ethiopian poet and author Kebede Mikael. It deals with the ways Japan achieved development. This book gives recommendations as to how Ethiopians should follow Japan's example. It defines development as, a result of genuine effort the public and the government exert with one accord to bring about progress in every aspect of the people's lives. (Kebede 1946E.C/1954G.C).

The other one “Mengistina Yehizib Astedader” (1916 E.C/1924 G.C) was written by a young scholar named G/Hiwet Baykedagn. In this book's preface the author explains the concern of his book as , “ የህዝብ ስስተዳደር ትምህርት ሲባል ህዝቦች የሚ ሰሙ በትንኝ የሚጠፋበትን መንገድ የሚያሳድ ትምህርት ነው። ” “ A lesson about public administration means a guideline that points out the ways people become subject to progress or regress.” (ibid 1916 E.C /1924 G.C: 12).

In spite of promoting development as a common goal, the two authors have crucial differences in their presentation of methods to be followed to bring about development.

The two books have been selected for research for the following reason: even though the books were written during the feudal era, the researcher would like to reflect the fact that

they may have different invaluable concepts applicable to this day, and the development concepts they spark can be helpful if well researched and put in to practice ; therefore, the researcher deems it necessary to compare and analyze the different concepts of development communicated through these books and to identify the most important concepts pertinent to the lifestyle of the modern society.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

In Ethiopia during the feudal era, news papers and books were the prominent media (Bahru 2002). During the reigns of Menelik and Hailessilassie, there were books and two newspapers namely Aemiro and Berhanena Selam. The newspapers had not managed to serve the public objectively. They were said to have run adulatory stories concerning government officials though the intelligentsia also tried to make good use of them on their part (Ibid 2002). However, among the books were some like “Japan Endemin Seletenech” and “Mengistina Yehizib Astedader” which touched upon economic, political, social and cultural aspects and drew attention to what the authors stated as the preventable causes of poverty and poor administration.

Whether in the form of realistic fiction like “Fikir Eske Mekabir” or through non fiction like “Mengistina Yehizib Astedader”, writers can positively influence their societies by raising sensitive and burning issues in their books and ignite the passion for change. Molvaer (1997) observes the role of literature in the society as, “Good literature reflects the life and spirit of the people .Writers hold a mirror up to their society. A society finds its expression through its authors, and in this way it is the co-author of literary works.”(Ibid 1997:n.p).

The feudal kings and lords were blamed by most of the intelligentsia of the time for keeping the country impoverished and backward. Some other intellectuals and Europeans also put the blame on the people whom they call conservative, primitive and lacking in work ethics. The sampled books also deal with what they call the root causes of lack of modernization in

Ethiopia. Since during the period the books were written literacy was very low in Ethiopia, the purpose of the writings of most of the Ethiopian intellectuals was not reaching the majority of the people, but those who were in power, and who could bring change had they been well informed about modern administration (Bahru 2002).

This research is meant to study how the two books discuss the features of development communication; to what extent the issues addressed are objective, constructive and enlightening, and what lessons they have for the modern generation.

1.2 Objectives

General Objective

- ✚ To explore the theories and concepts of modernization raised in the two books and find out if they brought about positive/negative effects on the administration system

Specific Objectives

- ✚ To assess possible reasons the authors attribute for the country's poverty and underdevelopment, and if the supposed hindrances were truly the basic causes for the said regression
- ✚ To point out and analyze development communication approaches recommended in the two books and explore other scholars' works which justify or disprove them
- ✚ To point out similarities between Ethiopia and Japan which might have made Kebede Mikael believe Japanese way of development was more applicable in Ethiopia than that of the westerners
- ✚ To identify if there were basic and apparent causes of poverty other than those explored in the books

- ✚ To evaluate to what degree the writings of the two scholars were constructive and objective
- ✚ To explore if there are any predictions made in the two books which were fulfilled during the administrative systems after the fall of the imperial regime in Ethiopia
- ✚ To bring forward unsolved problems explored in the books that are still considered by some scholars to be passed down to this generation and to reassess the recommendations made by the scholars as to how to alleviate them

1.3 Research Questions

- ✚ Were the concepts of communication for development raised by Kebede and Gebrehiwet applicable in Ethiopia which was administered by a monarch?
- ✚ Did these concepts of communication for development go in line with the economic and political policies formulated by the monarchy?
- ✚ Were there problems the authors overlooked and ended up drawing wrong conclusions?
- ✚ Were the development communication approaches addressed by the scholars related to any internationally recognized development theory?

1.4 Scope of the study

This study was conducted through textual analysis: different concepts of development communication raised in the two books are comparatively analyzed and at times, when found indispensable, some articles from other books deemed highly related to the study at hand are used to support it. Various articles are selected from both books for analysis as representative samples though the study did not necessarily include all pages of the two books in the interest of avoiding unnecessary repetition.

Chapter 2

2. Review of Related Literature

2.1 What is Development Communication?

For thousands of years human beings have been struggling to have dominion over the world and competing with one another to make a name for themselves. They have been divided into different nations on the basis of their color, culture, language and geographical location. To prove their supremacy over their fellow human beings, nations had waged wars, and after horrifying bloodsheds the winners had subjugated as well as looked down on the conquered nations and exploited their natural resources. However, as time has gone by, human beings have got less inhumane. The spread of knowledge and industrialization, along with the struggle of the subjugated nations, minimized the moral degradation of the underdeveloped people by freeing them from servitude; Encyclopaedia Britannica (2010), defines the role of industrialization as

....the changes that took place in Britain during the industrial revolution of the late 18th and 19th centuries provided a prototype for the early industrializing nations of Western Europe and North America. Along with its technological components (e.g., the mechanization of labor and the reliance upon inanimate sources of energy), the process of industrialization entailed profound social developments. The freeing of the laborer from feudal and customary obligations created a free market in labor, with a pivotal role for a specific social type, the entrepreneur. Cities drew large numbers of people off the land, massing workers in the new industrial towns and factories (Ibid 2010).

When human beings advanced in knowledge, they shifted from subjugating fellow human beings forcefully to outshining them industrially and neocolonizing them economically. However, in the mean time, the industrialized nations made it their business to watch over

the economic, political and social life of the third world people and to be involved in humanitarian activities. They also started claiming that they are out for helping poor countries to be economically self-reliant. This resulted in the coinage of the term “Development Communication”:

The term "Development Communication" was first coined in 1972 by Nora C. Quebral, who defines the field as “the art and science of human communication linked to a society's planned transformation from a state of poverty to one of dynamic socio-economic growth that makes for greater equity and the larger unfolding of individual potential (“Development Communication,”2011, para.1).

Weisbord (n.d:1) briefly defines it as “the application of communication strategies and Principles in the developing world.” At the time the theory was originated, Countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America compared to westerners were backward. Therefore, the developed countries initiated an international aid program which aimed at helping the third world countries to alleviate their economic, social and political problems and catch up with the developed world. Apart from economic support, for an immediate effect, they found it necessary to bring behavioral change through the means of communication media. They concluded that economic assistance solely can not avoid the problem ultimately (Ibid n.d).

However, the recently emerging concepts of modernization are supportive of culture as opposed to the earlier ones which endorsed the imposition of western culture upon developing nations as the ultimate solution. Jan Servaes quotes what Jan Pronk, Dutch Minister of Development Cooperation, said in retrospect about the erroneousness of westerners’ stand towards modernizing developing nations:

We thought that we finally properly understood the role of culture in the development of our societies. We had been mistaken about that role when we began to produce theories about development in an effort to steer the process of development in a harmonious way. We learned that culture was neither irrelevant to

development nor an impediment to it. We also learnt that culture was neither sacred nor conservative, that development would not destroy culture but itself be affected by and adapted to the cultural context in a society. We learnt it the hard way, after making many mistakes, sometimes with consequences opposite to those which we originally had in mind. However, 40 years after the launch of the first development plan-Point Four, in 1949-we knew better. Point Four was basically a program of top-down, technical assistance, provided by a supposedly superior culture to backward, underdeveloped societies. But gradually we came to understand the mutually enriching relationship between culture and development, accepting culture as the heart beat of development and discovering development as a process far richer than simply economic growth or technological progress (Servaes 1999: xi).

However, it must be noted that not all scholars agree upon the above noted concept of development communication. Some still hold the earlier stand, and even those who claim to have righted their wrong concepts can not help being influenced by it. As westerners were the originators of industrialization, everything they theorize is one way or the other influenced by their outlook towards modernization which by itself is the result of the culture held by the society they belong to.

Efforts were made to procure definitions representative of global trends. The prominent of them, according to Bahru, was provided in a conference held in the United States in 1960. Attendees of this conference came up with what can be classed as international standards of modernization:

The group of Japanese and American scholars came to the following global-as distinct from exclusively western –attributes of modernization: a relatively large urban population and an increasing urban orientation of society; greater use of inanimate energy; extensive interaction among members of society; widespread literacy attended by secularism and scientific orientation; an extensive and penetrative network of mass communication; bureaucratization of social and political institutions;

and emergence of the nation state and the growth of international relations (Bahru 2002:3).

As a result of the diverse definitions of the term “modernization” which appeared from time to time, it is difficult to set one unanimously approved definition. The definitions given by economists, politicians and anthropologists are all very different; each definition which represents one group of scholars is not found satisfactory by the other (Chilcote 2003).

Bahru in his book “Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia” describes how difficult and not so essential it is to set a single definition:

The popularity of the notion of modernization must be sought not in its clarity and precision as a vehicle of scholarly communication, but rather in its ability to evoke vague and generalized images which serve to summarize all the various transformations of social life attendant upon the rise of industrialization and the nation-state in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century (Bahru 2002:1).

2.2 Development Communication Paradigms

In the effort to procure a single method to eradicate poverty from developing nations, many scholars had come up with what they call “Development theories”. Some scholars do not agree with the very term “theory”. Servaes prefers to call them ‘views’, ‘schools’ or ‘paradigms’ instead of ‘theories’ and argues: “...these paradigms are not theories, for they do not provide explanations, only instructions as to where to go for explanations.” (Servaes 1999:5).

There are three dominant paradigms of development namely, Modernization Paradigm, Dependency Paradigm and Participatory Paradigm. Even though these paradigms came to exist in slow succession and seem to be independent of one another, it is argued that none of

them can stand independently, that each one of them one way or the other is related to the previous one:

Paradigms in the social sciences build on one another rather than break fundamentally with previous theories. As a consequence, many individual thinkers deepen and widen their views in an evolutionary, sometimes dialectic way. Thus it might occur that their earlier work can be viewed as an eloquent evidence of the modernization or dependency theory where as their later publications are more in line with the multiplicity (participatory) paradigm (Ibid 1999:8).

2.2.1 Modernization Paradigm

Modernization paradigm also called “the dominant paradigm” is so highly related to “development communication” that in different books the explanations given to development communication are similar to concepts raised in modernization paradigm. Servaes (1999) observes:

During the late 1940s and 1950s most development thinkers stated that the problem of “under development” or “backwardness” could be solved by a more- or-less mechanical application of the economic and political system in the west to countries in the third world, under the assumption that the difference was one of degree rather than of kind. This mainly economic oriented view, characterized by endogenism and evolutionism, ultimately resulted in the modernization and growth theory (Ibid 1999:5).

According to this theory, the source of poverty and the absence of all indicators of modernization in third world countries are at least partially related to traditionalism which thwarts new thoughts and inventions conservatively. This theory puts media as an effective instrument to do that quickly by reaching the multitude. Proponents of this paradigm argue that creating awareness and bringing social change is the first step third world countries should take to modernize. They directly and indirectly indicate that Westerners’ superiority

is not only economically but also politically, culturally and socially. Therefore, they conclude, when developing countries strive to attain modernization, they should also copy western culture and life style, Waisbord describes it as

...the underlying premise, originated in classic sociological theories, was that there is a necessary fitness between a “modern” culture and economic and political development. The low rate of agricultural output, the high rate of fertility and mortality, or the low rates of literacy found in the underdeveloped world were explained by the persistence of traditional values and attitudes that prevented modernization. The goal was, therefore, to instill modern values and information through the transfer of media technology and the adoption of innovations and culture originated in the developed world. The Western model of development was upheld as the model to be emulated worldwide (Waisbord: n.d:3).

There were also critics of this paradigm who argue that this paradigm falls short in analyzing the causes of poverty from different angles. Mefalopulos (2008:45) observes: “they attacked its predominant, if not exclusive, economic focusé and blamed its proponents for ignoring elements, such as colonization, past exploitation of resources, and, more recently, globalization, all of which greatly affect and limit the individual capacities of countries in the political and economic arena.ò

The failures attributed, directly or indirectly, to modernization caused a rethinking of the theoretical models of reference for communication. As it became increasingly evident that media alone could not change people’s mind-sets and behaviors, theories such as “the hypodermic needle theory” or “the bullet theory,” which overemphasized the power of media over people, lost their relevance. With time, it became progressively more evident that media impact was not as direct and as paramount as commonly believed, and that audiences were not as passive, either, but it did not lose its linear flow from a central source to many (passive) receivers, as indicated by the renowned Berlo’s formula (1960) that illustrated the process of communication as Source-Message-Channel-Receivers, or SMCR (Ibid 2008:46).

2.2.2 Dependency Paradigm

Dependency Paradigm came to exist in Latin America when some scholars strived to fill the gap they thought proponents of modernization paradigm neglected or overlooked. These scholars tried to come up with the most complete theory to explain the causes of poverty of the third world countries. Mefalopulos describes it:

This is another example of a major alternative theoretical framework that is rooted in a political-economy perspective. é A.G. Frank (1969), reflected critically on the assumptions of modernization, which placed full responsibility and blame on developing countries for their conditions of underdevelopment. é He considered development and underdevelopment as two faces of the same coin, shaped by specific historical, economic, and political factors. Hence, neither the causes nor the solutions of underdevelopment should be sought exclusively, or even mostly, within the poorest countries, but within the broader international scenario and forms of exploitation such as the richest countries's colonial past (Ibid 2008:47).

This paradigm as opposed to the modernization paradigm attributes poverty to external factors that were imposed upon the developing nations by their developed counterparts. The proponents of dependency paradigm argue that the developed nations wittingly exploited their superiority in the economic front to make sure that the underdeveloped nations do not make any headway by confining their role to that of 'supplying raw materials and cheap labor to the richer ones, making it impossible for them to ever catch up.'(Ibid 2008:47). Proponents of this paradigm also came up with their own plan to alleviate the problems:

Nationally, developing countries on the periphery were to become economically self-reliant and less dependent on foreign imports. Internationally, they would form alliances among themselves to create a stronger political presence. é . It had a significant impact in the economic and development policies of a number of third World countries, especially in the 1970s and early 1980s, resulting in the adoption of import-substitution policies by many of those countries é This strategy aimed to protect national industries from outside competition by subsidizing them and putting high tariffs on imported products (Ibid 2008: 48).

In spite of the effort of the proponents of the dependency paradigm to give a complete account on the causes of poverty in third world countries, some other scholars came out with their questions and the gaps they claimed the modernization paradigm did not fill and dependency paradigms failed to bridge, and in their turn they devised different views which could not merge to form one paradigm like the previous ones. These scholars criticized the modernization and dependency paradigms for being too economically focused and for not paying enough attention to social and cultural factors. (Ibid 2008: 49).

Even though Modernization and dependency paradigms hold different views concerning the causes of poverty, they also have similarity in their model of communication:

Despite significant differences between modernization and dependency theories, their communication model was basically the same: a one-way Communication flow, with the main difference between the two theories being who was controlling and sending of the message and for what purpose. (Ibid 2008: 50)

2.2.3 Participatory paradigm

After pointing out factors the two paradigms neglected, proponents of the participatory paradigm came up with what they claim a better option. Their aim is not creating a single paradigm which competes with the previous schools, yet calling attention to the shortcomings of the previous schools and offering well thought out principles to alleviate the problems, yet this paradigm never tries to forward one best method to eradicate poverty: According to this paradigm ,“there is no universal path to development. Every society must define development for it self and find its own strategy.”(Servaes 1999:6). As a result, these scholars did not manage to devise a single paradigm like the previous two:

The wide convergence in participatory approaches, nonetheless, has not resulted in a unified paradigm. Rather, it has generated a number of theoretical approaches still seeking a unified and consistent common framework. The following are some of the most renowned: the multiplicity paradigm (Servaes 1991); the empowerment approach (Friedmann 1992); another development (Melkote 1991; Jacobson 1994), derived from the conception of former UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld and further promoted in the Cocoyoc Declaration; the autonomous development (Carmen 1996); and other Conceptions of participatory, people-based development. (Ibid 2008: 51)

What sets apart the participatory paradigm is its model of communication. Unlike Modernization and Dependency paradigms, the participatory paradigm allows two way flow of communication.

Participatory approaches require a shift in the way individuals are considered, from passive recipients to active agents of development efforts. There are a number of reasons for this shift, a major one of which is presented by Ascroft and Masilela (1994: 282), ñIf peasants do not control or share control of the Processes of their own development, there can be no guarantee that it is their best interest that is being served.ò (Ibid 2008: 50).

2.3 Historical Overview of Modernization in Ethiopia from 18 55 to 19 74

In the developing world there were two ways of introducing modernization: the first and the hardest was Japanese way which is all about copying as well as enhancing western modernization plus keeping and developing ones own (Kebede1946 E.C /1954G.C:) . The other is colonialism. The former though commendable, requires a strong leadership; an extended period of peace, and cooperation between the state and the people. Until recently, it was only Japan which followed this path as well as succeeded and held as an example for the rest of the developing nations (Gebrehiwet 19 16 E.C/1924G.C). Unlike the former the latter puts the people under the rule of a foreign state; deprives them of their basic rights, and the modernity the rulers bring about is not meant to build the country but to fulfill their agenda; as a result, though it may be said of it that it slightly brings in modernization, the disadvantages outweigh the advantages.

Almost all of the developing countries fall in the one or the other group. When it comes to Ethiopia neither is true. The country was neither colonized to an extended period so that it could be well exposed to modernization, nor it met the necessary conditions that enabled Japan to attain modernization. This is one of the main reasons Ethiopia could not achieve

development even to the level colonized states managed (Bahru Zewde 2002). There are many possible explanations for this, but one thing is for sure - Ethiopians' aversion of Europeans, or what the Europeans call "Europhobia" is one of the most likely reasons in any case.

The source of "Europhobia" in Ethiopia was a religious controversy that went beyond the expected limit three centuries ago. A religious controversy the Portuguese Catholics caused ,disturbed the delicate balance between Ethiopian politics and religion ; in 16 33 Fasiledes dethroned Susiniyos - the first king to ever dare convert to Catholicism in the country's history - and applied the subsequent close-door policy which lasted even after the death of the king. "...Fasiledes ended a period of contact between his country and Europe, initiating a policy of isolation that lasted for more than two centuries." ("Fasilides" Encyclopedia Britannica 2010).

Concerning Ethiopia's isolation and its inability to bring in modernity on her own, Adejumobi quotes what a British novelist by the name Evelyn Waugh recommends as the only solution:

Abyssinia could not claim recognition on equal terms by the civilized nations and at the same time maintain her barbarous isolation; she must put her natural resources at the disposal of the world; since she was obviously unable to develop them herself, it must be done for her, to their mutual benefit, by a more advanced power (Adejumobi 2007:48).

2.3.1 The kings and their Readiness to Modernize the State

In Ethiopia modernization is a recent phenomenon. It came up in 18 55 with the unification of the divided autonomous states by emperor Tewodros who was considered Ethiopia's first "modern ruler" (Ibid 2007; Encyclopedia Britannica 2010). Before its unification, the country was divided into different regions and autonomous states. Therefore, Tewodros' ambition to

build a strong and modernized Ethiopia and his effort to establish foreign connections to bring his dream to pass is considered the first step in the introduction of the concept of modernization.

After its formation as a modern state in 1855, the country had seen about four crowned and one uncrowned monarchs: Tewodros, Yohannes IV, Minilik II, Lij Iyasu and Hailesilassie I. All of these rulers, save Iyasu, had the same trait of consolidating the state; strengthening their hold on power - by producing and/or purchasing arms, and seeking modernization. However, their tendency to make strengthening their hold on power a priority of priorities resulted in ruthless treatment of the peasants.

2.3.1.1 Emperor Tewodros

There are two possible reasons that might have made Tewodros aware of his country's backwardness and vow to bring reform : "his upbringing in the court of Dejach Kinfu which enabled him to learn basic lessons of Ethiopian government , administration and warfare" as well as his being " an avid reader of ancient and modern European history" (Ibid 2007:29), and the complete defeat his army suffered at the battle of Debark by the well trained and equipped – with - modern artillery Egyptian army (Ibid 2007). Tewodros like other kings before and after him gave precedence to secure his hold on power. That's why producing fire arms was the first thing that crossed his mind when he thought about modernization and as a result established a technical school at Gafat to produce firearms (Bahru 2002).

The transformation he determined to achieve had to be well funded. To make his plan work he made the peasants nationwide provide land for military base and confiscated the church's lands with the justification of minimizing the-more than necessary number of priests and deacons (Marcus 1994). As a result, the church which had been " the most influential force in Ethiopia for sixteen centuries " (Mesay Kebede 2006:6), denounced the king as

illegitimate which made the latter resort to brutal actions to quell a series of revolts which came subsequently:

Unable to secure the allegiance of people and princes, he held Ethiopia together only through warfare. ...He had intended to construct a government based on respect for law and order, but violence founded the order of his law, and he was never able to rule on any other basis. Tewodros found himself the emperor of only that part of Ethiopia through which he and his large army marched, and no amount of pillaging and looting and terrorism seemed to make much of a difference (Marcus 1994:69).

During the reign of Tewodros there were no foreign or locally educated Ethiopians who can understand the king's thirst for reform; promote his ideas and make the public aware of it. Let alone foreign educated intellectuals, there were no wise councilors who would advise the king as to how to keep his government together. Most of his allies were associated with him during his time of banditry; therefore, they could neither understand his reformation concepts nor dare to admonish him when he desperately tried to enforce his agenda with force; the most his soldiers could do was betray him when he needed their council and support the most.

The importance of foreign educated Ethiopians was paramount during the reigns of his descendents, but Tewodros was not fortunate in this respect. Bahru Zewde describes it as, "Part of the frustration of Tewodros in his relations with the British emanated from his failure to get an intermediary who could get his message across accurately to Queen Victoria" (Bahru 2002:185).

Generally, Emperor Tewodros' effort to familiarize the public with modern administration failed. Some of the factors the failure can be attributed to were, the unfamiliarity of the peasants to the new ideas the emperor came up with; his cruel methods of enforcing them; the refusal of the church later on to accept him as a legitimate king let alone to embrace and

promote his modernization plans, and the last straw was, out of frustration and ambition his refusal to free the British citizens he jailed.

2.3.1.2 Emperor Yohannes

Endeavor for modernization before settling domestic strife did not do Tewodros any good. Atse Yohannes had also many more enemies than his descendents; as a result, it wasn't easy for him to achieve Tewodros' dream. His reign was marked with invasions of Egypt, Mahadist Sudan and Italy from abroad, and Menelik of Shoa and Teklehaimanot of Gojjam had to be reckoned with at home (Bredin 2005).

While he was not an autocrat, emperor Yohannes was one of the most intolerant kings in matters of religion. He was determined to keep the country unified and was sure that making the people follow one religion, with whatever means necessary, was the best approach to realize it. Apart from expelling Catholic and Protestant missionaries, he sent for and got four Egyptian bishops into the country. He also adamantly provided the Falashas, Muslims and Pagans with two choices- conversion to Christianity or fleeing the country. Some submitted to his will and converted to Christianity, but others who wouldn't submit to his will left the country to avoid persecution (Tekletsadik 1936 E.C /1944 G.C).

He curtly told the missionaries that what he needed was not them but those who may serve his country as merchants or train his people in crafts like, blacksmiths, carpentry and rug making (Ibid 1983E.C/1991G.C). His description of what his country needed hints upon his desire to bring in modernization had there been peace in the country.

2.3.1.3 Emperor Menelik II

Even though modernization as a concept was said to be introduced by emperor Tewodros, by then the society did not understand the new administration and was not ready to welcome it. Since the end of "the age of princes", it is only after the reign of Menelik and particularly

after the victory of Adwa that the sense of national unity was established in the country, and Ethiopians were exposed to European civilization with the effort of the king and some foreigners as well as the foreign educated Ethiopians helping him as councilors. (Ibid 1983E.C/1991G.C). Therefore, in the reign of Menelik the country was relatively secured, and the attainment of some modernity was realized.

During his reign, there were European advisors who helped the king with his modernization endeavors and foreign connections. Alfred Ilg- the Swiss- whom the king bestowed upon the title of “Bitwadam” was “the most influential of them all.”(Ibid 1983E.C:577). He was an official councilor of the king. Tekletsadiq Mekuria describes Menelik’s overall treatment of foreigners:

ንጉሥ ነገስቱም ለእያንዳንዱ የውጭ አገር አገልጋይ ከሚያደርጉት ሹመት ስጦታና ሽልማት ጋር ልባዊ ወዳጅነት ስለሚያሳዩት የውጭ አገር ዜጎች ኢትዮጵያን እንደአገራቸው ምኒልክን እንደ ራሳቸው መሪ ይመለከቷቸው ነበር። አልፍሬድ ኢልግ በሚጻጻፍበት ደብዳቤ እንደ አንድ ኢትዮጵያዊ ባለስልጣን የራሱ ማህተም ነበረው። ...አሁን ከኢጣልያ ጋር የዕርቅ ድርድር በተጀመረበት ሰአት አልፍሬድ ኢልግ ቀደም ብሎ የሊዎንቴቭ ከተል ብለው ሁለቱም ወደ ሮማ ሄደው የኢጣልያ መንግስት ለኢትዮጵያ ስለሚከፍለው የጦር ኪሳራ መነጋገር ጀምረዋል።

...with all the gifts and the titles he bestowed upon the foreigners, the king used to treat them like friends, and they used to reciprocate his good will by looking upon the country and the king as theirs. Alfred Elg with his discourse in letters with Europeans on behalf of Ethiopia , had his own stamp like any Ethiopian high ranking official...even during the process of reconciliation negotiations on behalf of the country, Alfred Elg and Liontey went to Rome one after another to discuss reparation to Ethiopia (Ibid 1983E.C : 538).

Atse Menelik was cautious about strengthening his hold on power .He wouldn’t take a risk however small that may seem as long as he thought it might incite opposition either from the public or the clergy. Many scholars relate his endeavor to modernization to the victory of Adwa. No doubt he desired European civilization enormously, but he didn’t dare to impose it

against the will of the clerics and the society until after the victory of Adwa which they idolized him for.

Many agree that he was lucky when it comes to winning the favor of the public which his predecessors, Tewodros and Yohannes did not manage to secure. However, some scholars attribute this less to luck than the king's flexibility in handling the public, and the subsequent victory he had in the battle of Adwa. Menelik is said to have learnt a lot from the mistakes of his predecessors: he neither became too ambitious in attaining modernization and made rush decisions - at the expense of his popularity among the public and the clergy - like Tewodros, nor did he become a religious fanatic and tried to unite the people under one religion by force like Yohannes. Tekletsadik Mekuria in his book "Atse Menelik Ena YeEthiopia Andinet" describes it as,

ምናልባት የስልጣኔው ውጥን ከአድዋ ድል በፊት ቢሆን ኖሮ የገሃድ ተቃዋሚ ባልጠፋ። አሁን ግን “ጣልያንን ያህል ጠላት በቅዱስ ጊዮርጊስ እርዳታ አሸንፈው ከውጭ ጠላት አዳኑን” የሚለው ዝና ከመበርከት ጋር በፍርድ ትክክለኛ ዳኝነታቸው ፤ ዘወትር እየተደገሰ በሰፊው ለወታደር ለካህናት ግብር በማብላት ቸርነታቸው ፤ ለግላቸው ጥሬ ሀብት ወይም ርስት ጉልት ልሰብስብ አለማለታቸው በሁሉ ዘንድ ስለታወቀ መወደድን ፤ መከበርን ስለሰጣቸው የሚያደርጉት ሁሉ በህዝብ ዘንድ ተቀባይነት አገኘ። የሹመት ደረጃ ከማዕረግ ስምና ከሽልማት ጋር የቅርብ ዝምድና የነገድ ልዩነት ሳይመለከቱ መንግስትን በቅን ልቦና በንጹህ ህሊና ሳገለገለ ሁሉ ያለ አድልዎ መስጠታቸው የመኳንንቶቻቸውን ቁጥር በብዛት ሲያበረክት በነዚህም ዘንድ ያደገው የንጉሰነስቱ ፍቅር ሁልጊዜ በሁሉም አካባቢ እያደገ ከመሄድ አላቋረጠም።

Had the initiation of modernization come before the victory of Adwa, unequivocal opposition would have been inevitable. But now, with his reputation that “He won the formidable Italian army with the help of Saint George, and saved us from a foreign enemy”, his being a just judge; his adherence to giving a regular banquet to the clerics and the soldiers, and his disinterest in accumulating personal fortune, earned him respect , love and acceptance. His appointment of government officials in light of their integrity and commitment towards serving the state instead of blood relation and tribal favoritism increased the number of his nobilities and their approval of him (Ibid 1983E.C: 578).

In spite of Tekletsadik Mekuria's attribution of Menelik's success to the above noted qualities of the king, G/hiwet blames Menelik for giving Ministerial positions to people who were from Shewa and for sidelining people of Lasta, Begemidir, Semien, Tigray and Gojjam from involving in serious government affairs (Gebrehiwet 1912).

However, the king did not determine to introduce modernity all at once; though slightly, he did try to do that even before the victory of Adwa: The most prominent of them all was the construction of railway to reduce problems of transportation. The agreement was approved by the king in 1886, two years before the battle of Adwa, which allowed his trusty Swiss councilor Alfred Elg to construct the railway which was meant to start from Djibouti and cross Harar, Intoto, Kefa and end at White Nile. However, his plan was fulfilled partially as a result of shortage of money-it couldn't extend farther than Addis Ababa. ... The benefits the construction of railway had brought were multifaceted: the beginning of telegraph service - which was part of the railway construction agreement - and the turning into towns and cities of rural areas the railway passed through namely Mojo, Bishoftu, Nazret, Welenchiti and Diredawa were some of them (Tekletsadik 1983 E.C).

Some of the other modernization undertakings which were fulfilled after the victory of Adwa were the construction of bridges in 1889 in Addis Ababa and other regions which were undertaken by European professionals the king hired; the paving of gravel roads; the introduction of telephone service in 1882; the importation of automobiles; the introduction of new currency system -silver money- in 1894 (Ibid 1983 E.C).

Many foreigners who either visited Menelik or served as his councilors at some point in time, revealed their amazement at the king's curiosity and effort to attain technical skills. Tekletsadik Mekuria quotes what a French writer by the name Moses Sylvain Venires wrote about the king after he visited Addis Ababa and stayed there for a long time:

ከዚህ ንጉስ የማይረሳ ማስታወሻ ይገባ ተመልሻለሁ። ግልጽና ብልህ የሆነ አስተያየት አለው ማናቸውንም የእጅ ጥበብና የመካኒክ ስራ ማየት ማወቅና መረዳት ይፈልጋል። እንደ አንድ ሰዓት ሰሪ ሰዓቶችን ሁሉ ራሱ ፈታቶ ራሱ መልሶ ይገጥማቸዋል ። የጠመንጃ የመድፍ የመትረየስ የአስራራቸውና የአጠቃቀማቸው መንገድ በርሱ ዘንድ ምንም ምስጢርነት የላቸውም። የግንብ ስራን ከመሳሪያዎቹ እንደ አንድ ባለሙያ መሪ ያውቃል። በአገሪቱ ውስጥ ከርሱ የተሻለ አርኪቴክት(መሀንዲስ)የለም። የዕውቀት ነገር ከሆነ ጥቃቅኑን ነገር ሁሉ በዝርዝር ማወቅ ይፈልጋል። ...እርሱ ለማሰራት የደቀናቸውን ሁሉ ዝርዝር ነገሮች ለመግለፅ ለብቻው አንድ መጽሀፍ ያስፈልጋል።

I have come back with an unforgettable memory of this king. He has clear and clever insight: he wants to see, to know and to understand any handiwork and mechanical equipment. Like a watchmaker, he dismantles and reassembles watches. With him there is no secret as to the assembling and operation of rifles, cannons and machineguns. He knows the equipments as well as the art of constructing buildings like a professional. There is no better architect in the country. When it comes to knowledge he wants to know in detail about every trivial matter. ... It takes a book to list the things he planned to carry out. (Ibid 1983:585)

After establishing Menelik II School in 1908, the king issued a decree and informed the public that it was a duty to send children to school:

ሞዓ አንበሳ...

እስከ አሁን ማንም የእጅ ስራ አዋቂ የነበረ ሰው በውርደት ስም ይጠራ ነበር። ስለዚህ ማንም ሰው ለመማርና ለመሰልጠን የሚደክም አልነበረም። በዚህ ጎጂ በሆነ ሁኔታ ብንኖር ቤተክርስቲያኖች ይዘጋሉ ። ይልቁንም ክርስቲያንነት አይገኝም ። በሌሎች አገሮች እያንዳንዱን ነገር መማር ብቻ ሳይሆን አዲስ ነገሮችም ይሰራሉ። ስለዚህ ከዛሬ ጀምሮ ለወደፊት ወንድና ሴት ልጆች ሁሉ ከስድስት አመታቸው በኋላ ወደ ትምህርት ቤት እንዲገቡ ይሁን። ልጆቻቸውን ለማስተማር ለማይተጉ ቤተሰቦች ወላጆቻቸው ሲሞቱ ንብረታቸው ለልጆቻቸው መሆኑ ቀርቶ ለመንግስት ይተላለፋል ። ተማሪ ቤቶችንና አስተማሪዎችን የሚያዘጋጀው መንግስት ነው።

Until now whoever is a craftsman has been called names. Therefore, there is nobody who strives to learn and acquire skills. If we keep living like this, churches will be closed; rather, Christianity will fade away. In other countries apart from learning what is passed down, people invent new things. Therefore, from now on boys and girls of six years old and above will attend school. Those families who don't get their

children to learn are legally deprived of their right to will their possessions to their children, and it would rather be confiscated by the government. Schools and teachers will be provided by the government (Ibid 1983E.C: 588).

Even though the aforementioned decree was issued, it can be argued that it was ambitious and impracticable given buildings , teachers and other necessary facilities were scarcely furnished. There were only two Schools at the time in Addis Ababa and Harar (Bahru 2002) ; so it couldn't accommodate all students, had all parents in obedience to the creed sent their children to school.

“After the introduction of road, railway, telephone and modern school, the king also established the first modern hospital in the country-Atse Menelik hospital.” (Ibid 1983E.C: 588)

እንደዚህም እስከዚህ ዘመን ድረስ ህዝቡ ሸቀጥ በሸቀጥ ግማሹም በአሞሌ ጨውና በጥይት ከመገበያየቱ በቀር ለከፍተኛ ዋጋ የሚጠቀመው በመካከለኛው ምስራቅ በ1780ዓም አካባቢ ወደ ኢትዮጵያ ዘልቆ በገባው የአውስትሪያዋ ንግስት የማሪያ ቴሬዝ መልክ ባለበት ብር ነበር።በዚህም ጸጸት ተሰምቶአቸው ከፈረንሳይ ኩባንያ ጋር ተዋወለው እኤአ በ1894ዓም 20,000 ብር በመልካቸው ከነሽርፍራፊው አሳትመው በርሱ መገበያየት ተጀመረ።

Until this period, there was bartering system in Ethiopia: people had been conducting business by exchanging one item for the other, and at times bullets and bar salt had also been used in place of currencies. When it comes to very expensive items Mariatheresa dollar -which was introduced in Ethiopia in 1780- had been in use. To solve this problem, Menelik signed a contract in 1894 with a French company which had been producing currency and brought in 20,000 birr with subunits upon which his feature was engraved (Ibid 1983E.C: 589).

When it comes to administration, instead of the traditional way the king preferred the European structure, and for the first time built twelve offices and assigned the following nine ministers for the time: Afe nigus Nesibu - Minister of Justice ; Fitawrari Habtegiorgis - Minister of War ; Liqemekuas

Ketema –Minister of the Interior; Negadras Hailegiorgis –Minister of Commerce and Foreign Affairs ;Bejirond Mulugeta –Minister of Finance; Kentiba Weldetsadik –Minister of Agriculture ; Tsehafetizaz G/Silassie –Minister of Pen ; Qegne Azmach Mekonnen Tewendbelay –Ministry of Work ; Azazh Metaferia –Palace Official (Minister). Apart from these, without assigning ministers for, the king established Ministries of Education, Post and Telecommunication which were headed by General Managers (Ibid 1983E.C).

ሞዓ አንበሳ ዘእምነገደ ይሁዳ ዳግማዊ ምኒልክ ንኒ... ዘኢት...ሰራተኛን በሰራው የምትሰድብ ተወኝ። ... እጁ ምናምን ስራ የማያውቀው ሰነፉ ብልሁን እየተሳደበ አስቸገረ ። ...ይህ ከቀረ ሁሉ ባዘንተኛ (ስራ ፈት ከሆነ) መንግስት የለ አገር የለ፤በወዲያ አገር ግን በአውሮፓ ሁሉ አዲስ ስራ አውጥቶ መድፍ ነፍጥ (ጠበንጃ) ባቡር ቢሰራ ... መሃንዲስ እየተባለ ፣እየተመሰገነ ሰራተኛውም ብዙ (ቀለብ) ይጨምርለታል እንጂ በሰራው አይሰደብበትም ።እናንተ ግን እንዲህ እየተሳደባችሁ ማረሻ የሚያሾል አሳጥታችሁ አገሬን ባዶ ልታደርጓትና ልታጠፏት ነው።እንግዲህ ግን (ለወደፊቱ) እንዲህ ብሎ የተሳደበ እኔን የሰደበ ነው እንጂ ሌላውን መስደብ አይደለም።ዳግመኛ ግን ሲሳደብ የተገኘ ሰው መቀጫውን አንድ አንድ አመት ይታሰራል።ሹማምንትም አስረህ ለማስቀመጥ የሚቸግርህ እንደሆነ አስረህ (ከአውራጃ) ወደ እኔ ስደድልኝ።ጥር 17 ቀን 1900 ዓ.ም ።

You, who insult the worker on account of his trade, I warn you. ... the indolent who is incapable of doing a thing keeps insulting the resourceful person. ... If this is to come to an end, and everybody to be slothful, then there will be neither state nor government. However, there in Europe, for skillfully crafting rifle, train and the like people got dignity and right titles like “engineer” rather than insult; the workers supplied their provisions and encouraged them. But you, through your spiteful insult, are going to leave my country without a craftsman who sharpens a plow; to make it barren and to destroy it. From now on whoever insults the one that earns his living, is insulting me. Therefore, any one who dares disobey this decree will be sentenced to one year imprisonment. Officials, if you have trouble keeping the criminal in prison, send him to me. Tir 17, 1900 (Ibid 1983E.C:591).

When it comes to Justice, Tekletsadik Mekuria describes Menilik’s contribution as

በፍርድ ረገድ ቀድሞ ከያለበት የሚመጣውን አቤት ባይ ፍርድ ሰሚ አንድ አፈ ንጉስ ብቻ ሆኖ ነገረተኛ ሁሉ መቸገሩን ተመልክተው ኢትዮጵያን ከስድስት አውራጃ ላይ ከፍለው ላንዱ ክፍል ሁለት ወንበሮች(ዳኞች) በመሾም የነገረተኛን ጉዳይ ለማቅለል ሞክረዋል። ቀድሞ ወታደር በየባላገሩ እየተመራ በንብረቱ ብቻ ሳይሆን በሚስቱ ላይ ሳይቀር ይፈጸም የነበረው ግፍና በደል እንዲታገድ ሲሉ እያንዳንዱ ባላገር በምርት ከሚያገኘው እህል ከአስር አንዱን ብቻ እየከፈለ በጎተራ አንዲያስቀምጥና ወታደር ከጎተራው ቀለቡን እንደ ደረጃው እየተቀበለ ራሱ አብስሎ እንዲመገብ “የአስራት አዋጅ” ብለው ያወጡትና ባላገሩን ከውርደትና በወታደር ከመጠቃት ያዳኑት ከፍተኛ ግምት የሚሰጠው ነው።

... Complainants from all corners of the country used to come to the king. To alleviate this problem, Menelik divided the country into six districts and assigned two judges to each. Apart from this, he abolished the trouble the soldiers caused the peasants - by not only taking their possessions but also their wives –by limiting the provision they got from the farmer to one tenth of all the harvest; this decree which the king entitled ‘yasrat away’ or ‘tithe decree’ also dictated that the soldiers will receive their provisions according to their ranks and cook for themselves. It is not something to be taken lightly, for it saved the peasants from being disgraced and tormented in the hands of the soldiers (Ibid 1983E.C: 588-589).

Among the foreign educated Ethiopians, Afework Gebreyesus can be considered the most fanatic fan of the king. In his book “Dagmawi At’e Menelik, 1912” he wrote idolizing Menelik:

God sent Menelik: to say God sent him is not the same as saying God had him crowned .As for being crowned, even men like Tewodros, Yohannes, Teklegiorgis and other riffraff have been crowned. Menelik was not crowned like them. God sent him to Ethiopia saying: ‘Go Ethiopia has suffered. Ethiopians are in tears ; ignorance holds sway. Cheer up Ethiopia. Dry the tears of the poor...I crown you not for yourself, but for Ethiopia.’ (Bahru 2002:154).

...ምነው እንደ መላክ የማትሞት ፣የማትታመም፣የማትደክም ሆነህ ተፈጥረህ ቢሆን አንተ እናት ንጉስ።

You, kind king, I wish you were created immortal, untiring and immune to illness like an angel (Afework 1901E.C:6).

Though most of the European visitors, councilors and foreign and locally educated Ethiopians kept idolizing Menelik for his effort to modernize the state and to keep it independent, there were some sharp-witted intellectuals who seemed bored of the monotonous praises he received and who thought that he got more than his fair share of honor. Gebre Egziabher Gilemariam, Gebrehiwet Baykedagne, and Alaqa Atsme Giorgis can be listed in that order based on the degree and directness of their criticisms of the king. These intellectuals directly or indirectly revealed that the king was not as fair, nationalist or progressive as he was reputed to be; especially Gebrehiwet Baykedagne pointed out his mistakes and suggested solutions.

Gebre-egziabher Gile-mariam was, according to Bahru Zewde, “the most unsparing critic of Menelik”.(Ibid 2002:66) As Eritrea was his birth place, and he considered himself an Ethiopian, he was mad at Menelik’s negligence to Eritrea’s freedom after the king fought severely and saved the other parts of the country from colonialism. He even considered it unforgivable betrayal. Bahru Zewde Quotes Gebre-egziabher:

King Tewodros and king Yohannes, may God of Ethiopia bless their soul, preserved their mother country with great veneration .But You, Your Majesty, have severed its integral parts completely. ... Even though Your Majesty had power to do otherwise, You are proceeding to tear to pieces Your mother Ethiopia’s womb in the same manner as King Nero did with his mother’s. Either because of incapacity or because of stupidity, You are disposing of Ethiopia as a person disposes of his urine...It was You, long before the death of King Yohannes, who, by establishing good relationship with the ferenjoch (whites), allowed them to enter and rule in our country ...Call your reign Menelik the second, King of Kings of Galla and of half of Ethiopia (Ibid 2002: 157).

Gebrehiwet Baykedagne, one of the few far sighted scholars of his time and contemporary of Gebre-egziabher's, in an article entitled "Atse Menelik Ena Ethiopia"- "Atse Menelik and Ethiopia" criticizes Menelik for what he thinks are the king's weak spots and defends him from what he thinks undeserved criticism. Before starting his critique , he discloses his purpose : “ እነዚህን ጥቂት ቃሎች የሚፅፍ ሰውም ...አሳቡስ ድፍረት ሆኖ እንዳይቆጠርበት ይፈራል እንጂ ዳግማዊ ምኒልክ ስለ ህዝባቸው ልማትና ትልቅነት ምን እንደጣሩ ምንስ ሳይጥሩ እንደቀሩ ለማመልከት ነው። ”

“Even the man who pens these few words...though afraid of being considered presumptuous, has meant to point what Menelik II strived for, and he didn't, for the sake of the public.”(Gebrehiwet 1912: 7) And at the beginning of his critique he claims that he is by no means the enemy of the king, but his friend: “...መንግስቱንም የሚወድ ሰው ያ ቅዱስ ቅዱስ የሚለው አይደለም ጥፋቱን ይገልፅለታል እንጂ።” “ A person who loves the king does not flatter him with adulatory terms , but tells him his shortcomings.” (Ibid 1912: 12). He starts his arguments with an allegation many Ethiopians agree upon and he questions its truthfulness:

አጤ ምኒልክ በእውነት የሸዋ ሰውና አቶ አፈወርቅ እንደሚሉት አዲስ ህግጋት አውጥተዋልን ? ትምህርትንስ ገለፀዋልን ? እውነት አይደለም። ይህማ ቢሆን ይህን ያህል ጊዜ በሰላም እንጀራቸውን አይበሉም ነበር። ...መብራት ሳይነድ አያበራም...የዓለምን ታሪክ ብንመለከት አዲስ ስረዓት የሚያወጣ ንጉስ ሁሉ በህይወቱ ሳለ መከራ አይለየውም ። ህዝቡ እንደ አዉራ ደመኛው ያየዋልና ። ...የሸዋው ንጉስ ግን ለህዝባቸው ያባቱን ልማድ መረቁለት ።አዲስ ነገር እንዲቀበልላቸውም አልተከራከሩትም ።ወንበዴዉም ሁሉ እንዲያርፍላቸው ስለ ስርዐት የሚበቀል ጎራዴ አልመዘዙበትም። ነገር ግን በቸርነታዊ እጃቸው ወደ አደባባያቸው ስበው ደጅ አስጠኑት። ሹዋቻቸው ግብር ብለው ከሚያመጡላቸው ጥቂት ሲሳይም መገቡት። ራሱ ላይ ቆብ ጭኖ ወይም ትልቅን ሻሽ ጠምጥሞ ወይም መቁጠሪያ ይዞ ወደ አዲስ አበባ ቤተ መንግስት ሊለምን የሄደም ሰው ሁሉ ባዶ እጁን አይመለስም ነበር። ስለዚህም ትንሹም ትልቁም ቸሩ ምኒልክ ይል ገባ ፤ይላልም ። ስለዚህም... አፄ ምኒልክ በቸርነታቸው ገዙ ቢባል ዉሸት ዓይደለም ። ይህ ማለፊያ ነው ያስመሰግናልም ግን ትምህርትን ገለፁ አያሰኝም። ...እንግዲህ አጤ ምኒልክ የገለፁት ትምህርት የት አለ ? ለራሳቸው አስተማሪ የሚፈልጉ ግብጦች ከሚያስተምሩባቸው ሁለት የትምህርት ቤቶች በቀርሳ የሚረባውን የትምህርት ቤት እስቲ አሳየኝ።

Did Atse Menelik formulate new regulations as the Shoans and Ato Afework assert? Had he been a torchbearer of modern education? Had it been the case, he wouldn't have enjoyed a peaceful reign this long.no torch illuminates without burning

itself...from the history of the world it is proven that people persecute a king who comes up with new principles, for the people look upon him as an archenemy. ...However, the Shoan king prompted the public to retain the custom of their fathers. He didn't challenge them to internalize what was novel; he didn't draw his sword to punish the outlaws and to enforce law and order. Rather, he lured them with his kindness and made them intrude upon him. He also fed them some of the tribute his vassals brought him. Anybody who put on a string of beads and a skullcap or wrapped his head with a cloth and begged at the palace never got back without alms, so that young and old alike kept calling him "Menelik the openhanded". Therefore...it is not untrue that Atse Menelik ruled with his generosity. This is great and appreciable but can not justify the claim that he introduced modern education. Then, where is the learning he brought in? Show me please if there is any except the two schools where the Egyptians, who need tutoring themselves, teach (Ibid 1912:14).

Apart from criticizing the clerics of Orthodox Church, which some scholars accounted for his being a catholic, Alaga Atse Megiorgis Gebremesih criticized Shewan kings for mistreating Oromos (Bahru 2002). This directly concerns Menelik: on the one hand he was the king of Shewa before he became king of Ethiopia, on the other his father and grand father were kings of Shewa; therefore, though he didn't mention Menelik or his forefathers by name, by saying 'Shewan kings' it is unarguable that he meant Menelik along with his father and grandfather. Bahru Zewde describes Atse Megiorgis' outlook towards race and religion:

The most sympathetic and understanding treatment of the Oromo is encountered in the writing of Atse, the person who took it upon himself to write their history. Although he does not use the term himself, he actually points out that the Oromo call themselves by that name and that it is the Amhara who call them Galla. As a catholic who reserved some of his most severe judgements for the Orthodox clergy, he found the so-called heathen Oromo more ethical and more advanced in their system of justice than their neighbours who are wont to pride themselves on their orthodox Christianity. Their only blemish is their ignorance of the one almighty God. Even that, Atse explains, is the fault of the Orthodox clergy, who had failed to do the

necessary evangelical work. He was also unsparing in his criticism of the ruthless manner in which the Shewan kings had subjugated the Oromo (Ibid 2002:131).

2.3.1.4 Lij Iyasu

Lij Iyasu, the grandson of Menelik II, can be considered the luckiest of all monarchs who took power after 1855. He was a nominee to the throne only because he was of noble birth. He was about to be enthroned over the whole of the unified Ethiopia without having to fight to effect it. There were also some foreign and locally educated intellectuals who put themselves at his disposal and who thought the young prince was the hope of their backward nation. Alaga Taye, Gebrehiwet Baykedagne and Teklehawariat Teklemariam tried to influence Iyasu's behavior and mould him through their writings.

However, he defied the tradition of his time by neglecting his responsibilities as a soon-to-be-enthroned prince. Even though most of the nobilities expected him to grow out of his irresponsible behavior, he proved himself unworthy of their trust. Avoiding the old nobilities and associating himself with Muslim nobilities and Muslim women; sidelining old friends of his country like Britain and France and aligning himself with Turkey and Germany were all against the tradition of the country and out of character for an Ethiopian king (Tekletsadik 1936E.C/1944G.C). Eventually, his playful behavior deprived him of what he got as a birth right.

Even though his reign was not long enough for him to bring radical change, it does not mean he did not change anything for better. Some of the improvements he brought and mostly mentioned in many history books can be summarized as issues of social justice. Bahru Zewde in his book "A History of Modern Ethiopia" briefly acknowledges Lij Iyasu's contribution:

Iyasu forbade the confiscation of property as a penalty for embezzlement, as was hitherto the custom. He also tried to reduce the waste entailed by the prevalent

system of assessment of harvest before the collection of asrat, with the attendant delays in harvesting when the assessors failed to come on time (Bahru 1991: 9).

The other social injustices Lij Iyasu put an end to were the ‘Quaragna’ and the ‘Lebashay’ – irrational traditional systems of detecting criminals:

Iyasu put an end to the ‘Quaragna’ system, whereby the plaintiff was chained to the defendant and the creditor to the debtor until justice was delivered. He also tried to mitigate the abuses of the ‘Lebashay’, a whimsical traditional mode of detection of criminals, in which a young boy would be given a powerful drug and let loose in the neighborhood; the unfortunate owner of the house where the boy finally collapsed would be declared the culprit (Ibid 1991: 121).

2.3.1.5 Emperor Haileselassie

After the rejection of Lij Iyasu, Teferi Mekonnen as a regent exhibited brilliance in administration and enormous desire to bring in modernization. Frustrated intellectuals with Lij Iyasu’s administration shifted their allegiance from Iyasu to Ras Teferi (Bahru 1991). Teferi Mekonnen was a progressive heir surrounded by conservative nobilities who sought to impose their will upon the new heir through queen Zewditu, daughter of King Menelik. (Ibid 1991).

In his regency, Teferi proved himself worthy of the intellectuals’ belief in him. He did not want to be a passive instrument to enforce the old tradition. At first secretly and later publicly he demonstrated determination to spread modernization and education. While the nobilities and queen Zewditu preferred for the country more conservative leadership than even that of Menelik’s, Teferi rather acted against their will. The following were some of the instances when Teferi dared to take steps singlehandedly even before he became an absolutist:

Teferi's close association with foreigners was to stand him in good stead in strengthening the infrastructure of his power. In the eyes of the traditional nobility, however, it cast him in the image of someone who was out to sell his country. Often, he was accused of having become a Catholic, with all the connotations of betrayal and apostasy that the word conjured up in the Orthodox Christian mind (Bahru Zewde 1991: 141).

The nobilities were against reform: they wouldn't allow even students to attain modern education abroad. As a result, at some point Teferi was secretly facilitating for students to attain higher education in Europe (Bahru Zewde 2002: 79).

Establishment of Schools and Spread of Education

In 1925 Haileselassie opened Teferi Mekonnen School (Bahru Zewde 2002: 24) the second educational institution in the country next to Menelik II School. Then, elementary schools were getting established in different regions with the willingness and effort of provincial governors:

...the following towns and provinces came to have schools ...Dessie and Gore (1928),Dire Dawa, Naqamte, Sidamo and ,Jijiga (1929),AsbaTafari(1931),Ambo, Gore and Jimma(1932),Gojjam and Gondar(1934)and Adwa and Maqale(1935).The inspirational link ... between Teferi Mekonnen school and these provincial establishments is demonstrated in an explicit fashion in a speech that Dajjach Habte-Maryam of Wallaga made on the occasion of his visit to the school,in which he expressed his gratification that he was allowed to expend the money that he had brought in annual tribute towards the construction of a school (Ibid 2002: 27).

During the regency and some years in his emperorship, the number of students who attained modern education abroad increased enormously. "All in all, a total of some 200 Ethiopians

reportedly studied abroad, through government or private means, in the decade and a half before 1935.” (Ibid 1991: 109).

At first, Teferi was even said to have “a striking affinity with the ideas of Gebrehiwet” (Ibid 1991: 110) ; that may be why what Bahru calls “the corner stone of Teferi’s fiscal policy” which was “the centralization of customs administration....elimination of the Kella (toll posts) which proliferated in the provinces, and their replacement by a few recognized and centrally controlled customs posts.” (Ibid 1991: 110) was put into practice in the early 1930s as was recommended by Gebrehiwet Baykedagne and Afework Gebreyesus. The aforementioned intellectuals had discussed the great number of toll posts in the country and their discouraging effects in business transactions in their writings.

Even though Teferi kept all the time appearing a ruler out for introducing modernity, many scholars agree that it was only in his regency and five years as an emperor that he exerted enormous effort to introduce modernity (Bahru 1991: 141). In later years of his reign he was said to have not tried enough to continue his effort. His approach towards modernization can be said quite different from that of Menelik’s: Menelik , as noted above, was careful about introducing modernization before the victory of Adwa not to invite opposition , but he started doing well after the Adwa incident ;Teferi, on the other hand , strived vigorously to achieve some reforms at the first ten years in power; while he was surrounded by the nobility –risking even his nomination for the throne by doing so, but later after getting rid of the nobilities , his plan of being an absolutist took the better of him , and he prioritized it over his previous ambition of becoming a progressive leader.

Both before and after consolidating his power, Teferi was said to have favored traditionally educated elites over that of the foreign educated intellectuals. His reason for keeping the foreign educated at distance was his belief that they might not be unquestioningly loyal to him the way most of the traditionally educated were (Bahru 2002:73).

2.3.2 The Role of the Church in Establishing the Mindset of the Public and Influencing the Administration

Since the introduction of Christianity and it became the religion of the state in the 4th century, Ethiopian Orthodox Church has been a powerful institution in the country. The state and the church had not been separated until the fall of emperor Hailesillase -the last king of the Solomonic dynasty. Therefore, it is impossible to talk about Ethiopian church apart from the monarch and vice versa. There are two reasons for its influence: the clerics' acceptance among the public, as well as the churches' and the monasteries' being the source of influential citizens: "Church education also produced civil servants . . . such as judges, governors, scribes, treasurers, and general administrators" (Wagaw, 1979).

Ethiopians were also said to be proud of their religion and identity. This sense of self respect did not come solely with the introduction of Christianity, but also from the epic upon which the Solomonic dynasty was founded. The epic provides the believers with every reason to believe that they are divinely favored and blessed. Mesay Kebede describes Kibre Negest, which is the source of the epic, as

...it establishes kinship between the rulers of Ethiopia and King Solomon of Israel, the favorite nation of God. The epic narrates the visit of an Ethiopian Queen, Sheba or Makeda, to King Solomon and the subsequent birth of a son who became the King of Ethiopia under the name of Menelik I. Besides stating the blood ties of Ethiopian rulers with the Solomonic dynasty, the epic relates the transfer of God's favor from Israel to Ethiopia. Unlike the Jewish people, acceptance of Christianity promoted Ethiopians to the rank of God's chosen people (Mesay 2006: 6-7).

Having spread this belief among the believers, Ethiopian Orthodox church earned their complete trust and took full advantage of it for centuries. The church had positive as well as negative influence on the peasants through out the centuries. Among its positive

contributions were spreading traditional education; maintaining national unity; creating a sense of patriotism/Ethiopianism, and being a store house of written history.

Its apparent negative roles were its discriminatory nature in spreading education- only those children whose parents were orthodox Christians were allowed to learn. (Wagaw, 1979:12); it didn't allow scientific enquiry in the laws of nature (ibid); "its purpose was to preserve whatever has been handed down through the years, and in turn to pass it on unchanged to the next generation"

(Ibid, 1979:21); it did not intervene to end the oppression of the vast majority of its members and rather kept legitimizing oppressive kings who were willing to give its provisions.

Even though some scholars contend that modernization and civilization do not mean the same, in Ethiopia the two terms have been used interchangeably: the Amharic terms "Zemenawinet and Silit'ane - *ዘመናዊነት እና ስልጣኔ*" seem equivalent to "modernization". In Ethiopia the concept of modernization had the connotative meaning of being orthodox Christian or adopting it, which was not without problems apart from morally imposing what was alien to other cultures:

Becoming modern, "of the times" (zemanawi), "civilized" (siltane), or "educated" (yetamare), required one, to some considerable degree, to adopt Orthodox Christian customs. Modernization also became increasingly identified with the concentration of power in institutions that required literacy, a fact that greatly increased the duress on non-Amharic folks derisively labeled as "pagans," or backward hwalaker, ripe for political conquest or religious conversion (Adejumobi 2007: 38).

In Ethiopian history the church was so influential that even the kings had to pay a close attention to it if they were to stay on power. Most of them wouldn't dare to intervene and threaten the clerics' advantage or allow the propagation of other faiths; however, some of those who dared to cross the red line by converting to other religion and/or threatening the

churches' advantage, had become unpopular among the public and/or lost their thrones. The church's role in establishing the mindset of the public had been proven great, as noted above, while having established an intimate relationship with Portuguese Catholics, emperor Susinios in 1632 converted to Catholicism and brought death to himself and isolation from the rest of the world to his country for more than two centuries. The public and the monarchs remained even more zealous in protecting and maintaining the dominance of Orthodox Church from then on. Atse Tewodros as noted above, though a devout Orthodox Christian when he formulated a law to reduce the number of ministers in the church and to confiscate some of the excessive plots of lands under the church, lost popularity and acceptance among the public; Lij Iyasu who didn't officially declare to turn the people into Islam, but who was suspected of being inclined to it, lost his throne.

However, eventually apart from the foreigners Ethiopian Orthodox church had made enemies of foreign educated Ethiopian intellectuals. After the promotion of the concept of modernization and establishment of foreign connections by successors of Tewodros and the subsequent effects of Ethiopian students getting scholarship in Europe and America, many challenged its teachings and some who didn't dare to publicly denounce it, showed negligence to observing its creeds, and none of them got away with it; either they were socially alienated or jailed. The church kept denouncing intellectuals who not only didn't adhere to its creeds, but also said something in public which didn't seem to be in line with the general teachings of the bible (Bahru 2002: 67).

Among the intellectuals some of those who claimed excessive adherence of the government and/or the society to Orthodox Church and suggested separation of the state and the church; who opposed the church's stand with regard to other faiths, or denounced its teachings were, Alaqa Taye, Alaqa Atsma Giorgis, G/hiwet Baykedagne and Melaku Beyan. Afework G/Yesus, Teklehawariat T/mariam, and G/Egziabher Gilamariam were also the other intellectuals who were looked upon with disfavor and/or punished by the monarchs for violating the church's creeds.

Among the opponents, Alaqa Atsme Giorgis, who later converted to Catholicism, was the most merciless critic of Orthodox Church and its clerics. Bahru Zewde quotes Atsmegiorgis:

Nothing has changed from 1500 to 1900. The cause of all the blood that had watered the rivers of Ethiopia; all the destruction that has visited the country is one. It is the clergy who have rendered this rich and ancient land ignorant and sterile. They are the source of all evil, the foundation of ignorance. Numerous are the rebels whom the clergy incited to rise in arms. No sooner had the country gained a respite from one war than they trigger religious disputes. They sow their venomous sermons among the nobility. They go to the palace before they go to church early in the morning (Ibid 2002: 136).

2.4 Modernity as Discussed by the Intelligentsia and its Effects on the Society and the Monarchs

After the introduction of modern education during the reign of Menelik, the country had developed foreign ties and started facilitating scholarship for Ethiopian students in western countries. Most of the foreign educated intellectuals' role in the country's administration can be termed as 'corrective' unlike the traditionally educated intellectuals who can be generally classed as 'conformist'. Foreign educated intellectuals, more than those who had only church education, had understood how much their country was backward, and it can be attributed to the fact that the former group had exposure to western education and/or lifestyle.

All in all when we look at the moves of the foreign educated intellectuals, they are to be expected of anyone who suggests reform. By its very nature introduction of modernization in a developing country can not be achieved easily, for it puts as a requisite changes in longstanding traditions which are proven to be preventive of development.

Scholars agree that modernization means industrialization not civilization. Modernization is not all about economic progress but also social, cultural and political reforms which result in

the betterment of human life in all aspects-that is why intellectuals who suggest ways of attaining economic growth almost invariably put forward corrective suggestions for social, political and cultural problems as well.

Some of the most burning issues the intellectuals raised were : avoidance of slavery ;spread of modern infrastructures;fair distribution of land/avoiding monopoly; establishment of constitutional government;institution of qurt gibir/fixed tax nationwide ;following the Japanese way of Modernization;reducing the number of soldiers and merchants;freedom of religion and separation of state and religion;encouraging the peasants to develop work ethics by reducing tax;social justice and avoidance of holding the minorities in contempt;narrowing the economic difference between the rich and the poor;Increasing the Number of schools and Spread of Quality Education;transformation of hereditary provincial governors into salaried appointees ;avoiding the long standing tradition of the nobilities' having their own army.

Some of the recommendations were eventually applied during the reigns of Menelik and Haileselassie though partially. From the list of the recommendations the intelligentsia made, it's clear that they didn't touch upon only the economic problems but also the social, cultural and political ones.

2.4.1 The intellectuals and their justifications to urge the administration to make changes

2.4.1.1 Avoidance of Slavery

It can be argued that Ethiopia would not have abolished slavery if it had not been for the League of Nations' insistence of putting an end to it as a requirement for admission in the league and some Ethiopian intellectuals' urging the monarch to get rid of it after pointing out the advantages it brings to the state instead of recommending it out of sheer humanity. Bahru Zewde quotes as an instance what Takala Waldahawariat wrote to Haileselassie I in a

letter: "...the waste of human resources and the depletion of government revenue –a house hold slave means not only one more unproductive person to feed but also one gabbar less to pay tribute to the state"(Bahru Zewde 2002:128).

2.4.1.2 Freedom of Religion and Separation of State and Religion

Intellectuals argued that there should be freedom of worship. Bahru Zewde quotes what Malaku Bayan wrote:

...it is infinitely wrong to ban the propagation of any faith.... What the Orthodox priests should do is to demonstrate by force of argument the superiority of the Scriptures to the Quran. He expressed particular dismay at the failure of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church to adjust itself to the changing times, as a result of which Catholicism and Protestantism had been able to win many adherents, particularly among the modern educated elite (Ibid 2002: 135).

The other intellectual who put freedom of religion as one of the features of modernization was Gebrehiwet Baykedagne. In his book "Atse Menelik Ena Ethiopia" Gebrehiwet prompts policy changes and includes freedom of religion in his list of ten indispensable measures the government should take to bring about development:

የሀይማኖት አርነት ይታወጃል...የገራችን ሰው የተዋህዶ ሀይማኖት ከሁሉ ሀይማኖት ይበልጣል ብሎ ያምናል።በልጦ ግን ምን ረባን? ማንስ አወቀው? ያገራችን ካህናት መንግስት ጠበቃቸው ሆኖ ሌላ ሀይማኖት ሊገባ እንደማይፈቅድ አወቀው ሀይማኖታቸውን ለህዝቡ ሊገልጹለት ሃሳብ የላቸውም።ስለዚህ ህዝቡ እንኳን ተዋህዶ ማለት ምንድር እንደሆነ አይለይ፤የክርስቲያን ሀይማኖትን አውራ መሰረት የወንጌልን ቃል አያውቅም። ስለዚህ አጉል ቀረ፤የሀይማኖት አርነት እስኪታወጅም አንጉል ይቀራል። ...ደግሞም ባገራችን አንድ የድንቁርና ነገር አለ።ሃይማኖቱ ተዋህዶ ያልሆነ ሰው ሁሉ እንደ ርኩስ ይቆጠራል።ይህም እጅግ ያስቃል።አኦምሮ የሌለው ህዝብ ሁሉ የእግዚአብሔርን ቃል ሳያውቅ የእግዚአብሔር ጠበቃ ሊሆን ይወዳል።ሃይማኖት የልብ ነገር ነው ስለዚህ ሰማያዊው ንጉስ እንጂ የዚህ አለም ንጉስ አይቆጣጠረው። ወንጌል የቄሳርን ለቄሳር ስጦ የእግዚአብሔርን ለእግዚአብሔር ያለውም በዚህ ቢተረጎም ለመንግስታችን ሳይበጅ አይቀርም።

Let freedom of religion be declared...our people believe that 'Orthodox tewahido' is the superior religion on earth. But, what did its superiority bring us? Who knew it? Knowing that the state is guarding the country from an entry of other faiths, the clergies do not take the trouble of enlightening the public about their very religion. As a result, the people know neither what 'tewahido' means nor the words of the bible- the very foundation of Christianity. Therefore, the public have remained unenlightened and will remain so till freedom of religion is declared. ... And in our country there is one inane conviction – whoever is not an orthodox Christian is considered unholy. This is ridiculous; even those who do not have the wits enough to learn the word of God try to be self appointed defenders of God. Religion is a matter of soul; therefore, let the heavenly king watch over it not the earthly one, so it will be for the good of our government if the word of the scripture which says 'give what is Caesar's to Caesar and what is God's to God' is understood in this sense (Gebrehiwet 1912:27).

2.4.1.3 Increasing the Number of Schools and Spread of Quality Education

During the reigns of Menelik, Lij Iyasu and Hailesellassie, apart from the few number of schools, the intellectuals were concerned about the quality of education. Bahru Zewde quotes Deressa Amante's and Mars'e-Hazan's opinion concerning the existing number of schools:

Deressa who like most of his contemporaries was fascinated by the Japanese miracle of modernization contrasted his country's state of education with that of Japan and ruefully concluded that the total number of Ethiopian university graduates was much lower than that of universities in Japan. Mars'e –Hazen did not have to go to the Far East to underline his country's backwardness. The record of countries like Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, which were under European colonial rule, he argued, was much more impressive than that of independent Ethiopia. Even Mauritius, which was only a dot on the map, had 57 government and 93 private schools, he concluded (Bahru 2002: 32).

2.4.1.4 Avoiding the Long - standing Tradition of the Nobilities' having their Own Army

Some intellectuals were against the tradition of the nobilities having their own armies; they considered it a detriment for modernization and social justice. Among these intellectuals was Teklehawariat Teklemariam: 'Reform and organization is conceivable,' he insisted 'only if the country's resources and power are under the control of the emperor...If the nobility are barred from having their own armies.' (Ibid 2002: 102).

2.4.1.5 Establishment of Constitutional Government

Among the ten essential measures G/hiwet recommended was formulation of a modern constitution:

ፍትህ ነገስታችን ከዛሬው የአደባባይ ስርዓት ጋር አይስማማም። ስለዚህ መንግስት የስርዓት አዋቂዎችን ሰብስቦ ከኤሮጳ ስርዓት ጋር የተስማማ ፍትሃ ነገስት ያውጣ። ይህም ሲደረግ የኤሮጳ ስርዓትን የሚያውቅ አማካሪ ያስፈልጋል። የተፃፈ ስርዓት የሌለው መንግስት ብዙም ዕድሜ የለውም።

Our Fitiha Negest does not go in line with today's system of administration. Therefore, the government shall consult intellectuals familiarized with modern regulations and produce a fitiha negest which goes hand in hand with the European's. This takes a consultant who is well versed in European system of administration. A government which does not have a written regulation does not last (Gebrehiwet 1912: 25).

The other intellectual who recommended a splendid correction to Fitiha Negest was Afework Gebreyesus: Lapiso G .Delebo in his book 'Ye Ethiopia Yegebar Sirat Ena Jimir Capitalism' quotes an article written by Afework:

ተማቱሳላ ያረጀ... ውጥንቅጡ የወጣ ፍትሃ ነገስት የሚባል አንድ መፅሀፍ አለ። ይሄ መፅሀፍ ግን እንደ ዛሬ የሰው እውቀት ባልተስፋፋበት ጥበብ ባልተገለጠበት ጊዜ ከምስር (ግብፅ) ባረብ ቋንቋ

ተፅፎ ነበር። እሳ ደግሞ በግእዝ ተቀድቶ ላበሻ መንግስት መጣ። የቀድሞ ዘመን ሁሉ ህግእንደገና በጣም ታላታሪ መናለሳፊ ዘመን ኑሮ እንዲስማማ ታልሆነበቀር ለሳፊ ዘመንሰው ለመሆን የተገባ አይደለም።

There is a complex book they call Fitiha Negest; it is older than Methuselah; it had been written in Egypt in Arabic when wisdom had not spread like today. Later it was translated into Geez and used in our government. if all the former laws in it do not get profoundly corrected in a way they go in line with today's fashion, the fitiha negest is unfit to serve today's generation (Lapiso 1983:44).

2.4.1.6 Social Justice, Avoidance of Holding the Minorities in Contempt and Avoiding Monopoly of National Wealth

G/hiwet Baykedagne bluntly denounces the monopoly of national wealth, the gulf between standard of living between the poor and the rich and social injustice:

Someone deprived of the basic necessities of food and clothing has no reason to love his country: he cares little whether his nation prospers or perishes. Thus, the state stands to lose if national wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few, and to gain if it is distributed equitably. Where there is gross disparity between the life standards of the rich and the poor, it means the state has reached the brink of disaster .The situation in Ethiopia gives cause for such concern (Bahru 2002:120).

Intellectuals used “Berhan ena Selam” newspaper to promote modern concepts on political, economic, and social issues. Bahru Zewde quotes what an anonymous intellectual commented upon how holding the minorities in contempt was undeserved while they have appreciable traits:

...the Gurage were one of the people who inspired sympathy. An editorial of Berhanena selam...after complimenting the Gurage for their industry and their mastery of such crafts as masonry ,carpentry,weaving and tailoring ,criticized the public for holding them in contempt (Bahru 2002:130).

2.4.1.7 Intellectuals' Attitude towards their Country and the People

Among some of the intellectuals who did not openly criticize the society for fear of alienation was Hakim Werkinah. Bahru Zewde quotes what Werkinah wrote in his diary and describes the man's attitude towards his countrymen:

In the privacy of his diary, werkinah was to confide his harshest judgment of his countrymen, accusing them of 'blind conservatism' and 'utter want of energy'. He deplored their 'lethargy' which permitted Europeans and Indians to make profit 'under their very nose and in most cases with the Abyssinian capital'. After expressing his shame at 'being their countryman', he heaped on Ethiopians a catalogue of the worst possible attributes that any nation could be charged with and concluded with an apposite statement couched in the form of an aphorism: 'The country is beautiful, but the man is vile.' (Bahru 2002: 99).

Alaqa Taye on his part describes his country as "She could not bring herself to seek wisdom from the wise. She preferred to stand in her former state like a broken car. As a result, she lost even the knowledge and power that she had before." (Ibid 2002:102).

2.4.1.8 Intellectuals who Supported the Idea of Colonization and/or Showed Tendency to it

Although G/hiwet did not clearly state that colonial rule was preferred to independence, he couldn't help comparing independent Ethiopia unfavorably with British ruled Sudan and Italian ruled Eritrea:

If we look around our neighboring countries, we see intelligent people developing them with diligence. In particular if we look at the Sudan, which had been ravaged by the dervishes, we realize how a desert can be transformed into a garden of Eden when

ruled by such intelligent people like the British. All around us colonies are marching ahead undeterred by any obstacle .For intelligence can only be checked by intelligence. Woe then to a people that persists in its ignorance, for it is ultimately bound to perish (Ibid 2002: 51).

The other person who considered colonialism as a means to bring in modernization in Ethiopia was Teklehawariat Teklemariam:

Sometimes, I ask myself, would it have been better if the civilized nations had colonized us for a short period of time? The British had that opportunity twice [i.e. in 1868 and 1941] But, because they were not prepared to help, they left the country without setting up anything (Bahru2002: 100).

Among the foreign educated Ethiopians Afework Gebreyesus was the one the kings found the most undependable. In spite of his adulatory writings about Ethiopian kings- Menelik, Iyasu and Hailesellase, he firmly believed that Ethiopia can not be developed by Ethiopians; his support for the above noted kings as long as they were in power and his instantaneous criticism as soon as they, save Menelik, lost power , made him the most controversial intellectual of his time. Apart from taking side with whoever was in power, Afework became one of the collaborators with the Italian fascist during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. He helped Italians by promoting the promises they made and the development they brought during their brief occupation of the country. Bahru Zewde quotes an Italian official by the name Raffaele Guriglia who described Afework's reason for supporting colonialism:

Afework is reported to have confided to Guriglia : 'No doubt you are surprised by what I have done and you must have lost all respect for me .but I did what I did because I believed that if Italy took over Ethiopia ,civilized it and made it prosperous, the day will then come when the Ethiopians ,having become civilized ,strong and prosperous ,will free themselves from Italy ,just as the United states did with England.' (Bahru 2002:56).

Chapter 3

Methodology

Textual analysis is the methodology employed to examine the selected books. Sense for sense method of translation is also used to translate Amharic texts into English. In the imperial era books were prevalent media in Ethiopia and intellectuals and clerics of the time had been using them to convey religious and secular concepts. The two books have been also selected because among the other secular books, they happen to be unique in their content. They deal with modernization and give analytical and constructive recommendations. They touch upon tangible problems in the society; they provide greatly diverse theories for the failure of Ethiopia to be modernized and they suggest solutions as well.

According to Walk (1998) there are two methods of organizing the body of a comparative analysis: text by text and point by point. Text by text method of organization is all about discussing all of the concepts of one of the two writers first and then proceeding to the other's while point by point is all about interchanging points about one of the two texts with equivalent points about the other. This study is organized with point by point method of organization *as it is* easier with this method to show the differences between the two authors' works vividly.

Unit of Analysis

Selected articles from both books are comparatively analyzed, interpreted and similarities and differences are inferred. The following aspects are the basis of comparison of the two books:



How do the two authors define modernization?



How do they describe Ethiopia and Ethiopians?

- ✚ What are the factors they attribute to Ethiopia's poverty?
- ✚ What are their methods of presentation of concepts like language clarity, focus and implication like?
- ✚ What are the concepts both authors raise in relation to communication for development and analyze differently?
- ✚ Are there concepts of communication development the two authors raise which propagate any of the paradigms of development and/negate with them?
- ✚ Are there issues of how to bring about development one of them raises in his book and the other ignores? If so what are the possible reasons?

Chapter – 4

4. Data Presentation and Analysis

Development communication in the imperial Ethiopia is one of the least studied areas of communication in School of Journalism and Communications. While there are some worth studying books like the two books this study focuses on, they have been unnoticed. This has motivated the researcher to be interested in it and to conduct a research.

Among the other books published in the imperial era the two books happen to be unique. The two authors were not the only scholars who promoted industrialization and its characteristics; many foreign educated as well as traditionally educated Ethiopians had been airing their views about modernization on *Berhannena Selam* newspaper which was said to be the mouthpiece of the intelligentsia at least until the government started censoring the views they forwarded (Bahru 2002). However, the two scholars came up with well researched, analytical presentations of development concepts which cover a wide range of issues.

In Kebede Mikael's "Japan Endemin Seletenech (1946E.C/1954G.C)" – "How did Japan Modernize? (1946E.C/1954G.C)" as the title signifies, most of the concepts of development communication that are presented through the history of the Japanese people and the steps they followed to achieve development. Therefore, in this study, every thing Kebede notes as a strong point of the Japanese is considered a recommendation for Ethiopian people and government for the author wrote the book with the purpose of inspiring the readers and urging them to busy themselves in the development activities he raises in his book: "Inspiration comes from reading other peoples' industriousness and success; therefore, the Ethiopian youth should read Japanese history and strive for the good of their country." (Kebede1946E.C/1954G.C:110).

Nevertheless, to give emphasis the author relates some Japanese experiences to the Ethiopian cases. Therefore, Ideas the author deliberately repeats and relates to the Ethiopian case are considered to be given special focus, and ideas simply noted in the Japanese experience are considered to be given less focus. Yet, concepts, emphasized or not, that the researcher considers to be lessons to Ethiopians are dealt with in this paper.

Gebrehiwet Baykedagne's "Mengistina Yehizib Astedader (1916E.C/1924G.C)" - "Government and Public Administration 1916E.C/1924G.C" is like Kebede's book self explanatory: what it deals with can be simply put as "the responsibilities of a responsible government." Its content is relatively critical; in this book complex economic and political concepts are dealt with in depth. Gebrehiwet defines the title of his book "Public Administration" as "it means preserving old standing benefits of the people, providing them with new benefits, and even forcing them upon the people." (Gebrehiwet 1916: 13) Since the book raises complex and multifaceted development communication concepts, only ideas the researcher deems were the people's immediate problems are dealt with in depth in this study.

4.1 Modernization

As to Kebede, modernization is economic growth attained through industrialization, and he begins his book by analyzing what it means to human beings. He likens it to magic and explains how miraculous its effect is on the overall human life: after the fall of human civilization, there came industrialization which was an all-new discovery that changed human life once and for all (Kebede 1946 E.C/1954 G.C). He also quotes Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's metaphorical explanation of industry: Industry is the elixir of life; it turns the old man into an energetic adult; the old world in to a new one; the dark prospect into a bright future. ...modernity reveals human dignity - that is why we need to study the means to attain it because the Japanese learnt the means ahead of us and proven it viable (Ibid 1946 E.C: /1954G.C).

The author insists that the source of all modernity is “thought”:

ብዙ ሰዎች ሲተዋጽዖ በስልጣኔ ትሱ ወደ ፊት ስመራመድ የማትችሉው በግንዛብ ምክንያት ነው ፤ ግንዛብ ቢኖራት ኖሮ...ስርምጃዋን ለማፋጠን ትችሉ ነበር ይላሉ።ዳሩ ግን ዋናው ምክንያት ግንዛብ ስደድስም።...ሰው ሁሉን ነገር ሲሰራ የሚችልበት ከስግዚአብሔር የተሰጠው መማሪያ ‘ስላብ’ ይባላል ።በስላም ሳይ የተሰረተም ታላላቅ ስራዎች ... ተሰርተው የተገኙት በስላብ ነው።...ግንዛብንም የፈጠረው የሰው ስላብ ነው።...በምብ ስቶሚክስን ብንመሰክተው ስንደን ስደንሽታደን ... ከመሰሉት ሲቃወሙት ስንገሰ ፈልቆ ወጣ ። ስንደንደቸ ህዝቦች ግን...ባላብ የተቀደሙ በመሆናቸው ብቻ ወደ ኋላ ቀርተው ይኖራሉ።የጃፓን ህዝብ ስገሩ ደዓ ነው።ህዝቡ ግን ስላቡ ሩቅ የሚያስተውሉ የመንፈስ ባስፀጋ በመሆኑ ብቻ ሁሉንም ራሱን ከፍ ስድረግ ለማሳየት ቻለ።

Many people have a misconception about ways of attaining modernization. They think Ethiopia would have been modernized had it been wealthy .They believe money is the source of all modernity, yet the source of all human achievements is “thought” which caused money to exist; with which Einstein invented atomic bomb. Every great deed in the world was done with “thought.”... Human beings are equally gifted with understanding, yet some make use of it while others forego it. The Japanese brought about modernity not because they are any richer than people of the rest of the world. In reality they are rather poor in natural resources. All they did was make use of their brains and discover a solution for every problem they faced. (Ibid 1946/1954G.C: 99-103).

After defining industry and its source Kebede comes to the point he meant to make: in the preface he explains how Ethiopians are backward and that it is high time for them to awake and catch up with the developed world. Then, he insists that it is better to follow the example of one of the developed nations than to start from scratch. He states that he had read so many history books in his pursuit to get the best example for his country to follow and at last found Japanese way of development the most applicable to Ethiopia and composed the book entitled “Japan Endemin Seletenech” / “How did Japan Modernize?” by bringing together extracts from different books of Japanese history. (Ibid: 1946/1954G.C)

Kebede wishes that Ethiopians would be the first black people to prove wrong the Europeans' attitude that black people can never develop on their own (Ibid 1946). He says he wants his country to repeat the Japanese "miraculous" achievement on the economic front. "The Japanese have become the only non white people to make their country one of the super powers by defying the Europeans' belief that people of different race than the westerners can never be intelligent enough to compete with them." (Ibid 1946: n.p).

4.2. Similarities between Japanese and Ethiopian histories as discussed by the author

Kebede supports his argument by comparing Ethiopian and Japanese histories. This comparison is meant to assure the reader that Ethiopian history is to be equated with that of Japan, and that Ethiopians have every reason to believe and act upon his recommendation of following Japanese way:

ሁለቱም አገሮች ባንድ ዘመን ውስጥ ፖለቲካዊ ግብዥ ሆኑ ። ሁለቱም በአንድ ዘመን ውስጥ በሀይማኖት ጉዳይ ተጣሰተው ስነሳነታቸው አሰራሪ ካገራቸው አስወጧቸው ። ሁለቱም ሁለት መቶ ሀምሳ አመታት የሚሆን ክፍለመንግሥት ተሰደተው ከኖሩ በኋላ በውጭም ሆነ በግድ በጭቻቸውን ከፍተው ነጮችን ተቀበሏቸው። ... ስንጉሰ ነገስታቸው ያላቸው አክብሮትና ፍቅር አንድ አደነት በመሆኑ የኢትዮጵያና የጃፓን ህዝብ በዚህም በኩል ባህሪያቸው በጣም ይመሳሰላል ። ... ከአክሱም መንግሥት እስከ ስሁኑ ድረስ የኢትዮጵያ ነገስታት የህዝባቸውን ነፃነትና ክብር ጠብቀው ሰመዋር የገጠማቸውን ፈተና አሸንፈው ዛሬ እኛ የምንኮራበትን መብት እንዳወረሱን ስንመረምረው ጃፓኖች ስነሳነታቸው ጥበቃ በየዘመኑ ከሰሩት የጃፓንነት ስራ ጋር በጣም ይመሳሰላል ።

Both were visited by Portuguese in similar periods ; both forced the Portuguese out of their countries for fear of being colonized and losing their faith respectively; both after isolation from the rest of the world for more than 250 years, restarted connecting with the world militarily forced and willingly respectively (Ibid 1946/1954G.C:5); both have also extreme respect to their monarchs (Ibid 1946/1954G.C:95), and both countries' monarchs made a lot of sacrifice for ages to retain their respective countries' independence (Ibid 1946/1954G.C:98).

4.2.1 What makes Japanese Way of development the best example for Ethiopians to follow?

The main reason the author forwards is that Ethiopia needs to develop in the shortest possible period of time...Japan developed with in less than 50 years. No world country has ever exhibited development this shortly. (Ibid 1946/1954G.C) Therefore, he emphasizes, if we are to achieve development shortly, we must follow this example. He also further elaborates it by comparing Japanese and western ways of development: the Japanese undertook the process of achieving development under the leadership of the government and the king; every project passed through a lot of scrutiny and research before it got launched; this enabled them to avoid possible waste of energy conversely Europeans brought about development after exerting a lot of effort for ages. The process to achieve development was too slow because it completely relied on some individuals' efforts and discoveries. The brain and the heart control all cellular activities in human body; the same went with the process of Japanese development banks, industries, authorities, diplomats, daily Laborers, and merchants were all controlled by the government. There were also only two families who manage the industries–Mitsui and Mitsubishi where as in Europe the government relied on private companies; as a result, they expended too much energy struggling and competing with each other. Japan copied all European technologies by means of her messengers and by summing them up, managed to outshine them shortly on the contrary European nations, apart from relying on individual discoveries did not try to learn or copy different technologies from each other (Ibid1946/1954G.C)

Ways the Japanese government followed to attain industrialization which the author insists that the Ethiopian government as well should follow are : facilitating conditions to foster population growth by Spreading hospitals in order to reduce mortality rate ; employing westerners to learn their ways by sending students abroad so that they learn in western schools and become familiarized with the technologies and replace skilled foreigners, who undertake technical activities, with Ethiopians,

and along the way save foreign currency which the foreigners are paid; restraining from signing any international copyright agree-ment- to be able to translate and reprint whatever books published abroad and benefit from the limitless knowledge of the world (Ibid 1946/1954G.C).

4.3 Factors both authors attribute for the country's poverty

Kebede believes that his country is enormously endowed with natural resources (Kebede 1946E.C/1954G.C:101); as a result, he persists that Ethiopia is luckier than Japan in this respect and thus, can bring about development without having to occupy neighboring countries and exploit their natural resources unlike Japan (Ibid 1946/1954G.C:n.p)

Kebede Mikael was not any different from the other foreign educated Ethiopians .Like them he was never satisfied with the pace of the process of attaining modernity in Ethiopia. He was not impressed with any of Ethiopian leaders who reigned before Hailesillassie .Unlike Gebrehiwet, Kebede never gives credit to Tewodros's effort to bring in modernity; to him the three monarchs who reigned before Hailesillassie were all the same:

ኢትዮጵያ ግን በዚህ በኩል ቋተኛ ሆና በመገኘቷ አውግጥሞችን አገርዋ ከገቡ በኋላ የአስጣኔን ጥበቦች ሳትወርስ
አስዘገየች ያላ ቴዎድሮስ ፣ ያላ ዮሃንስና ያላ ምኒልክ ዘመናት በከንቱ አሰፋ በእነዚህ ዘመናት ጠንክራ ቢሆን ኖሮ
አሁን ያሰፈው የፋሺስት የወረራ አደጋ ባስደረሰባት ነበር።

Ethiopia was tardy in copying European technologies: the reigns of Tewodros, Yohannes, and Menelik were without any notable attainment of modernity. Had Ethiopians worked hard during the aforementioned periods, their country would not have been destroyed by the last fascist aggression (Ibid 1946/1954G.C:98).

The author unlike Gebrehiwet does not relate the indolence which was prevalent in the country to administrative problems; rather, he admonishes the people for not being far sighted like the Japanese:

በንብረታችን በግል ኑሯችን ፤በገዛ አገራችን ውስጥ ባሉብን ጉዳዮች ብቻ አሳባችን ከሚት እስከ ማታ እየተጠመደ እርስ በእርሳችን በመጨቃጨቅ፤ በመናሸር ፤በመመሳሰልና በመታገል ብዛት ቀኑን ሙሉ ያሳባችንን ጉልበት ስንጨርስ እንደሆነና ማታ ማታ በመሸ ቁጥር ከባድ የሆነ ድካም እየተሰማን እንተሻሻለን ።ሴሎቹ ህዝቦች ግን ልውውጥና ጥበብ የተባለውን ዘመናዊ ወጋ ሳሳባቸው መሳሪያ አድርገው ረጅም በሆነው አስተያየታቸው ዓለምን እየዞሩ ሰነፎች የሆኑትን ህዝቦች እርስበርሳቸው እያጣሉ ፤በብታቸውን ወደ ቤታቸው እየሰበሰቡ ያገባሉ።

Ours is one of the world countries which are outdone with understanding. We spend all of our time scheming against one another; fighting and arguing over inconsequential and personal issues .We can never see further than ourselves. However, people of the developed world, with the help of their understanding, travel around the world; incite people of the underdeveloped world to violence and civil war and exploit their natural resources (Ibid 1946/1954G.C:100).

After describing how the Japanese government, wealthy Japanese individuals, the feudal lords, the emperor and the people cooperated and made a lot of sacrifice to bring in development, the author again points to the Ethiopian case and underlines that the emperor is progressive and is doing his best to bring in modernity, but it can not be a substitution for the effort everybody restrains from exerting for the good of the country:

ብዙ ሰዎች ሰዎች የሰላማዊ ስራዎች በቀን በቀን ሲቋቋሙ እንመስክታለን ። ደህ ስራ ሁሉ እንደ ቡቃያ ወይም እንደ አበባ የሚቆጠር ሲሆን መሰከሩም ፍሬ ሲሰጥ የሚችለው ሁሉም በየበኩሉ ተግባራት እየተረዳዱ ሲሰሩ እያንዳንዳችንም ሲተዋዋድ ... የተሰጠውን ተግባር ስራ በሆነ መንፈስ ሲፈፅመው ነው። ንጉሥ ነገስታችን ሲተዋዋድ ከፍ ለማድረግ የምንችልበትን መሳሪያ እንደዚህ አድርገው ሲያስጨብጡን ዋጋ ያለው ስራ ሲንሰራበት የምንችለው እኛ ነን።

Our king has been exerting a lot of effort to bring in development ;however, that can only be considered as the flower, the fruit is yet to come – only when everybody supports each other and fulfils his/her responsibilities can that be realized (Ibid 1946:104).

Like Kebede, Gebrehiwet believes that the cause of his country's poverty is not lack of natural resource: “የኢትዮጵያን አገር የመሰሰ ሀብታም መሬት የትም ብንሄድ ብዙ አናገኝም ::” “The natural resource in Ethiopia is one of the rarest in the world.” (Gebrehiwet 1916 E.C/1924G.C:147).His focus rather is on the factors, which he claims, have hindered the utilization of the natural resources for centuries. He analyzes three major factors of poverty and anti–development: war, banditry and injustice and concludes that these are the universal causes of poverty and the very reasons for the regression of Ethiopia's civilization as well as her inability to attain development with in the desired period of time. He describes Ethiopia as a country enormously ravaged with banditry and intermittent war and he describes war and banditry as the worst enemies of progress in human life (Ibid 1916 E.C/1924G.C).

He not only describes the state of the people and the kings of his time but also gives historical background. He starts with reminding the reader of the glory of the Axumite kingdom and how it fell apart; the aggression of Gagne and its effects; the custom of appointment or reign of kings and high ranking officials in Ethiopia in his time. Then, he points out problems, mainly of administrative nature; criticizes them, and suggests possible solutions with elaborate examples and explanations.

4.4 Social, Political and Economic issues the authors analyze in their own ways

4.4.1 Feudalism

Kebede puts abolishing feudalism as the first step of achieving development as was the case with Japan .Ethiopia was ruled by an emperor like Japan; therefore, Kebede Mikael like other scholars of his time was of the opinion that the governors took more than their fair share of authority and wealth in the country. Thus, they should hand it over to the emperor if the country is to bring about significant progress. However, as noted above, it is not Kebede's way to bluntly address issues which concern the government and feudal lords .He rather discretely touches upon it through the Japanese experience:

ከ1871 ዓ.ም በፊት (እ.ኤ.አ) በጃፓን አገር የነበረው ሀብት ሁሉ የሚገኘው በንጉሥ ነገስቱና 270 በሚሆኑት “ዳዳሚዎች” በሚባሉት መኪንንች እጅ ነበር። (Ibid 1916 E.C/1924G.C :18) ...ካትሱ ሳገር የሚጠቀመውን በማመዛዘን ዘመን የሻረውን ስልጣን ይዞ ለመኖር ማሰብ ትስቅ ሞኝነት መሆኑን በብስህትና በምክር ለመሳፍንት ወገኖች ስረድዶች ስልጣናቸውን በፈቃዳቸው እንዲያስረክቡ አደረጋቸው።(Ibid1916E.C/1924G.C:66)...ጃፓን እንደነትን አግኝታ ኢንዱስትሪን እንድታቋቋም ከሁሉ ነገር ስስቀድሞ ስረዳላገው ነገር የፊውዳል ስገዛዝ እንዲቀር ማድረግ ስለነበር ዳዳሚዎ የተባሉት መኪንንች በ1871 ዓ.ም (እ.ኤ.አ) ከጥንት ጀምሮ ሲወርድ ሲዋረድ የመጣውን የመሳፍንትነት መብታቸውን በፈቃዳቸው ስቅቀው ግዛታቸውንና ጉሰታቸውን በፈቃዳቸው ለመንግስት ስረድከቡ። ከዚህ በኋላ መንግስቱ ባንድ ጊዜ በጃፓን አገር የሚገኙትን ርስቶች ሁሉ ጠቅሰው በእጁ ያዘና ሰህዝቡ እያከፋፈለ በመስጠት እንዲለሙና እንዲሰራባቸው አደረገ።(Ibid 1916 E.C/1924G.C :21)

Before 1871 the country's wealth was in the hands of the king and about 270 princes called “Daimios” (Kebede 1946:18). ...Japanese realized that feudalism was anti-development and anti-industrialization; therefore, they worked hard to abolish it. Katsu one of the great Japanese of his time, was the first to propose that the feudal lords give up their long standing family inheritance of governorship and give the king absolute power. He insisted that if the feudal lords cared for development, then they

should willingly give up their rights (Ibid1946: 66). ...Accordingly, the princes heeded Katsu's advice and handed over their titles, fiefs and lands to the emperor in 1871. Then, the government distributed the land to the people (Ibid 1946: 21).

When it comes to Gebrehiwet, he criticizes not only the feudal lords but also the kings ; however he does this in two different ways : by directly criticizing the Ethiopian feudal lords, officials along with the kings and by referring to what he calls “the universal trend of holding power and administering a people.”

በገዛ እጃቸው ስርተው ስሙብሳት የማይወዱ ጥቂት ሰዎች ደኖረ ይሆናል። ከነዚህም ስራ ከማይወዱ ሰዎች ውስጥ አንዱ የጉልበትና የሰውቀት ብልጫ ደኖረዋል። የቀረጥንም ደስበስባቸዋል፤ ዋናቸውም ሁሉ ስራሱና ለሚከተሉት ኃይኞች የሚበቃ ምግብ ከሴቶች ደቀማል።... እሱም ጥቂት ቅዱሳን የብዙ ወገን ቅርጽ ገዢ ይሆናል። ስራና ስራ ሰራሳቸው ተከታዮቹም ምግብ የሚሆን ቅፋሪዎችና ስራቸው ስርተው ካገኙት ሀብት ከፍሰው እንደ ግብር እንደሰጡት የግድ ይሳቸዋል።... እንዲሁም ያንዱን ዜጎች ለማስገበር ይፈልጋል በዚህም በመቀናናታቸው ምክንያት ጦርነት ይነሳል ... ስሳቸውን ሸፍነው ስም ብቻ ለመፈለግ የተነሱ ያስመስሉታል።... ገባቸውንም እያስተረፈዱ ቅርፆች እርስ በርሳቸው በፍቅር ለመሳሳክ እደመሰሉም ። ከዚህም በኋላ ብዙ አገሮች በአንድ ጊዜ ከሰማት ወደ ጥፋት ይወድቃሉ።... በውስጣቸውም በግዳደና በዘረፋ የበሰጠውን እያዩ ራስ፣ ደጃዝማች እያሉ ይሾማሉ፤... ሁከትና ቅሚያ ጦርነት ሲበዛ ህዝቡ ሰራት ደክሞ ጥር የሰበሰበውን ሁሉ እንዲቀሙት ያውቃልና ... ተስፋ ቅርጽ የጠፋውን መሬት እንደገና ለማቅናት እደማርም። ከዚህም ድህነትና ስደት በሽታና ሞት በአገሩ ሁሉ ይበዛል።... የጦርነቱ ሁሉ ፍፃሜና ምኞት ግን መዝረፍና ማስገበር ነው።

Before becoming a ruler of nations, a person gathers around him indolent vagabonds like himself. Then, he forces the peasants to give to him and to his followers the fruit of the workers' labors... Feudal lords expand their territories at the expense of their vassals. The feudal lords may not seriously hate each other ;all they want is additional tribute and additional title ;they may remain friends even during the time their vassals are engaged in a serious battle. ... Murder and robbery gain one reward and appointment to high ranks This destroys what little development there is and increases the woes of the people. When chaos and raid prevail, the people know for certain that they would be forcefully robbed of their possessions. Therefore, they despair and never try to redevelop the land that is destroyed. Thus, poverty, migration, pestilence and death become prevalent in the

country. However, the ultimate goal of all these battles is securing the victor's interest by means of raid and tribute. (Gebrehiwet 1946: 31-33)

Though Gebrehiwet does not say it word for word, from his book one can easily discern that the implied meaning is a king is simply the most powerful of all robbers in a country. He states that instead of protecting the people from bandits and robbers, they reward them by bestowing titles and giving prizes to the worst of the robbers and the bandits. (Ibid 19 16 E.C/1924G.C)

After defining the responsibilities of the government; however, the author describes the character of Ethiopian kings and feudal lords .From his description of the responsibilities of the government and the character of the kings and the feudal lords, one can understand the point the author wants to get across without having to say it word for word –which is his contemporary Ethiopian governors were feeble leaders whose structure of administration never fitted in his definition of “government”.

The author also complains that the then officials did not encourage investment at all:

...የሰብስቦ መሳሪያ መኪና ፋብሪካ አቅማቸው የሚሰሩ ሰው ቢመጣ ፣እንደ ዛሬው ያገራችን ሹማምንት አያያዝ ቢሆን ይከስከሳል።ያስዚያ ግን ሲሰራ ያሰበው ሰብስቦ እንደማይሸጥሰት አይረገው ሰራሳ የሚሰጠውን ግብር ያበዙበታል።እንዲሁም ደግሞ በረሃውን መሬት አቅንጥጥ ዘርፍ አበቅሳቸው የሚሰሩ ሰው ቢመጣማሰቸገር እንጂ እንድም ርዳታ ከኢትዮጵያ ሹማምንት አያገኝም ።ከዚህም ምክንያት የተነሳ በኢትዮጵያ ፋብሪካ አቅማ ሰብስቦ አሰራሳቸው የሚሰሩ የሚያስብ እንድም አስተዋዩ ሰው በኢፎፓና በአሜሪካ አደገኝም።የዛሬ ዋና ሹማምንት መንግስታቸውን እንዳገለገሉ ሲታወቅላቸው ሲፈልጉ ደህና ውስ እንደመዋዋል ዛሬ ውስ አስቀረቡ እያሉ በየቤታቸው ያወራሉ።

...If an investor wanted to establish a textile industry, the current officials would prohibit it. Otherwise, they would over tax him. Even if a person came to till the desert and grow cotton, he would not get a thing from Ethiopian officials. As a result, no European or American investor intends to establish a factory in Ethiopia. Today,

instead of making an agreement with Europeans to modernize their country, Ethiopian officials keep boasting that they cancelled an agreement as if it were an indication of their loyalty to their government. (Kebede 1946: 81-82)

4.4.2 Population Growth

Both Kebede and Gebrehiwet promote the benefits of population growth. They claim that human resource if appropriately used is an asset. Kebede asserts that population growth can be a problem only when a country does not have sufficient resource to provide the people with. Even then, if there is a determination, the challenge can be turned into an opportunity. ... He explains that the Japanese were less fortunate than the Ethiopians in natural resource : this forced them to formulate a law which restricted the number of children a couple can have; however, eventually when the foreign educated Japanese created awareness that human resource can be turned in to economic growth, the government lifted the legal restriction. Eventually, this helped the Japanese in two ways:

The ever increasing number of population facilitated development by providing cheap labor for the industries. The government also recruited as many soldiers as it needed..., and Japan got soldiers to occupy the neighbouring countries and exploit raw materials for her industries. (Kebede 1946E.C /1954 G.C: 32-33)

After explaining its advantages, he recommends that the government should do everything in its power to increase population growth:

የኢትዮጵያ ስጋ ከጃፓን ስጋ ስፋት ሶስት ጊዜ ተኩሷ ይበልጣል ።ጠባብ በሆነው በጃፓን ስጋ ስባ ስምስት ሚሊዮን ህዝብ ሲኖርበት ሶስት ጊዜ ተኩሷ በሚበልጠው ሰፊ በሆነው በኛ ስጋ የሚኖረው የህዝባችን ቁጥር እስከ ስራ ስምስት ሚሊዮን ብቻ ነው እየተባሰ ይገመታል።ህዝቡ የህክምናን እርዳታ በሚገባ ሲያገኝ ግን ...ትውልዳችን የሚበዛ መሆኑ የታወቀ ነው።

Ethiopia is 3 and a half times as big as Japan .However, a small country as it is ,in Japan about 75 million people live, but in Ethiopia, the number of population is estimated only at 10 to 15 million. When the people are provided with ample medical treatment ... the number of population will increase enormously. (Ibid 1946/1954G.C:110 - 111)

Gebrehiwet on his part argues that population growth can be a nuisance only in one condition which is when the number of dependents surpasses the number of workers; as long as the number of breadwinners is more than the number of dependents, population growth is an asset. He also relates its advantages to knowledge which he affirms facilitates division of labor and specialization (Gebrehiwet 1916 E.C/1924G.C)

4.4.3 Domestic and International Trade

Both authors raise domestic and international trade issues. Kebede is highly concerned about the monopoly of Ethiopian domestic and international trade by foreigners. He believes that commerce and industry are the most decisive organs of a country's economy, and thus should be run by the countrymen:

... ስለዚህ ኢትዮጵያ በስፋት ከግድታት ሰማድረግ ሲችል ራሳቸው የሀብታቸው ስለተዳደሩ መሆን ስለባቸው። ይህንንም ሰማድረግ ሲችል የዘመናዊ ስፋት ትምህርት ኖሯቸው ንግድና ኢንዱስትሪን ከውጭ ስገር ሰዎች ስጅ ለውጥተው በሰጧቸው ማስገባት ያስፈልጋቸዋል።

...If Ethiopia is to advance in modernity, Ethiopians themselves must manage their wealth. To this end Ethiopians should pursue further education abroad and overtake the foreigners by controlling trade and industry in their country. (Ibid 1946/1954G.C:n.p)

At times, Kebede recommends some ways of development which negate with the Japanese ways; for instance, he states the Japanese experience that it was only the government which sends students abroad, that parents can not send their children abroad only because they afford the expenses (Ibid 1946/1954G.C). Kebede never criticizes this stand of the Japanese government .However, he urges the Ethiopian merchants to send their children abroad so that their children learn European technologies and run their parents' businesses with the help of the modern ways they learn abroad(Ibid 1946/1954G.C).

Gebrehiwet is rather worried about the ever increasing over dependence of the people on foreign products and the eventual extermination of indigenous crafts as a result of legally unrestricted entry of foreign commodities:

ከዚህም ቀደም በሀገራችን ራሳችንን ስመስራት ስንችላለን የነበረው ስራ ሁሉ ዛሬ ተረሳ። ... የኤርፓ ሰዎች ባገራችን ከመጡና ከገቡ ወዲህ እንኳን ሰውቀት ሰንጠረዥና ስባቶችን ያቀዩላንን ስራ ሁሉ ግማሹን ዛሬውኑ ረስተነዋል። ግማሹንም ስሁን ከጅቡቲ ወደ አዲስ አበባ በተሰራው የምድር ባቡር ምክንያት እስከቀርብ ጊዜ ድረስ ፈልመን ሳንረሳው ስንቀርም። ህዝቡ የሚያስፈልገው ነገር ሁሉ ሰውቀት ባላቸው አገሮች በመኪናና በተሻለ መሳሪያ ተሰርቶ ሲመጣ ዋጋው ባገሩ ከተሰራው ደረክሳልና ሰዋጋው ሲሰጥ ባገሩ የተሰራውን ትች ከውጭ አገር የመጣውን ይገዛል ። በዚሁም ባገሩ ውስጥ የነበሩት ስራተኞች የሰሩትን ስራ የሚገዛቸው ስጥተው የሰመዱትን ስራ ትተው የሰሰት እንጂሩ የሚገኝበትን ሴሳ ስራ ይደዛሉ ። ከዚህም የተነሳ ህዝቡ ሰውቀት ፈልሞ ይሰየማልና የውጭ አገር ህዝቦች ታዛዥ ይሆናል ።

Today, half of all indigenous crafts are forgotten. What crafts are retained are not encouraged to remain in the market; they are all shunned in favor of imported products. Since Europeans entry in our country, let alone adding up knowledge and wisdom, we have lost what knowledge and wisdom our fathers passed down. What little indigenous wisdom we have retained will most likely be lost as a result of the newly constructed Djibouti – Addis Ababa railway (Gebrehiwet 1916 E.C /1924G.C:79-80).

To solve this problem, Gebrehiwet gives emphasis on devising rules for import and export of products and hopes that the government will do what it takes to produce commodities to meet local demands and to export only processed commodities instead of raw materials. However, best of all to facilitate the above noted activities ,he insists that the government needs to ratify well thought out customs rules- rules which encourage importation of disassembled factory equipments that can not be produced in the country without tax, and overtaxing imported products that can be produced in the country (Ibid 1916/1924G.C).

He is also against the very idea of exporting unprocessed goods or raw materials. “We need to export processed goods in order to get better revenue; unprocessed items are sold cheaply.” (Ibid 1916/1954G.C:99). “...It is exporting processed items that brings development, not exporting raw materials/unprocessed goods.” (Ibid 1916/1924G.C:114).Gebrehiwet raises many factors related to trade and what the government’s treatment of them should like. Some of them are tax, kella/toll posts, price and Merchants.

4.4.3.1 Tax

Gebrehiwet’s recommendation concerning levying tax on imported products varies according to the type of the products. He believes that equipments meant for setting up a factory should not be taxed at all because the more factories are established, the more the people use local products and the less imported products dominate the market ... “Let factories be established; let disassembled factory equipments be imported without tax and foreign produced commodities be over taxed.” (Ibid 1916E.C/1924G.C:86).

He promotes the idea that local products should overflow the market; that Ethiopians should not altogether forget their indigenous crafts and wisdom in favor of foreign commodities .He opposes the fact that commodities which can be produced with traditional means have been

replaced with their foreign counterparts (Ibid 1916E.C/1924G.C). To bring the aforementioned idea into effect he highly recommends over taxation of imported products: “Let’s increase tax on imported products so as to help make domestic products competitive with the imported ones, and encourage the society to use local products.” (Ibid 1916E.C/1924G.C: 14).

4.4.3.2 Kella/Toll posts

Toll posts the government set up in different regions were criticized by many scholars and Gebrehiwet on his part analyzes its negative effects on production and government revenue. He gives an elaborate explanation about how these toll posts are detriments of economic growth:

መንግስት ... ከአገሩ ውስጥ የተበላሸው ሰቃ ሲሸጥና ሲሰወጥ በየገበያው የቀረጠ እንደሆነ እቃውን ሰርተው የሚሰዋወጡትን ሰራተኞች እንደ መራራት ያህል ነው። ... አራሹ ሰራተኛዎች ዓመት የሚበቃውን ስብስ ካገኘ ትርፍ እንዳይሰብ ይከለክላቸዋል። ስራውን ለማድረግ አይረዱም። አራሹና ሰራተኞች ዓመት የሚበቃውን እህል ካገኘ ትርፍ አገኛለሁ ሲሰሩ አራሹን ለመፈለግ አይረዱም። አራሹና ሰራተኞች ሲገዙ የሚፈልጉት ነገር ጥቂት ስብስ የሚሰሩትም ስራ ያንሳሉ። ሰራተኞችም ስራ ሲፈቱ ባገሩ ውስጥ የሚሰሩው ስራ ያንሳሉ መንግስትም ብዙ ግብር ሲያገኝ አይቻልም። ... ስለዚህ የህዝቡን ሰማትና የራሱን ጥቅም የፈለገ መንግስት ባገሩ ውስጥ ካንዱ ወረዳ ወደ አንዱ ወረዳ በሚሄዱ ነገር ዜጎችም ቢሆኑ የቀረጥ በር ማበጀት አይገባቸውም።

When tax becomes extremely high on domestic products, it deters surplus production....when a domestic product is taxed at every toll post, the producers become discouraged....In this state the farmer after buying enough clothes for a year will not trouble to find the weaver ; the weaver in turn buys what food suffices for a year and refrains from trying to buy more food. This means when the farmer’s and the weaver’s needs are limited, their work as well as their production dwindles. As a result, the government’s tax revenue falls. Therefore, a government which cares for

the people and the tax revenue, never taxes products at every toll post in all regions commodities are sold (Ibid 1916: 76).

He also criticizes the trend of levying excessive tax on luxury items like silk and champagne because it does not bring much revenue so far as luxury items in the first place are meant for the privileged few (Ibid 1916).

4.4.3.3 Price

One of the most complex economic aspects Gebrehiwet presents in a language a layman can understand is “price”: The price of an item is determined by its availability. Any item’s price becomes cheap or dear in direct proportion to the effort it requires to be found or produced (Ibid 1916/1924G.C).

Thus, price is the standard of work. Only because the amount of money people pay for 1 dawulla of teff increases from 1 birr to 30 birr doesn’t mean the price sky rocketes because it is not the amount of money that should count but all the effort one has to exert to get the money (Ibid 1916E.C /1924G.C). Gebrehiwet further substantiates his argument by giving an example:

ብርሃን ይዘህ ጤፍ ስመሽመት ወደ ገበያ ብትሄድ ፤ ባለጤፍ ስፊት ቁና ወይም ሁለት ቁና ይሰላሰላል። ምንጡ ዳሮ ስንድ ዳዉሳ ሲሸመት ስለነበረምን ብለህ ብተጠደቀው ፤ ባለ ጤፍ የቀድሞ ዘመንን ገበያ የሚያውቅ ሸማግሌ ከሆነ ስንዲህ ብሎ ይመሰከራል። ወዳጁ ሆኖ ድሮ ስንዲ ስንድ ብር ሰማግኘት ብዙ ድካም ያስፈልግ ነበር። ያውም ስንዲህም ነጋዴዎች ብሯን ሰማግኘት ሲሉ በደንከሰ ስገርና በስውሳ በረሃ ያስዉን መከፈ ሁሉ ሲቀበሉ ነበር። ሸፍታና በሸታም ብዙ ሰውና ከብትም ያስቀርባቸው ነበር ። ዛሬ ግን ብርን ሰማግኘት ይህ ሁሉ ድካም ስያስፈልግም። ዳሮ ስንድ ብር ሰማግኘት ሲደክም የነበረውን ድካም ዛሬ ሰላሳ ብር ያተርፍበታል። የስርሻው ድካም ያው ስንደ ድርው ነው፤ ድካሙም ስላነሰውም ። ... ስንግዲህ በስንድ ብር ስንድ ዳዉሳ ስለተሸመተ ዛሬ ዳውሳውን በሰላሳ ብር ስንደመሽመት ያህል ነው።

If someone asks a merchant why the price of teff got dearer, he may explain it to him as follows: My friend, previously it took a lot of trouble to earn 1 birr. Even that you find with a merchant. To make 1 birr this merchant had to cross Danakil and Awsa deserts, and bandits and diseases used to kill many of his cattle and even his men .However, today there is no need to pass through all this trouble to make money. One can make 30 birr with all the effort people used to exert to make 1 birr formerly. In the mean time, the effort the farmer has to exert has remained the same; therefore, it is not that the price sky rocketed, but it is the effort to make money which became less (Ibid 1916/1924G.C:45- 46).

4.4.3.4 Exchange

Among the workers, Gebrehiwet gives special emphasis on soldiers, officials and merchants. In fact, he doesn't call them "workers". He believes that the more the number of productive citizens the more development is achieved; yet, the more the number of soldiers, officials and merchants the less the number of workers and the poorer the country grows. He argues that their number should be limited to the least possible:

... በአንድ አገር ውስጥ ነጋዴ ሲበዛ ሹምም ወታደርም ቀማኛማም ይበዛሉ። የፊት የፊትም ስራ በከፍተኛ ስድስት በአንድ ያለ አገር ውስጥ ሀብት አይከማቸም። ድህነትና ችግር በሽታም ሞትም እጅ በእጅ ተያደዘው ይገቡበታል።

When the number of merchants gets higher than what is needed, officials, soldiers and robbers also dominate the society, and what little work is produced gets consumed as soon as it is generated. In this country poverty, disease and death will reign (Ibid 1916/1924G.C:66).

He also insists that Merchants who sell local products in the country should be encouraged, yet merchants who sell imported commodities should be discouraged. He believes that the

loss the latter brings to Ethiopia is two fold: first, it loses her raw materials in an unbalanced trade; second the people get used to foreign produced commodities and cease to buy domestic products which in turn results in extermination of indigenous crafts (Ibid 1916/1924G.C).

The author does not limit the concept of exchanging goods and works to merchants. According to his explanation everybody wittingly or unwittingly is engaged in the process of exchanging works in his/her daily life:

እንግዲህ ሰው የሚያስፈልገው ሞናው ነገር ስራውን ተከፋፍሎ የሰራውን ፍሬ መስዋወጥ ነው። ስራውን ተከፋፍሎ ካስተሰዋወጠ ግን ብቻውን ሲሆን ማናቸውም ስራ በምሥራክ አይሳካበትም። ... መስዋወጥም የሰው የተፈጥሮ ባህል መሆኑን ከሰው ኑሮ ውስጥ ማናቸውንም እንዳች ነገር ስለተውሰን ብንመሰክት እንረዳለን ባለና ሚስት ከዳጅና ከቤት ሆነው ሰርተው የሰሩትን ስራ ይስዋወጣሉ። አባትና እናትም ልመግበው ስሳሳደጉ ልጆች ሲያድጉ በስራ ይረዳሉ። ወላጆቻቸውንም ሲያረጁ ይመራቸዋል። ብረት ስራውም ማረሻ አበጅቶ ጤፍ ይቀበላል። ስራሹም ጤፍ ሰጥቶ የተሻለ ማረሻ ያገኛል። በሌላም ነገር ሁሉ እንደዚሁ ነው። ሰው ቀት ባለው ህዝብ መካከል ግን እንደዚሁ ሚስጥ ሰው የሰም። በከንቱም የሚበላ ሰው የሰም።

If a person does not Exchange goods, it becomes hard for her/ him to execute any task. One can easily understand by looking at any part of human life how exchanging things is part of natural human behavior. Husband and wife work at home and outside home and exchange the fruits of their works. Parents, bring up their off springs, when grown up, the children in turn help their parents in household and field works as well as support them when they get old. The blacksmith produces or repairs a plow and gets teff in exchange for it, and the farmer in return for teff receives a better plow. The same goes in every country of the world. And no one gives anything freely nor eats without contributing a thing if the people in a country are knowledgeable. Since everyone's life is founded on exchange, people exchange works (Ibid 1916/1924G.C:63).

4.4.4 Nationalism

One of the requirements Kebede puts for development is nationalism .He argues that people need the feeling of self importance to prove how great they are, and passion comes out of self trust. Japan and Germany became successful because both countries' peoples were brainwashed into thinking that their races were superior to the people of the rest of the world. The author argues that the very thought of being of superior race inflames their passion to be industrious and show how great they are .He states that if people do not have a tradition that promotes superiority, they are like a disoriented traveler in a dark forest (Ibid 1946/1954G.C).

Being selective in copying European mode of life is also the other point kebede raises as a way of demonstrating nationalism :

ጃፓኖች የአውሮፓ ስልጣኔ ገና ስንደገብ ... የሚያስፈልጋቸውንና የሚጠቀሟቸውን ብቻ ሰደተው ከወሰዱ በኋላ የሚገኝባቸውንና የሚያበላሻቸውን ስንቀበልም ብለው ወረወሩት። ... ሰምሳሴ ከጥንት ጀምሮ ተያደዞ የመጣው የሀይማኖታቸው ትምህርት ራሳቸውን ያመልክት ልጆች ስድረገው ስንዲመስክቱ ስለተምሯቸዋል። ... የሚኮሩበት የግል ስምንታቸው ሁልጊዜ በህዝባቸው መንፈስ ውስጥ ተቀርፆ ስንዲኖር ስለፈሳጊዉን ነገር ሁሉ አደረጉ።

Japanese brought in what they deemed beneficial and yet rejected what they thought would corrupt the people and destroy their culture ... for instance, the longstanding Japanese religion states that the Japanese are children of gods and they have retained this belief (Ibid 1946: 83).

Kebede insists that the people should make sacrifice to bring about development, and love of their country ignites their passion to work hard regardless of what sort of administration there is (Ibid 1946E.C /1954G.C). On the other hand Gebrehiwet argues that the government should fulfill its responsibilities first before expecting the people to be ready to make any

sacrifice. Gebrehiwet warns the government that the possible consequence of the prevalence of monopoly can be lack of patriotism on the part of the people (Gebrehiwet 1916 E.C/1924 G.C).

4.4.5 Independence

Both authors believe that only equality in modernity can bring about respect among countries which results in independence. Gebrehiwet Baykedagne does not sound impressed with the victory of Adwa; he even bluntly states that Ethiopia is not independent in every sense of the word. He classes her among the non-colonized countries that are under neocolonialism:

እስቲ ለሁሉን እኛ የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ አርነት አሰን ሲባል ነውን ? አርነት ያሰው ህዝብ ማለት እውነተኛ ትርጉሙ ሰብቻው ሙንግስት ያሰው ህዝብ ማለት ብቻ አይደለም ፤ ራሱንም የቻለ ህዝብ ማለት ነው እንጂ ። የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ እስከ ዛሬ ድረስ ገና ራሱን አሳታለም። እስቲ የሰበሰነውን እንዴ ፤ ከወዴት የተሰራና ማን ያመጣው ነው ? የቤታችንን እቃ ሁሉ ከወዴት የመጣ ነው ? ... ፎልሞ ከውጭ እንደ የመጣ አይደለምን ?

Do we Ethiopians really have independence? A free nation does not mean a nation with a government but a self reliant nation. Ethiopians are not yet self reliant. Let's see our clothes and household items - all are imported products (Ibid 1916:79).

When it comes to Kebede, he believes that Ethiopia is independent, but he insists that this can not be taken as a guarantee for a better prospect. He reminds the reader of how Ethiopians suffered a sound defeat by the fascist army as a result of lack of modern armaments. Kebede insists that in the modern era industrialization is the only assurance for people to be fit militarily , and argues that industrialization / modernization is not an option, it is the only thing to be achieved in order to retain independence.”(Kebede 1946 E.C).

Kebede indicates that the motivating factor behind the Japanese development was the question of “independence”. He underlines the fact that the Japanese did not learn how far they were behind the world powers until their impregnable - for-250 years close door policy was violated and their territory was broken into by European and American military forces. Japan threw itself on their mercy. Europeans made Japan to feel how weak she was to keep them away from her territory, that if they wanted to they could colonize her. Therefore, Japan learnt the European ways of attaining modernization in order to get back its dignity and independence. They regretted the fact that they were far behind the Europeans and devised ways to catch up with Westerners without having to take all the time it took the Europeans to modernize (Ibid1946/1954G.C).

The author also warns that today’s independence of Ethiopia can not be a gurantee for tomorrow:

ስገራችን ኢትዮጵያ ቀድሞ በዮዲትና በግራኝ በኋላም በኢጣሊያ ወረራ ምክንያት የደረሰባትን መከራ ስናስታውሰው እግዚአብሔር ሁሉ ጊዜ በተዓምር እየመበቀና እያዳነ እስካሁን በነፃነቷና በክብሯ ስኖራት። ስለዚህ እኛ ደግሞ በበኩሳችን ስዚህ ጊዜ ያደረሰንን ስምሳክ ለማመስገን የምንችለው ነፃነታችንን የሰንፍና ስሸጋ ማድረጋችን ቀርቶ ክብራችንን ጠብቀን የምናኖርበትን መሳሪያ በዘመኑ ጥበብና እውቀት ሰርተን ለሚመጣብን ጠላት መከላከያ ስናደርገው ነው።

Remembering the aggressions of Ethiopia by Yodit Gudit and Ahmed gragne, one can easily discern how God kept Ethiopia with its freedom and honor miraculously. Therefore, we in our turn should show how grateful we are to God’s favor by working hard and attaining knowledge which enables us to produce arms and defend our god-given freedom instead of making our freedom an assurance to live indolently (Ibid1946/1954G.C:122).

4.4.6 Foreigners

Both scholars agree that foreigners can be useful to Ethiopians .However, what the authors are not comfortable with is their negative influence in the economical and political life of the society like giving the officials bad advices,exporting raw materials,importing commodities that can be produced at home. They believe that the government should ratify laws which limit their influence and business activities in the country and turn their negative influence into some sort of positive contribution to the development of the country.

Kebede acknowledges some of their positive contributions, “foreigners shall be praised for investing their money and knowledge in our country; for creating job opportunities, and for bringing additional revenue to the government in the form of tax etc.” (Ibid1946:116) yet, even then he reminds the reader of their possible role in the country’s future if they are let loose: “... however, foreigners now have stepped on our feet: if we stay like this and do not do something urgently, they will step on our neck.” (Ibid1946:116). Then he shifts to his model of modernization –Japan - to give what he calls “tried and proven great experiences”:

ጃፓኖች ... የኢኮኖሚ ነገር ዋና ጉዳይ መሆኑን ስለተረዱት ንግዳቸውና ኢንዱስትሪያቸው ከውጭ ስግር ሰዎች እጅ እንዳይደገቡ አድርገው በዚህ ረገድ ራሳቸውን ስመቻል ጠንክረው ተጣጣሩ። ... ስለዚህ ኢትዮጵያ በስልጣኑ እንድትረጅም ሰማድረግ ሲጸጅ የዘመናዊው ስልጣኑ ተምህርት ኖሯቸው ንግድንና ኢንዱስትሪን ከውጭ ስግር ሰዎች እጅ አውጥተው በእጃቸው ማግባት ያስፈልጋቸዋል። የኢትዮጵያ ነጋዴዎች ሲጸጁትን ወደ ውጭ ስግር እየሳኩን የንግድን ስራ ተምረው እንዲመጡና ሃብታችንን በዘመኑ ስልጣኑ ሰውቀት እንዲያስኬዱት እንፈልጋለን ብለው እንዲያስቡና እንዲፈልሙት ያስፈልጋል።ስለዚህ ግን ሁሉ ጊዜ በገዛ ስገራቸው ከውጭ ስግር ሰዎች በታች ሆነው ይኖራሉ።

The Japanese took the utmost care not to allow the foreigners to control their country’s trade and industry because they understood that economic independence is the essence of modernization. ...Likewise, if Ethiopia is to advance in modernization, Ethiopians should be the managers of their wealth.

Ethiopian merchants should be motivated to send their children abroad so that their children learn how to run business in modern ways. Otherwise, Ethiopians will continue leading a far less comfortable life than the foreigners who live in the country (Ibid1946:n.p).

In order to facilitate the involvement of Ethiopians on major business activities Kebede suggests: “... በስገራችን የሚጠቀሙትን ነጋዴዎች እና ባለ ሲነዲስትሪዎችን ከኢትዮጵያውያን ጋር ካፒታላቸውን እኩል ስእኩል እያደረጉ አብረው በባለ እክሲዮንነት እንዲሰሩ ማስገደድ ነው ።” “Foreigners should be forced (by law) to work in cooperation with Ethiopians.” (Ibid1946:116). Gebrehiwet as well agrees with Kebede that the Ethiopians shall get the chance to learn from their foreign business partners: “የውጭ አገር ሰዎች ድካማችንን መውሰዳቸው ሳይቀር አጠገባችንን አየሰሩ ቢወስዱት ይሻላል ።” “If foreigners are to take our fruit of labor then let them take it working with us.” (Ibid1946:98).

Gebrehiwet blames foreigners who live in Ethiopia for giving the officials bad advices:

“ ያገራችንም ሹማምንት ሩቅ እንዳያዩ እነዚህ የተሰበሰቡ ቃላት እንደጉም ሆነው አደናቸውን ሸፍነው ይከስክሷቸዋል ። ሰውቀት አለንም ብለው ራሳቸው ይዞራል ። ውሏቸውም ስራን ትተው በክርክርና በሙግት ብቻ ነው ። አገረጋዮች ተብለው በእንደዚህ ያሉት መኪንንት ሳይ የሆነ መንግስት እንደዚህ ባሉ ሩቅ በማያዩ ሰዎች የተመራም ህዝብ ተያይዞ ያውም በፍጥነት ወደ ገደል መግባት እንደሆነ ግን የማይጠረጠር ነገር ነው ። ”

...these bad advices have prevented the Ethiopian officials from being far sighted, and have made them think that they are knowledgeable .yet, they waste their time arguing and filing lawsuits. The government and the people these officials serve will be destroyed soon (Ibid1946/1954G.C:82).

4.4.7 Prediction (Gebrehiwet)

Gebrehiwet is very much alarmed with the situation in Ethiopia: he is completely against the export of raw materials. He blames the government for its irresponsible act of exporting raw materials in huge amount - that it is passing down to the future generation a huge debt and inexplicably great danger:

መሬት ማናቸውንም ነገር ብትሰጥ በብድር ነው ። ብድሯን ካሰመሰሱላት እንዳባንኮች ሁሉ ታስቸግራላች ...
ሰውዳፊት ስጧኝ ቢሏት ትሰግማለች ። ... ተበድሯት ብድራንም ሳይመሰሰላት እምቢ ያሰውን ህዝብ በረሃብና
በበሽታ ትፈጃለች። ደህ ቃል ሃሰት እንዳይደሰ ማንም ባላገር ይመሰክራል ። ስንድ ጊዜ ታርሶ እነሱ የተበላ መሬት
ፍግ ካሰወደቀበት የሚያፈራው እነሱ በየዓመቱ እያነሰ ደህዳሰ እዘውትረውም ካረሱት ዘንድ ፍግም ሳይወድቅበት
ቢቀር የእርሻ መሬት ሁሉ እነሱ መስጠቱን ፈፅሞ ያቋርጣል ። ስለዚህ ያገራችን መሬት የዝሆን ጥርስ ፣ ዝባድ
፣ ቆዳ ፣ ቡና ፣ እነሱ ፣ በፍ ፣ ሳም ፣ በቀሎ ፣ እየሆነ በየዓመቱ ወደ ውጭ ስንድ ቢሄድ ስሁን ሰጊዜው ስኛ ባይሰማን
የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ በዝቶ መሬት እየጠበበ ሲሄድ ጉዳቱን ያገኘዋል ። ... ስለዚህ ሰውቀት ያነሰው ህዝብ
ሰውቀታቸው ከፍ ካሰ ህዝቦች ጋር ሲገበያዩ መዝመድ ትርፍ ድካም ይሰጣቸዋል ። ሁለተኛም መሬቱ ወደነሱ
እየተገዛ ደህዳሰ ። እንደዚህም ያሰውም ሰውቀት ያነሰው ህዝብ ሲበላ መሬቱ የሚሰጠው ፍሬ አይበቃውም።
ስለዚህ በጊዜ ብላት ሰርጽ በሳሰሉ ሲሰ መሬቱ ወደ ሄደበት ስንድ ተከትሎ እውቀት ወዳላቸው ህዝቦች ስንድ
ይሰደዳል ።

The earth gives everything on loan. Like a bank when the loan is not paid up, the earth brings troubles....it punishes the people who refuse to pay up the debt with hunger and disease. Any peasant can approve of this statement. After a land is ploughed ones if manure is not applied to it, the production dwindles every year and at some point the land remains barren altogether. Thus, our land is exported to abroad every year in the forms of ivory, musk, skin, coffee, cereal, ox, cow, horse, donkey and mule. We may not feel the loss now. However, the people will eventually suffer when the population keeps growing and the land becomes too small to accommodate the population. Therefore, an ignorant people while doing business with the developed countries firstly the former gives extra labor to the latter; secondly, the land (in the form of the above noted commodities) gets exported. And when it comes to production, the land in the hands of such an ignorant people does not give the

expected production. Therefore, in the long run to keep their flesh and soul together, the people will immigrate to foreign countries where their fathers exported the land (Gebrehiwet 1916E.C/1924G.C:70- 75).

From the current situation of the country it can be clearly seen that unfortunately Gebrehiwet predicted right. The desire of the Ethiopian youth to immigrate to Europe and North America and live and work there is getting stronger as time goes by; living abroad seems to be most Ethiopians “hope”.

4.4.8 Monopoly of Land

Among timely issues Gebrehiwet raises is the question of land ownership. He bluntly criticizes the government for not doing anything to put an end to monopoly of land, and warns about its repercussions: “ ስለዚህም ሞኖፖል የበዛበት ስገር ቀጣፊና ሲባ ወንበዴም ይበዛበታል ። ” “Monopoly of anything is a detriment to both the government and the people because it increases the number of vagabonds and cheats.” (Gebrehiwet 1916E.C/1924G.C: 143)... “ መንግስት የሚጠቀምበት የስገራ ሀብት በጥቂት ሰዎች እጅ ሲሰበሰብ ...ባንዱ ቤት ጌትነቱ እየበዛ ሲሄድ ባንዱ ቤት ድህነቱ እየሰፋ ይሄዳል ። ይህ ግን ለመንግስት ክፍ ምልክት ነው ። ... የኢትዮጵያም ህዝብ ሁኔታ ብንመለከት እንደዚሁ ያለ ፍት እንዳይደርስ ያስፈራል። ” “the land is monopolized in the hands of the few ... as a result, the gap between the poor and the rich is widening unduly, yet this is a sign that the government will collapse soon.” (Gebrehiwet 1916E.C/1924G.C: 93,119-120,).

After discussing how the prevalence of monopoly results in unnatural increment of the price of everything, the author again warns the government that to solve this problem it should never devise a rule that prohibits sale and exchange of land:

... መሬት ለደሽግ ለደስወግ ተብሎ ቢታወጅ ለህዝቡ የበለጠ ጉዳት ይሆንበታል ። ባሳገሩ ያለው ግንዛቤ መሬቱ ብቻ ነውና። ይህንንም ያለውን ግንዛቤን እንዳልቡ ካልሸጡ ካልሰጠጡ ግንዛቤ ነው የሚሰጡ ነገር ፈልሞ ያጣል ።

በሰዳም ቢያዝ ልጁን የሚያወጣበት ነገር አያገኝም ። ግብርም ሲበዛበት እንዳይሸጥ ስለተከሰከሰ ... መሬቱን ባደውነ ትችተ ይሰዳዳሉ።

Since all a peasant has is land, if he is not allowed to sell or exchange it, it means he has lost everything. If he can't mortgage the land to pay up his debt and overdue tax, there will not be a reason for him to keep it, so he would desert it. As a result, if a farmer does not feel he is the owner of that land, he will not develop it with all his might (Gebrehiwet 1916E.C/1924G/C: 88).

Even though this recommendation is made to the feudal regime, it rather sounds strange because the author claims that the land is in the hands of the few, and the peasants are dispossessed of their land; however, this recommendation rather applies to the Derg and the EPRDF governments because it is after the fall of the Hailesillassie regime that land has been given to the tiller and again land has been decreed to be the property of the government.

4.5 The Methods of Presentation of Concepts the Authors Use

Kebede and Gebrehiwet raise issues they deem necessary to bring about development in Ethiopia. However, their areas of focus are quite different. Many reasons can be given to their differences; however, there are two possible explanations.

The first reason might be Kebede and Gebrehiwet wrote the books in different times: “Mengistina Yehizib Astedader” was published in 1916 Ethiopian calendar though it was written some 4 years back, and Kebede’s “Japan Endemin Seletenech?” was published in 1946 Ethiopian calendar; there is a difference of more than 30 years between the two books. With in these years, Atse Menelik and Lij Eyasu, Gebrehiwet’s contemporaries were replaced with Hailesillassie. Hailesillassie was also said to be relatively progressive and affiliated with Gebrehiwet’s development plans. He had also made some amendments Gebrehiwet

recommends. (Bahru1991:99) This can be taken as one reason Kebede doesn't touch upon some problems Gebrehiwet focuses on in his book. Kebede believes that compared to his predecessors, Hailesilassie was far more progressive : "If Ethiopia can spread education and industry side by side, then it can fulfill the great vision her king has to her." (Kebede: 1946/1954G.C:n.p.); "...Our king has been exerting a lot of effort to bring in development."(Ibid 1946/1954G.C:104)

However, this can not explain away the question altogether because there were still unsolved problems during the Hailesilassie government in spite of Gebrehiwet's emphasis on their enormous negative effects; Kebede touches upon them slightly and indirectly; among these was the issue of monopoly of land – the most burning issue of the time which eventually brought Hailesilassie down. Instead of directly addressing it in the Ethiopian context, he uses the Japanese experience and does not clearly relate it to the Ethiopian case:

ከ1871 ዓ.ም በፊት (ክ.ኤ.ክ) በጃፓን ስገር የነበረው ሀብት ሁሉ የሚገኘው በንጉሥ ነገሰቱና ሁሉም ሰባ በሚሆኑት ዳዴሚዎች በሚባሉት መኪንንች እጅ ነበር ። ... ጃፓን ስንድነት ስግኝታ ሲንደስት፤ ስንድታቋቋም ከሁሉ ነገር ስለቀድሞ ስለፈሳሪው ነገር የፊውዳስ ስገዛዝ ስንደቀር ማድረግ ስለነበር ዳዴሚዎች የተባሉት መኪንንች በ1871 ዓ.ም (ክ.ኤ.ክ) ከጥንት ጀምሮ ሲወርድ ሲዋረድ የመጣውን የመሳፍንትነት መብታቸውን በፈቃዳቸው ስቅቀው ግዛታቸውንና ጉሳታቸውን በፈቃዳቸው ለመንግስት ስለረከቡ። (Ibid 1946/1954G.C: 18 - 21). ... ጃፓንን ትሰቅ ምንግስት ለመሆን ካበቃት ሰዎች ስንዴ _ካትሉ ... ሳገር የሚጠቀሙት ነገር በማመዛዘን ዘምን የሻረውን ስሰጣን ይዞ ለመኖር ማሰብ ትሰቅ ሞኝነት መሆኑን በብሰሃትና በምክር ለመሳፍንት ወገኖች ስለረዱት ስሰጣቸውን በፈቃዳቸው ስንደያስረክቡ ስለረጋቸው። (Ibid 1946/1954G.C:65 - 66). ... ከዚህ በኋላ መንግስቱ ባንድ ጊዜ በጃፓን ስገር የሚገኙትን ርስቶች ሁሉ ጠቅሰው በእጁ ያዘና ለህዝቡ እያከፈለ በመስጠት ስንደሰሙና ስንደሰራባቸው ስለደረገ ። (Ibid 1946/1954G.C:21).

Before 1871 the country's wealth was in the hands of the king and 270 princes called "Daimios". ...Japanese realized that feudalism was anti-development and anti-

industrialization; therefore, they worked hard to abolish it(Ibid 1946/1954G.C: 18-21). Katsu, one of the great Japanese of his time, was the first to propose that the feudal lords give up their long standing family inheritance of governorship and give the king absolute power. He insisted that if the feudal lords cared for development, then they should willingly give up their rights (Ibid 1946/1954G.C:66). ...Accordingly, the princes heeded Katsu's advice and handed over their titles, fief and lands to the emperor in 1871. Then, the government distributed the land to the people (Ibid 1946/1954G.C:21).

Therefore, there must be another reason which made Kebede restrain from discussing the reality as emphatically and directly as Gebrehiwet does: he had a close relationship with the king (Ibid 1946:118). This might have made him take the utmost care not to raise issues in public that may threaten the monarch's interest.

Instead of directly admonishing the high ranking officials and the emperor, kebede points out the problems in the country implicitly by using the Japanese experience; for instance, Hailesillassie as well as the people were said to be suspicious of foreign educated intellectuals; they were said to prefer locally educated Ethiopians. Hailesillassie for the reason that he believed the traditionally educated were more loyal to him than that of the foreign educated (Bahru 2002) while the people suspected them of being converted to Protestantism and Catholicism for the reason that some of the foreign educated didn't observe some Orthodox Church creeds (Bahru 2002). It may be to change this status quo in Ethiopia that Kebede signifies the enormous contribution of the foreign educated Japanese for the development of Japan (Kebede 1946E.C/1954G.C). This is the main difference between the two authors. Kebede rarely addresses issues directly. He points out problems in the country by means of criticizing or approving the activities the Japanese people and government undertook. Unlike Kebede, Gebrehiwet does not mince his words: he gives credit where he thinks due, and criticizes anyone be it the king, high ranking officials, or the people.

4.6 Fulfilled and unfulfilled recommendations the two authors made

4.6.1 Gebrehiwet Baykedagne's heeded and unheeded recommendations and the effects they brought on the administration

Gebrehiwet Baykedagne can be considered one of the few intellectuals to whose concepts of modernization Hailesilassie paid a special attention. Some of the recommendations he and other intellectuals of his time made and Hailesilassie fulfilled were, elimination of the kella/toll posts; spread of education-by opening schools and by sending students abroad; establishment of customs authority. The major ones among those Hailesilassie ignored were abolition of feudalism as well as distribution of land to the people and levying of small tax on products people need on a daily basis instead of levying high tax on luxury goods. Bahru observes Hailesilassie's affiliation with Gebrehiwet's recommendations:

The corner stone of Teferi's fiscal policy was the centralization of customs administration...; elimination of the kella (toll posts) which proliferated in the provinces, and their replacement by a few recognized and centrally controlled customs posts. Ras Emeru Hailesilassie was instrumental in implementing this policy during his governorship of Gojjam in the early 1930s (Bahru 1991: 99).

Gebrehiwet's recommendations concerning imported products as noted above are of two type: the first and the general recommendation is that all imported products other than those meant to set up industries should be over taxed, and the other one is that to get a better revenue from tax, the government should levy small tax on goods the public needs daily and should not levy high tax on luxury goods since only a few people buy them the revenue will not be much. Hilesilassie did not pay attention to this recommendation; he kept overtaxing luxury goods:

Ethiopian rights to levy import duties had been shackled by the Klobukowsky treaty of 1908 .The treaty exempted French subjects from the laws of Ethiopia and limited the customs duty to 10% ad valorem; for liquor it was to be even lower – 8% .The treaty came to cover almost all European subjects and governmentsThe low import tariff encouraged the inflow of European goods into the country. The repeal or revision of the Klobukowsky Treaty became one of the main preoccupations of Tafari, both before and after his coronation as emperor...in 1931 he proclaimed the excise and consumption tax. This raised the import tax to up to 30% ad valorem on what were regarded as luxury items, such as alcoholic drinks, cigarettes umbrellas, carpets and underwear. In spite of protests from the European legations, the government stood its ground....As a result; out of estimated total annual revenue of about 400,000 pounds the income from the tax was valued at 25, 000 pounds or slightly over 6% (Ibid 1991: 100).

Spread of education was the other development activity Gebrehiwet and others suggested and Hailesillassie/Teferi both as a regent and as a king achieved:

The last two years of the 1920s and the following 5 years before the Italian invasion witnessed a remarkable expansion of educational facilities. ... in a speech that Dajjach Habte-Maryam of Wellega made on the occasion of his visit to Teferi Mekonen School, ... he expressed his gratification that he was allowed to expend the money that he had brought in annual tribute towards the construction of a school (Ibid 2002: 26 - 27).

4.6.2 Kebede Mikael's fulfilled Recommendations

Among the requirements Kebede lists for development are fostering population growth, - which provides a country with human resource or cheap labour- and making students study in the fields of natural science:

Population growth

Kebede estimated the number of population during the time he wrote the book in 1954 G.C at 15,000,000. Now in 2011, after 57 years, CIA world fact book estimates Ethiopian population at 90,873,739, (Ibid:n.d) which is about 6 fold Kebede's estimation of the then number of population. Therefore, regardless of whether the population growth happened as a natural process or as a result of deliberate application of Kebede's recommendations to increase the population, Kebede's one requirement for modernization is met.

Making Most of the Students Study Fields of Natural Science

In order to produce technicians, medical doctors, engineers etc., Kebede also recommends that natural science should be the government's focus (1946E.C/ 1954G.C). Kebede's recommendation was not paid attention during Hailesillassie and the Derg regimes. It was paid attention after 40 years Kebede made the recommendation:

As of this year, seventy percent of new enrollees in state universities are engineering and science students, according to a report from the Ministry of Education. Four years ago the government outlined a plan to have 70 percent of students entering its universities studying natural sciences. The goal was also for 40 percent of the total campus population to be studying engineering. The plan that has been progressively implemented is now in full effect and the targets have been surpassed, said the MoE in its nine month performance report presented to parliament on Tuesday. "Among the students placed in public universities 73.2 percent of them are studying natural science and technological subjects," Education Minister Demeke Mekonnen told the House. (Kirubel 2011)

4.7 What do other scholars say about the concepts of communication for development the two authors raise?

Kebede Mikael and some other intellectuals considered that what the Japanese achieved was completely achievable in Ethiopia as well. Even though Gebrehiwet does not dwell on it, in his article entitled “Atse Menelik ena Ethiopia (1912)”, he as well recommends Japanese way of development to Ethiopia. Kebede compares Japanese history with the Ethiopian and finds them remarkably similar; he also compares the two countries’ natural resources and learns that Ethiopia is far wealthier than Japan; then, he examines her history and concludes before some decades Japan was not any better than Ethiopia. Then, he becomes sure and pens this: “... therefore, what reason can there be except her own indolence that keeps Ethiopia, which is backward in modernization, from following the Japanese way, which is proven perfect, to facilitate its advance to attain modernization” (Kebede 1946/1954G.C:5). However, some scholars underline that scholars like Kebede Mikael and Gebrehiwet (he recommends it in his other book “Atse Menelik Ena Ethiopia (1912)”) who promoted that Japanese way of development is the perfect model to Ethiopia have overlooked some realities. Bahru Zewde observes,

...But these comparisons with Japan and attempts to emulate her experience in modernization suffered all too often from inadequate understanding of Pre-Meiji, Japanese history, or what Ian Inkster has characterized as “historical particularity, ignorance and contextual inappropriateness. The gist of the matter was that Tokugawa Japan had assets which made the task of rapid modernization easy. These assets, which were not always so readily available in the countries which were compared with Japan, included cultural homogeneity, a high rate of literacy, extensive urbanization, a strong mercantile base, developed cottage industries, a long period of peace etc (Bahru 2002:5).

When it comes to the concepts Gebrehiwet raises in “Mengistina Yehizib Astedader” , Alemayehu Geda, an academic at Faculty of Business and Economics at Addis Ababa University, in the introduction he wrote for the book “Gebrehiwet Baykedagne Sirawich” asserts that Gebrehiwet theorized “Structural Economics” and “Development Economics”. The credit for the creation of those economic theories goes to South American, European and American economists who raised the issues 40 to 50 years after Gebrehiwet theorized them. Alemayehu also states that after conducting three researches on Gebrehiwet’s concepts, he tried to publish them on western research magazines, yet they denied him the chance by stating that he overstated Gebrehiwet’s achievements (Gebrehiwet 2002).

Tenkir Bongor is also another intellectual who contends that Gebrehiwet’s “Mengistina Yehizib Astedader” has come up with a new theory. Bahru puts it as “Tenkir Bongor ..., puts the matter in a different perspective, arguing that Gebrehiwet can be regarded as ‘one of the early theorists of the dependency theory’.”(Bahru 2002: 114).

4.8 Are the concepts of development Communication the two authors raise related to any of internationally recognized paradigms of development?

When it comes to the concepts Kebede and Gebrehiwet Baykedagne raise in their books they have somewhat to do with what Westerners classify as Paradigms of Development; however, neither of the two authors’ books advocate concepts that can be fully classed under any of these paradigms.

Concepts Kebede raises which can be somewhat equated with the concepts modernization paradigm propagates and those which contradict with it:

✚ Kebede contends that modernization can be achieved in Ethiopia by a simple act of copying Japanese way of development as Japan was a developing nation which turned into one of the world economic giants. By making this recommendation, Kebede does not directly advocate western style of development, but he propagates the idea of attaining western modernization indirectly without having to take all the time it took the westerners to modernize. Simply put, he propagated the idea of modernizing Ethiopia just like the westerners by using the shortest possible path which is Japanese way of development. Modernization paradigm, as discussed in chapter 2 of this study, advocates the idea of bringing western strategy to modernize the developing world. Kebede rather recommends selectivity in copying western strategies just like Japan did; he is against the idea of introducing foreign culture along with the technologies, and he warns of its possible effect of depriving Ethiopians of their identity.

✚ The modernization paradigm states that the third world countries have no one to hold responsible for their poverty other than themselves, similarly Kebede contends that Ethiopian people are fully responsible for the country's poverty, and that external factors are by no means the major causes for the country's inability to modernize.

✚ Modernization paradigm propagates the use of communication media technology to change the mindset of the public, likewise Kebede recommends that the Ethiopian youth should read Japanese history and act upon the development concepts they learn from it.

✚ Modernization paradigm is criticized for its focus on economic growth and its negligence to political social and cultural aspects; likewise Kebede defines modernization in terms of economic growth and refrains from discussing other faces of modernization like democracy, secularity, and justice and so on.

When it comes to concepts discussed in Gebrehiwet's book "Mengistina Yehizib Astedader", some scholars like Tenkir Bongor, as discussed in this chapter, liken them with Dependency paradigm, and even contend that Gebrehiwet can be considered one of the theorizers of dependency paradigm; however, the researcher has concluded that not all concepts Gebrehiwet raises in his book can be considered supportive of or reflective of the dependency paradigm. The researcher rather has found out that there are also some issues Gebrehiwet raises which negate some of the concepts of dependency paradigm.

Among those issues Gebrehiwet raises which reflect concepts of dependency paradigm are unbalanced trade between developed and underdeveloped countries; restricting export of raw materials to developing nations; restricting imported products to those that are meant for building factories and replacing foreign imported products with locally produced commodities.

Concepts Gebrehiwet raises which contradict with the dependency paradigm are: he never holds external factors, factors that are related to the international developing countries problems widely discussed in the dependency paradigm like colonial past of developing countries; unbalanced trade and world politics as the major factors of poverty in Ethiopia.

As noted above, Gebrehiwet does vividly relate some universal developing countries' problems to the Ethiopian case, yet he never concludes that the problems spring from external factors for the most part. The problems he focuses on and holds responsible for poverty are, banditry, war, injustice, monopoly of trade and monopoly of land can only be solved by the Ethiopian government. This negates with the major tenet of the dependency paradigm which is: external factors are responsible for the poverty of a country. Mefalopulos (2008) quotes A.G. Frank whom he classes as one of the founding fathers of dependency

paradigm: “Hence, neither the causes nor the solutions of underdevelopment should be sought exclusively, or even mostly, within the poorest countries, but within the broader international scenario and forms of exploitation such as the richest countries’ colonial past.” (Ibid 2008: 47). Therefore, the researcher concluded that Gebrehiwet’s concepts of development can not be explained away in terms of dependency paradigm; they go far beyond what dependency paradigm raise.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

After a careful scrutiny of kebede Mikael's book "Japan Endemin Seletenech" and Gebrehiwet Baykedagne's "Mengistina Yehizib Astedader" as well as some related books authored by Ethiopians and foreigners, the researcher has come up with some findings, and based on these findings has drawn the following conclusions:

A government in a country has duties to fulfill and it can not last without fulfilling at least some of those duties as it is totally impossible for a group of people to form a government and do nothing .Thus, the question is not whether a government is exhibiting any move towards modernization, but whether it is doing its best. That's what the intellectuals of feudal Ethiopia including Kebede Mikael and Gebrehiwet Baykedagne raise in their writings.

Gebrehiwet Baykedagne's book is characterized by critical explanations. His aspiration to inform the people and the government of different ways of attaining development and economic independence brought about significant change in the country in the fields of education and trade, yet his unheeded warning of avoiding monopoly of land brought down the government. He directly addresses the problems in the country and criticizes the government officials and the kings. Therefore, Gebrehiwet's role can be simply considered as the present day media watch dog's role because his allegiance is to the public .What crises he observes among the people, he attributes to administrative problems, like injustice, banditry and war. Only a handful of the intellectuals of his time dare boldly point out the problems in their writings; even that they do, not as elaborately as Gebrehiwet does. When it comes to Kebede , his writing is characterized by discreetness and the concepts he raises could not be achieved in Ethiopia because he overlooked some qualities the Japanese government possessed which the Ethiopian government lacked , and to execute his plans it required a government better than one an absolutist headed . However the concepts Kebede raises in his

books are not all in all good for nothing; what proves it is the idea of training most of Ethiopian students in the field of “Natural Science” to modernize the country which came in to fruition during the EPRDF governance after 47 years he made the recommendation.

Kebede analyzes development from the economic angle while Gebrehiwet analyzes it from political – economic angle.

When it comes to the question of whether the concepts both authors raise have anything to do with internationally recognized development paradigms, neither of the two books reflects one paradigm’s tenets ultimately, yet Kebede’s “Japan Endemin Seletenech?” (1946 E.C /1954G.C) raises some issues which slightly go in line with modernization paradigm in contrast Gebrehiwet’s “Mengistina Yehizib Astedader” (1916 E.C /1924G.C) raises issues which somewhat go in line with dependency paradigm.

Bibliography

- Adejumobi, S .A. (2007). The history of Ethiopia. Westport: Westport, London Connecticut: Green Wood.
- Bahru Zewde. (1991). A history of modern Ethiopia. Oxford. James Currey.
- Bahru Zewde. (2002).Pioneers of change in Ethiopia: The reformist intellectuals of the early twentieth century. Oxford: James Currey.
- Bredin, M. (2005) .The roots of modern government in Ethiopia. Addis Ababa. UNOCHA Pastoralist Communication Initiative.
- Central Intelligence Agency. (2011). The World Fact book: population. Updated March 11, 2010, Retrieved May 27, 2011, from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications>.
- Chilcote, R. H. (2003) Development in theory and practice: Latin American perspectives in the classroom .Lanham M.D. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Kirubel Tadesse. (2011 May 02 {May 26, 2011}). 70-30 Now in place: Education Ministry. Capital.
- Marcus, H. G.(1994). A history of Ethiopia. Berkeley: University of California
- Mefalopulos P. (2008).Development communication source book: broadening the boundaries of communication. Washington D.C. The World Bank.
- Mesay Kebede. (2006).*The roots and fall outs of Hailesillassie's educational policy*.
- Molvaer R. K. (1997). Black lions: the creative lives of modern Ethiopia's literary giants and pioneers. Asmara. The red sea.
- Servaes, J. (1999).Communication for development: one world multiple cultures. New Jersey. Hampton.
- Walk, K. (1998). How to write a comparative analyss. "n.p". (n.p)
- Weisbord, S. (n.d) .Family tree of theories, methodologies and strategies in development communication.
- Wikipedia. Development Communication. (n.d.). Retrieved May 15, 2011, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Development_Communication.

በአማርኛ የተፃፉ ዋቢ መሰረቶች

ሳዕድ ጌ. ድሴቦ . (1983 እ.ኤ.አ). የኢትዮጵያ የገባር ስርዓትና ጽምጭ ካፒታሊዝም.አዲስ አበባ. “n.p”

ተክሰ ሳድቀ መኩረድ. (1981 እ.ኤ.አ/1989 እ.ኤ.አ). አፄ ቴዎድሮስና የኢትዮጵያ ስንድነት. አዲስ አበባ . ኩራዝ.

ተክሰ ሳድቀ መኩረድ. (1983 እ.ኤ.አ/1991 እ.ኤ.አ). አፄ ምኒልክ ስና የኢትዮጵያ ስንድነት . አዲስ አበባ . ኩራዝ.

ተክሰ ሳድቀ መኩረድ. (1936 እ.ኤ.አ/1944 እ.ኤ.አ). የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ ከአፄ ቴዎድሮስ ስህክ ርዳማዊ ሠደስ ስላሴ. አዲስ አበባ. ብርሃንና ሰላም.

ከበደ ሚካኤል. (1946 እ.ኤ.አ/1954 እ.ኤ.አ) ጃፓን ስንደምን ስለጠነች.ብርሃንና ሰላም. አዲስ አበባ .

ሰፊወርቅ ገብረ. ኢየሱስ . (1901እ.ኤ.አ/1909 እ.ኤ.አ). ዳግማዊ ስጤ ምኒልክ. ፎም. “n.p”.

ገብረ. ሕይወት ባደከዳኝ. (1916 እ.ኤ.አ./1924 እ.ኤ.አ). መንግስትና የሕዝብ ስስተዳደር. አዲስ አበባ. የኢትዮጵያ መንግስት ስልጋ ወራሽ ተፈሪ መኮንን ማተሚያ ቤት.

ገብረ. ሕይወት ባደከዳኝ. (2002 እ.ኤ.አ/2010 እ.ኤ.አ). ነጋዴራስ ገብረ. ሕይወት ባደከዳኝ ስራዎች. አዲስ አበባ. አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ.

Appendices

መንግሥትና : የሕዝብ :
አስተዳደር ::

ተጻፈ :

ከነጋድራስ : ገብረ : ሕይወት: ባይከዳኝ ::

መዝሙሪያ : በልዑል : የኢትዮጵያ : መንግሥት : አልጋ : ወራሽ : ተፈሪ:
መኩንን : ማተሚያ : ቤት : የካቲት : ፩ : ቀን : ፲፱፻፲፮ : ዓመት :
ምሕረት : ታተመ ::

ሁለተኛ : በግርማዊ : ንጉሠ : ነገሥት : ቀዳማዊ ኃይለ : ሥላሴ :
በ፴፩ኛው : ዘመን : መንግስት : ፲፱፻፶፫ : ዓ.ም : ታተመ ::

አንደገና : በ ፪ ሺህ : ታተመ ::

አዲስ : አበባ : ኢትዮጵያ ::



ነጋድራስ ፡ ንብረ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ባይከዳኝ ።

ይድረስ ።

ለልዑል ፡ ጌታዬ ፡ የኢትዮጵያ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ አልጋ ፡ ወራሽ ፡ ተፈሪ ፡ መኰንን ፤ መድኅኔ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ጤና ፡ ይስጥልኝ ፡ ብዬ ፡ እጅ ፡ እነሣለሁ ።

በልዑልነትዎ ፡ ፊት ፡ የማቀርበው ፡ ይህ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ነጋድራስ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ለኢትዮጵያ ፡ መንግሥትና ፡ ለሀገሩ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ዋና ፡ ምክር ፡ እንዲሆን ፡ አስቦ ፡ ካራት ፡ ዓመት ፡ በፊት ፡ የጻፈው ፡ ነው ። ነገር ፡ ግን ፡ ብዙ ፡ ሥራ ፡ ነበረበትና ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ካለማግኘቱ ፡ የተነሣ ፡ ባንድነት ፡ ሳይሰበስበው ፡ ስለ ፡ ሞተ ፡ እኩሉ ፡ በርሳስ ፡ ጽሕፈት ፡ እኩሉ ፡ በቀለም ፡ ጽሕፈት ፡ እየሆነ ፡ ተበታትኖ ፡ አገኘውት ።

እኔም ፡ የወዳጄ ፡ የነጋድራስ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ድካም ፡ በከንቱ ፡ እንዳይቀር ፡ ብዬ ፡ ለመንግሥቱና ፡ ለሕዝቡም ፡ ትልቅ ፡ ጥቅም ፡ የሚገኝበት ፡ መሆኑን ፡ ዐውቄ ፡ ከየተበታተነበት ፡ ሰብስቤ ፡ ባንድ ፡ መዝገብ ፡ ውስጥ ፡ ጻፍሁት ።

ነጋድራስ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ በትምርቱና ፡ በዕውቀቱ ፡ በጣም ፡ የተመሰገነ ፡ ነበረ ። በታዘዘውም ፡ ሥራ ፡ ላይ ፡ በጣም ፡ ትጉህ ፡ እንደነበረ ፡ ጌታዬ ፡ ልዑልነትዎም ፡ ያውቁታል ። ነገር ፡ ግን ፡ በሰው ፡ ላይ ፡ ሞትን ፡ የሚያክል ፡ ዕዳ ፡ አለና ፤ ሰው ፡ ሁሉ ፡ ያሰበውን ፡ ለመፈጸም ፡ ባለመቻሉ ፡ እጅግ ፡ ያሳዝናል ። ደግሞም ፡ ዕውቀት ፡ የሚሉትን ፡ ሀብት ፡ ለማንም ፡ ሰው ፡ ማውረስ ፡ የማይቻል ፡ ስለ ፡ መሆኑ ፡ የነጋድራስ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ዕውቀት ፡ እንዲያው ፡ በከንቱ ፡ መቅረቱ ፡ ለወዳጆቹ ፡ ሁሉ ፡ በጣም ፡ ያሳዝናል ። ነጋድራስ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ሲሞት ፡ ዕድሜው ፡ 75 ፡ ፴፩ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ነበረ ። እስከ ፡ ፶5 ፡ እስከ ፡ ፰ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ቈይተ ፡ ቢሆን ፡ አሳቡ ፡ እየተደላደለ ፡ ዕውቀቱ ፡ እየሰፋ ፡ ለመንግሥቱና ፡ ለሕዝቡ ፡ የሚጠቅም ፡ ብዙ ፡ ሥራ ፡ ይሠራ ፡ ነበረ ። ነገር ፡ ግን ፡ በላይ ፡ እንደ ፡ ተናገርሁት ፡ በሰው ፡ ላይ ፡ ሞትን ፡ የሚያክል ፡ ዕዳ ፡ አለና ፡ በልጅነቱ ፡ እንዲህ ፡ ለመሆን ፡ ደረሰ ።

አሁንም ፡ ለዕውቀቱና ፡ ለሰውነቱ ፡ መታሰቢያ ፡ የሚሆን ፡ ይህን ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ጽፎልን ፡ ስለ ፡ ሞተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለነፍ

ሱ : ዕረፍት : ይስጣት ። ለኛም : ለመጽሐፉ : አንባቢዎች :
ያገራችንን : የኢትዮጵያን : ፍቅር : በልቡናችን : ያሳድርብን ።

ልዑል : ሆይ ።

ነጋድራስ : ገብረ : ሕይወት : የጸፈውን : ይህን : መጽሐፍ : ተበታትኖ : አግኝቼ : ባንድነት : ከሰበሰብሁት : በኋላ : የልዑል : ጌታዬም : አሳብዎ : ሁሉ : የኢትዮጵያ : ልጆች : ፍጹም : ዕውቀት : የሚያገኙበትን : ሥራ : ለመሥራት : እንደ : ሆነ : ዐውቄ ፤ በገንዘብዎና : በጽሕፈት : ማተሚያዎ : አሳትመው : ለኢትዮጵያ : ልጆች : እንዲያድሉት : ብዬ : ከዚህ : ደብዳቤዬ : ጋራ : መጽሐፉን : እንዳቀርብልዎ : ቀርጥ : አሳብ : አደረግሁ ።

ልዑል : ሆይ ።

የነጋድራስ : ገብረ : ሕይወት : ስሙ : እንዳይጠፋ : ማሰብዎንማ : በገንዘብዎ : ልጁን : ከትምርት : ቤት : አግብተው : በማስተማርዎ : ተረድተነዋል ። ደግሞም : ልጁን : ቢያስተምሩለት : ጥቅሙ : ለልጁ : ብቻ : ነው ። ይህን : መጽሐፉን : ቢያሳትሙለት : ግን : አስቀድሞ : ለስሙ : መታሰቢያ : ይሆናል ። ቀጥሎም : ለመንግሥትዎና : ለሕዝብዎ : ሁሉ : ትልቅ : ጥቅም : የሚያስገኝ : ነውና : ለማሳተሙ : ፈቃድዎ : እንዲሆን : አጥብቄ ። እለምንዎታለሁ ።

መስከረም : ፳ : ቀን : ፲፱፻፲፬ : ዓመተ : ምሕረት :

ፈቃደኛዎና : ታዛዥዎ : ጳውሎስ : መናመኖ ።

መቅድም ።

የዚህ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ነገር ፡ እጅግ ፡ ይገርማል ። ሰው ፡ ከዚህ ፡
 ቦታ ፡ መጣ ፡ ሳይባል ፡ ይወለዳል ። በዚህም ፡ ዓለም ፡ ጥቂት ፡
 ጊዜ ፡ ሲታገል ፡ ቁድቶ ፡ በሱ ፡ ፈንታ ፡ የሚታገሉትን ፡ አዲሶች ፡
 ሰዎች ፡ ተክቶ ፡ ያልፋል ፤ ይረሳልም ። ሰው ፡ ለምን ፡ እንዲፈጠር ፡
 ለምንስ ፡ እንዲሞት ፡ እንዲህ ፡ ነው ፡ ለማለት ፡ ግን ፡ ሥራ
 ችን ፡ አይደለም ። ሰው ፡ ሁሉ ፡ ለራሱ ፡ የሃይማኖት ፡ ካህናት ፡
 አሉትና ፡ ከነዚያ ፡ ይጠይቅ ። እንደዚሁም ፡ ደግሞ ፡ ሕዝቦች ፡
 ይወለዳሉ ፤ ይሞታሉም ፤ ያልፋሉም ፤ ይረሳሉም ። ሕዝቦች ፡
 ከተፈጠሩ ፡ ዝምጮ ፡ እስኪያልፉ ፡ ድረስ ፡ ምንም ፡ ሕዝቦች ፡
 ዘራቸውና ፡ ቋንቋቸው ፡ ልዩ ፡ ልዩ ፡ ቢሆን ፡ አስማምቶ ፡ የሚያ
 ስኬደው ፡ ሥርዐት ፡ ግን ፡ መሠረቱ ፡ አንድ ፡ ነው ። ሕዝቦች ፡
 ሁሉ ፡ የሚፈጠሩ ፡ በዚህች ፡ ምድር ፡ ላይ ፡ ነው ። ሁሉም ፡
 ምድር ፡ የምትሰጠውን ፡ ሲሳይ ፡ ለማግኘት ፡ ይጥራሉ ። ቢያገ
 ኙ ፡ ይበላሉ ፤ ይጠጣሉ ፤ ይለብሳሉ ፤ ይመቻቸዋልም ። ቢያጠ
 ሙ ፡ ይራባሉ ፤ ይጠማሉ ፤ ይታረዛሉ ፤ ይቸገራሉም ።

ሕዝቦችን ፡ ሁሉ ፡ የሚፈጥር ፡ አንድ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ነው ።
 ይህም ፡ አምላክ ፡ የምንለው ፡ የሕዝቦች ፡ ፈጣሪ ፡ ሕዝቦችን ፡
 ሁሉ ፡ ትክክል ፡ አድርጎ ፡ ፈጥሮ ፡ ላኗኗራቸውና ፡ ለልማታቸው፡
 የሚያስፈልጋቸውን ፡ ነገር ፡ ሁሉ ፡ ከሙሉ ፡ ፈቃድና ፡ ሥልጣ
 ን ፡ ጋራ ፡ በጃቸው ፡ ሰጥቷቸዋል ። ስለዚህ ፡ ማናቸውም ፡ ሕዝብ ፡
 ቢለማም ፡ ቢጠፋም ፡ በገዛ ፡ እጁ ፡ ነው ። ሕዝብ ፡ የሚጠፋበት ፡
 አንዳንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ምክንያት ፡ ቢገኝ ፡ ያውም ፡ ምክንያት ፡
 ባንዳንድ ፡ ሰው ፡ ቢመካኝ ፡ ነገሩ ፡ ትክክል ፡ አይሆንም ።
 የልማትን ፡ መንገድ ፡ ለማግኘት ፡ የሚጥር ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ቢገኝ ፡
 ባንዳንድ ፡ ክፉ ፡ ሰው ፡ ምክንያት ፡ ሊጠፋ ፡ አይችልም ። እንዲሁም ፡
 ደግሞ ፡ የልማትን ፡ መንገድ ፡ ለማግኘት ፡ የማይጣጣር ፡ ሕዝብ ፡
 ባንዳንድ ፡ ደኅና ፡ ሰው ፡ ጎደል ፡ ልማት ፡ ሊያገኝ ፡ አይችልም ።
 ደግሞም ፡ ማናቸውም ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ የሚለማበት ፡ መንገድ ፡ አንድ ፡
 መንገድ ፡ ብቻ ፡ ነው ። ማናቸውም ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ የሚጠፋ ፡ ይህንን ፡
 የልማት ፡ መንገድ ፡ ትቶ ፡ በሌላ ፡ መንገድ ፡ የሄደ ፡ እንደ ፡ ሆነ ፡
 ነው ። የሕዝብ ፡ አስተዳደር ፡ ትምርት ፡ ሲባል ፡ ሕዝቦች ፡

የሚለሙበትንና ፡ የሚጠፉበትን ፡ መንገድ ፡ የሚያሳይ ፡ ትም
 ርት ፡ ነው ። ስለዚህ ፡ አንባቢ ፡ ሆይ ፡ ይህን ፡ በፊትህ ፡ የተዘረጋ
 ውን ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ አንብባኝ ፡ ለመረዳት ፡ ከፈለግኽ ፡ ከሥር ፡ እስ
 ከ ፡ ጫፉ ፡ በርጋታ ፡ አንብባኝ ፡ ነው ፡ እንጂ ፡ አንዱን ፡ መሥመ
 ር ፡ ወይም ፡ አንዱን ፡ ምዕራፍ ፡ አንብባኝ ፡ አትፍረድ ። እስከ ፡
 መጨረሻው ፡ ዝለቀው ፡ ከዚያ ፡ በኋላ ፡ ፍረድ ፤ እስከ ፡ መጨ
 ረሻው ፡ ለማንበብ ፡ ፈቃድኽ ፡ ካልሆነ ፡ ግን ፡ ነገሩ ፡ ምንም ፡
 እንደ ፡ ሆነ ፡ አትረዳውምና ፡ ጊዜኽ ፡ በከንቱ ፡ ይባክንብኻል ፤
 ስለዚህ ፡ ባትዝምረው ፡ ይሻልኻል ።

ጽሁፍ ከጽሁፍ ሠለጠነን ?



ከከበደ ሚካኤል



հովհ ԽԻՆՆ

© ሜጋ አሳታሚና ማከፋፈያ ኃ/የተ/የግ/ማህበር ፲፱፻፺፱

☎ 011-5-52 14 64

011-1-23 29 05

011-1-23 29 06

011-1-57 44 84

☒ 9144

አዲስ አበባ

ኢትዮጵያ

ሁለተኛ እትም ፲፱፻፺፱ ዓ.ም

የመጀመሪያ እትም ፲፱፻፺፱ ዓ.ም

መ ግ ቢ ያ።

ከትልቁ፡ ደራሲ፡ ከገት፡ በተገኘው፡ ውብ፡ ሥራ፡ ሆኖ፡
በሚቆጠረው ፡ በፎስት ፡ ድርሰት ፡ ውስጥ ፡ ትልቅ ፡ ምሳሌ እናገ
ኝበታለን። ሊቁ ፡ ፎስት ፡ የዓለምን ፡ ዕውቀቶችና ፡ ጥበቦች ፡ ለመ
መርመርና ፡ ለማወቅ ፡ ፈልጎ ፡ ዕድሜውን ፡ ሙሉ ፡ መጸሐፍት ፡
በማንበብ ፡ ዓይኖቹ ፡ ፈዝዘው ፡ ሥሮቹ ፡ ደንዝዘው ፡ መልኩም ፡ ተጨ
ማድዶ ፡ አረጀ። ሽምግልና ፡ የሰውነቱን ፡ እኹ ፡ ሁሉ ፡ ጨርሶ እንደ፡
እንጨት ፡ አደረቀው ። ሞት ፡ ከቤቱ ፡ በራፍ ፡ ላይ ፡ ቆሞ ፡ ታየው።
በዚህ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ሜሬስቶሬሌስ ፡ መጥቶ ፡ እንደ ፡ በረዶ ፡ ቀዝቅዞ ፡
በነበረው ፡ ልቡ ፡ ውስጥ ፡ የዓለምን ፡ ደስታ ፡ የሚያስታውስ ፡ የም
ኞት ፡ እሳት ፡ ለኮሰበት። ረቂቅ ፡ በሆነው ፡ ምክሩ ፡ ድል ፡ አድር
ጎት ፡ የዓለምን ፡ ደስታ ፡ ካስወደደው ፡ በኋላ ፡ ወደ ፡ ጠንቋይ ፡ ዘንድ ፡
ወስዶ ፡ በምትሐት ፡ ሰውነቱን ፡ በሙሉ ፡ አድሶ ፡ ወጣት ፡ ጎልማሳ ፡
አደረገው።

ፎስት ፡ ማለት ፡ ማነው? ፎስት ፡ ማለት ፡ በዚች ፡ ዓለም ፡
ላይ ፡ የሚኖሩ ፡ የሰው ፡ ልጆች ፡ ናቸው። ጥንት ፡ በነ ፡ ሀንድ ፡
በነ ፡ ሺና ፡ በነ ፡ ግብፅ ፡ በነ ፡ ባቢሎን ፡ በነ ፡ ግሪክ ፡ በነ ፡ ሮማ፤
ልዩ ፡ ልዩ ፡ ጥበብና ፡ ዕውቀት ፡ አብበው ፡ ከፍ ፡ ያለ ፡ የሥልጣኔ ፡
ሥራዎችም ፡ ተሠርተው ፡ የሰው ፡ ልጆች ፡ ክብር ፡ ከፍ ፡ ከፍ ፡
እያለ ፡ ወደ ፡ ትልቅ ፡ ደረጃ ፡ ደርሶ ነበር። በኋላም ፡ ዕውቀታ
ቸው ፡ እንደ ፡ ገና ፡ ወደታች ፡ ዝቅ ፡ ዝቅ እያለ ፡ ሄዶ ፡ በቅጽ
በት ፡ ፈረሰ፤ ከጨለማም ፡ ውስጥ ፡ ወደቀ። የሰው ፡ ልጆችን ፡ ታሪክ፡
የሚመለከቱና ፡ የሚመረምሩ ፡ ሊቃውንትም ፡ ይህን ፡ በማስተዋል፡
ሥልጣኔ ፡ እንግዲህ ፡ በቃት ፡ አረጃች፤ ሞተች፤ ከእንግዲህ ፡ ወዲያ፡
የዓለም ፡ ፍጻሜ ፡ ነው፡ እንጂ ፡ ለሰው ፡ ልጅ ፡ ሌላ ፡ ምንም ፡ ተስፋ፡
የለውም ፡ ብለው ፡ አሰቡ። ነገር ፡ ግን ፡ የዓለም ፡ አዳኛ ፡ ጨርሳ፡
አለፈች ፡ ተብሎ ፡ ተስፋ ፡ ከተቆረጠ ፡ በኋላ ፡ በታሪክ ፡ ውስጥ፡
ሁለተኛ ፡ ልደት ፡ በሚባለው ፡ ዘመን ፡ ላይ ፡ በበጋ ፡ የደረሰ ፡ ቅጠል፡
ዝናብ ፡ ሲመጣ ፡ እንደገና ፡ እንደሚቆጠቁጥ ፡ ሁሉ ዕውቀትና፡
ጥበብም ፡ ታድሰው ፡ ለመለሙ። ከዚያም ፡ ወዲያው ፡ የእንፋሎት ፡

ኃይል ፡ የሚባለው ፡ ጥበብ ፡ ተገኝና ፡ ብረትን ፡ ስላንቀሳቀሰው ፡ የኢንዱስትሪ ፡ የፋብሪካ ፡ ጥበብ ፡ ተወለደ። አርጅቶ ፡ የነበረውም ፡ የሰው ፡ ልጅ ፡ ዘር ፡ ዕውቀቱ ፡ ተመልሶ ፡ ስለጎለመሰ ፡ በጥንት ፡ ዘመን ፡ ታይቶ ፡ የማይታወቅ ፡ መልካም ፡ እድል ፡ አግኝቶ ፡ ኃይሉና ፡ ሀብቱ ፡ በጣም ፡ ወደ ፡ ላይ ፡ እየላቁ ፡ ሄዱ። አዲስ ፡ የሲባይና የክብር ዘመንም ተከፈተለት።

እነሆ ፡ የፎስት ፡ ቅኔ ፡ ምሥጢሩ ፡ ለመላው ፡ የሰው ፡ ልጆች ፡ ታሪክ ፡ የሚያገለግል ፡ ስለሆነ ፡ ትልቁ ፡ ደራሲ ፡ ገት ፡ በባለቅኔነቱ ፡ በጀርመን ፡ አገር ፡ ብቻ ፡ ሳይሆን ፡ በመላው ፡ ዓለም ፡ የተወደደ ፡ ሆኖ ፡ የተገኘበት ፡ ምክንያት ፡ ይህ ነው። የዓለምን ፡ ሕዝቦች ፡ ጥበብ ፡ ከእርጅና ፡ ወደ ፡ ጎልማሳነት ፡ ለወጣ ፡ አዲስ ፡ የሀብትና ፡ የኃይል ፡ ዘመን ፡ የከፈተለት ፡ ይህ ፡ ምትሐት ፡ ወይም ፡ አስማት የተባለው ፡ የኢንዱስትሪ ፡ ዕውቀት ፡ መሆኑን ፡ አንዝንጋው።

እንግዲህ ፡ የሰው ፡ ዕውቀት ፡ ተመልሶ ፡ ከታደሰ ፡ በኋላ ፡ ባሁኑ ፡ ሥልጣኔ ፡ ዘመን ፡ አንድ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ከሠለጠነት፤ የዓለም ፡ ሕዝቦች ፡ ጋር ፡ የጦር ፡ ጉልበቱን ፡ አጠንክሮ ፡ ነጻነቱን ፡ ጠብቆ ፡ መኖር ፡ ሲፈለግ ፡ ኢንዱስትሪ ፡ ዋና ፡ መሣሪያው ፡ ነው። ጃፓኖች ፡ ይህን ፡ ጉዳይ ፡ በቶሎ ፡ ስለተረዱት ፡ ወደ ፡ ኋላ ፡ የቀሩትን ፡ ያህል ፡ በጥቂት ፡ ጊዜ ፡ በጣም ፡ መራመድ ፡ አስፈላጊነቱን ፡ ተረድተውት ፡ በትጋትና በስተዋይነት ሠሩ።

በዚህ ፡ ካሰቡት ፡ ግብ ፡ ለመድረስ ፡ የቻሉትም ፡ ንጉሠ ነገሥታቸው፤ መንግሥታቸው፤ ባለሥልጣናቸውና ፡ ሕዝቡም ፡ በጠቅላላው ፡ ባንድ ፡ መንፈስና ፡ ባንድ ፡ ዓይነት ፡ ምኞት ተባብረው ፡ አገራቸውን ፡ ከፍ ፡ ለማድረግ ፡ ባስደናቂ ፡ ትጋትና ፡ በማይዛባ አመራር ፡ እየሠሩ ፡ ስለተራመዱ ፡ ነው።

አንድ ፡ ትልቅ ፡ የጃፓን ፡ ሰው ፡ ሲናገር ፡ የጭስ ፡ መውጫ ዎቻቸውን ፡ ወደ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ተክለው ፡ ጢሳቸው ፡ ወደ ፡ ላይ ፡ ሲሻገሩ ፡ ጎደጎድ ፡ የሚታይ ፡ ብዙ ፡ ፋብሪካዎች ፡ የሚገኙበት ፡ አንድ ፡ አገር ፡ በተመለከተኩ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ለልቤ ፡ ትልቅ ፡ ደስታ ፡ ይሰማኛል ፡ አለ ይባላል። ጃፓኖች ፡ በተፈጥሮአቸው ፡ አስዋይነት ፡ ያደረገቸው ፡ በመሆናቸው ፡ ዛሬ ፡ ኃያላን ፡ በሆኑት ፡ ታላላቅ ፡ መንግሥታትና ፡ ደካ

ሞች ፡ በተባሉት ፡ ታናናሾች ፡ መንግሥታት ፡ መካከል ፡ የሚገኘውን ፡ ይህን ፡ ልዩነታቸውን ፡ እንዲፈጠር ፡ ያደረገው ፡ ጉዳይ የኢንዱስትሪ ፡ ጥበብ ፡ መሆኑ ፡ በቶሎ ፡ ስለገባቸው ፡ የሰውን ፡ ዕድልና አኗኗር ፡ ባንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ለውጦ ፡ ከእርጅና ፡ ወደ ፡ ጎልማሳነት ፡ የሚለው ፡ ጠውን ፡ ይህን ፡ ኢንዱስትሪ ፡ የተባለውን ፡ ምትሐታዊ ፡ የሆነ ፡ ዕውቀት ፡ ለማግኘት ፡ ጠንክረው ፡ ሰለሠሩ ፡ ደረሱበት። ጃፓኖች ያው ርጋን ፡ ሥልጣኔ ፡ በቶሎ ፡ ለመውረስ ፡ ቻሉ ፡ ሲባል ፡ ዋናው ትርጉም ይህ ነው።

ጃፓኖች ፡ የአውሮፓን ፡ ሥልጣኔ ፡ መቀበል ፡ ሲጀምሩ (ይኸውም ፡ በኢትዮጵያ ፡ አባ ፡ ቱዎድሮስ ፡ በሞቱበት ፡ ዘመን ፡ ላይ ፡ መሆኑ ፡ ነው) መጀመሪያ ፡ ለወጣቶቻቸው ፡ ጠቃሚ ፡ የሆነውን ፡ ነገር ፡ እየመረጡ ፡ አስተማሩ። ይህንንም ፡ ሲያደርጉ ፡ የኤክኖሚ ፡ ነገር ፡ ዋና ፡ ጉዳይ ፡ መሆኑን ፡ ስለተረዱት ፡ ንግዳቸውና ፡ ኢንዱስትሪያቸው ፡ በውጭ ፡ አገር ፡ ሰዎች ፡ እጅ ፡ እንዳይገቡ ፡ አድርገው ፡ በዚህ ፡ ረገድ ፡ ራሳቸውን ፡ ለመቻል ፡ ጠንክረው ፡ ተጣጣሩ። እንግዲህ ፡ በዚህ ፡ ረገድ ፡ የተከተሉትን ፡ መንገድ ፡ በዝርዝር ፡ እና ስተውለዋለን።

ባጭሩ ፡ ጃፓኖች ፡ ሀ ፡ ሀ ፡ ብለው ፡ የአውሮፓን ፡ ሥልጣኔ ፡ እንዴት ፡ አድርገው ፡ መማር ፡ እንደ ፡ ጀመሩና ፡ ከተማሩትም ፡ በኋላ ፡ በሰላሳና ፡ በስድሳ ፡ ዓመታት ፡ ውስጥ አገራቸውን ፡ ትልቅ መንግሥት ፡ አድርገው ፡ አስካሁኑ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ድረስ ፡ ምን ፡ እንደ ፡ ሠሩ ፡ በዚህ መጽሐፍ ፡ ውስጥ ፡ አንባቢ ፡ ያገኘዋል።

ኢትዮጵያም ፡ የትምህርትና ፡ የኢንዱስትሪን ፡ ሥራዎች ፡ አጣምራ ፡ አብረው ፡ እንዲራመዱና ፡ እንዲስፋፉ ፡ ብታደርግ ፡ ንጉሠ ነገሥቷ ፡ ወደሚመኙላት ፡ ታላቅ ፡ ዓላማ ፡ በቶሎ ፡ እንደ ምትደርስ ፡ የማይጠረጠር ፡ ነው።

የዓለምን ፡ መንግሥታት ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ለየብቻው ፡ እየለየን ፡ ብንመለከተው ፡ ታሪካቸው ፡ በሁለት ፡ ይከፈላል። አንደኞቹ ፡ አገራቸው ፡ ደህ ፡ የሆነ ፡ አንጎላቸው ፡ ግን ፡ ሀብት ፡ የሞላበት ፡ ናቸው። ሁለተኞቹ ፡ አገራቸው ፡ ሀብታም ፡ ሆኖ ፡ አንጎላቸው ፡ ግን ፡ በዘመናችን ፡ ሥልጣኔ ፡ በኩል ፡ ደህ ፡ የሆነ ፡ ናቸው።

ሥልጣኔ ፡ ተስፋፍታ ፡ ወደ ፡ ውጭ ፡ መጉረፍ ፡ ከጀመረችበት ከሰ
 ስትና ፡ ካራት ፡ መቶ ፡ ዓመታት ፡ ጀምሮ ፡ ባንደኛው ፡ ክፍል ፡
 የጠራናቸው ፡ የአውሮፓ ፡ ሕዝቦች ፡ ፖርቱጊዞች፤ እስፓኖሎች፤ ሆላ
 ንዶች፤ ፈረንሳዮችና ፡ እንግሊዞች ፡ በቅኝ ፡ አገር፤ በኖሮቴክቶራና ፡
 በማንዳ ፡ ስም ፡ እያደረጉ ፡ በሁለተኛው ፡ ክፍል ፡ በጠራናቸው ፡
 ሕዝቦች፤ አገሮች ፡ ውስጥ ፡ የሚገኘውን ፡ ሀብት ፡ እየቀሙ ፡ ወደ፤
 አገራቸው ፡ ወስደው ፡ በፋብሪካቸው ፡ ውስጥ ፡ አግብተው የተ
 ሠራ ፡ የንግድ ፡ ዕቃ ፡ አድርገው ፡ በማውጣት ፡ በውድ ፡ ዋጋ ፡
 ይሸጡታል፡፡ ለምሳሌ ፡ እንግሊዞች ፡ ከህንድ ፡ አገር ፡ ባንድ ፡ ብር ፡
 የገዙትን ፡ ጥጥ ፡ ጨርቅ ፡ አድርገው ፡ በሠሩት ፡ ጊዜ ባሥር ፡ ወይም፤
 በስምንት፤ ወይም ፡ በስድስት ብር ፡ መልሰው ፡ ይሸጡታል፡፡

✱ ያውሮፓ ፡ መንግሥታት ፡ ትልቅነት ፡ የተመሠረተው፡ በዚህ ፡
 ምሥጢር ፡ ላይ ፡ ብቻ ፡ ነው ፡፡ እንደዚሁም ፡ በቀድሞ ፡ ጊዜ፡
 ፋብሪካችን ፡ የሚያንቀሳቅሳቸው ፡ የድንጋይ ፡ ከሰል ፡ ነበር ፡፡
 ባገርዋ ፡ ውስጥ ፡ በብዛቱና ፡ በጥሩነቱ ፡ የበለጠ ፡ የድንጋይ
 ከሰል ፡ ያላት ፡ እንግሊዝ ፡ ስለሆነች ፡ ኃይልዋ ፡ የገነነ ሆኖ ፡
 የኖረበት ፡ አንዱም ፡ ምክንያት ፡ ይህ ፡ ነበር፡፡ ዛሬ ፡ ግን ፡ ፋብሪ
 ካችን ፡ የሚያንቀሳቅሱ ፡ የኤሌክትሪክ ፡ ኃይል ፡ ስለተገኘ ፡ የፈፏቱ
 ውሀ ፡ ለማግኘት ፡ ወይም ፡ ግድብ ፡ ለመሥራት ፡ የመራቱ ሁኔታ፡
 የተመቸ ፡ ቦታ ፡ የሆነላቸው ፡ አገሮች ፡ ያለድንጋይ ፡ ከሰል ፡ እንዲ
 ስትራያቸውን ፡ በኤሌክትሪክ ፡ ለማስኬድ ፡ የሚችሉ ፡ ሆነው ተገኙ፡፡

እንግዲህ ፡ በሁለተኛው ፡ ደረጃ ፡ የጠራናቸው አገሮች ፡ ይጎድ
 ላቸው ፡ የነበረውን ፡ የአንጎል ፡ ሀብት ፡ እያገኙ ፡ የኢንዱስትሪን ፡
 ጥበብ ፡ ለመማርና ፡ ባገራቸው ፡ ለማቋቋም ፡ ሲችሉ ፡ ያውሮፓ ፡
 መንግሥታት ፡ ኃይል፡ እየደከመ ፡ ሄደ፡፡ ነገር ፡ ግን ፡ የሚበልጠው፡
 የዓለም ፡ ክፍል ፡ የተያዘው ፡ በአነሱ ፡ እጅ ፡ በመሆኑ ፡ በዕውቀት ፡
 እንዲራመድ ፡ አልፈቀዱለትም፡፡ ነፃነቷን ፡ ለመጠበቅ ፡ ችላ ፡ በራሷ፡
 ፈቃድና ፡ ራሷ ፡ ባቀደችው መንገድ ፡ የትምህርቷን ፡ ኖሮግራም፡ ለመም
 ራት ፡ የቻለች ፡ ጃፓን፡ ብቻ ፡ ነች፡፡ የእሷን ፡ ታሪክ፡ እየመረመርን፡ ምሳሌ
 አድርገን፡ ብንከተል፡ በጥቂት ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ብዙ ፡ ሥራ ፡ ልንሠራ ፡ እንችላለን፡፡

ይህን ፡ አሳብ ፡ ለአንባቢዎች ፡ ሳቀርብ ፡ ባንድ ፡ ነገር ፡ ላይ ፡
 ሙሉ ፡ እምነት ፡ ያለኝ ፡ መሆኔን ፡ ልገልጥ ፡ እወዳለሁ፡፡ የኢንዱ
 ስትሪንና ፡ የትምህርትን ፡ ጉዳዮች ፡ የተያያዙ ፡ አድርገን ፡ የሠራን ፡
 እንደሆነ ፡ በጥቂቶች ፡ ዓመታት ፡ ውስጥ ፡ የጦር ፡ መሣሪያና ፡ አኤ
 ሮኖላኖች ፡ ሠርተን ፡ ከምንመኘው ፡ ግብ ፡ ለመድረስና ፡ አገራች
 ንን ፡ ትልቅ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ለማድረግ ፡ እንችላለን፡፡ ነገር ፡ ግን ፡
 የታቀደ ፡ ችላን ፡ ሳይኖረን ፡ የትምህርትንና ፡ የኢንዱስትሪን ፡ ሥራ
 ዎች፡ እንደተገኘ ፡ የመራናቸው ፡ እንደሆነ ፡ መቼም ፡ ቢሆን ፡ ራሳ
 ችንን አንችልም፡፡

ስለ ፡ ኤኮኖሚ ፡ ጉዳይ ፡ ስንናገር ፡ የንግድና ፡ የኢንዱስትሪ ፡
 ሥራዎች ፡ ላንድ ፡ መንግሥትና ፡ ላንድ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ እንደ ፡ ደም ፡
 ሥር ፡ የሚቆጠሩ ፡ ዋና ፡ ጉዳዮች ፡ መሆናቸውን ፡ አለመዘንጋት ፡
 ነው፡፡ ይልቁንም፡ ዛሬ ፡ ባገራችን፡ እንደምንመለከተው፡ ዋና ፡ ዋናውን፡
 የንግድ ፡ ሥራ፡ በእጃቸው ፡ ይዘውት ያሉ፡ የውጭ ፡ አገር ፡ ሰዎች፡
 ናቸው፡፡ አንድ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ወይም ፡ አንድ ፡ ሕዝብ በዛሬ ፡
 ዘመን ፡ በትምህርትም ፡ ሆነ ፡ በጦር ፡ በክል ፡ ትልቅ ፡ ሥራ ለመ
 ሥራት ፡ ብዙ ፡ ገንዘብ ፡ ያስፈልገዋል፡፡ ብዙ ፡ ገንዘብ ፡ ለማግኘት ፡
 ደግሞ ፡ በንግድና ፡ በኢንዱስትሪ ፡ ሥራዎች ፡ የሠለጠኑ ፡ መሆን ፡
 ያሻል፡፡ ስለዚህ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ በሥልጣኔ ፡ እንድትራመድ፡ ለማድ
 ረግ፡ ልጆቿ ፡ ራሳቸው ፡ የሀብታቸው ፡ አስተዳዳሪዎች ፡ መሆን ፡
 አለባቸው፡፡ ይህንንም ፡ ለማድረግ ፡ ልጆቿ ፡ የዘመናዊው ፡ ሥልጣኔ፡
 ትምህርት ፡ ኖርዋቸው ፡ ንግድንና ፡ ኢንዱስትሪን ፡ ከውጭ ፡ አገር፡
 ሰዎች፡ እጅ ፡ አውጥተው ፡ በእጃቸው ፡ ማግባት ያስፈልጋቸዋል፡፡
 የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ነጋዴዎች ፡ ልጆቻችንን ፡ ወደ ፡ ውጭ ፡ አገር ፡ እየላ
 ከን ፡ የንግድን ፡ ሥራ ፡ ተምረው ፡ እንዲመጡና ፡ ሀብታችንን ፡ በዘ
 መኑ ፡ ሥልጣኔ ፡ ዕውቀት ፡ እንዲያስኬዱት ፡ እንፈልጋለን፡፡ ብለው ፡
 እንዲያስቡና ፡ እንዲፈጽሙት ፡ ያስፈልጋል፡፡ አለዚያ ፡ ግን ፡ ሁል
 ጊዜ ፡ በገዛ ፡ አገራቸው ፡ ከውጭ ፡ አገር ፡ ሰዎች፡ በታች ፡ ሆነው ፡
 ይኖራሉ፡፡ ልጆችን ፡ ወደ ፡ አውሮፓ ፡ እየላኩ ፡ ጠቃሚ ፡ ነገር ፡
 እንዲማሩ ፡ የማድረግን ፡ ተግባር ፡ ዋና ፡ ጉዳይ ፡ አድርገን ፡ ከፍ
 ጻሜ ፡ እንዲደርስ ፡ ተግባርን ፡ መሥራት ፡ ይገባናል ፡፡

ኢትዮጵያ፡ ያውሮፓን ፡ ሥልጣኔ ፡ ተቀብላ ፡ ራሷን እንድትችል ለማድረግ፡ በሰፊው ፡ ሲደክምበት ፡ ይታያል፡፡ የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ሕፃናት፡ በየትምህርት ፡ ቤቶች ፡ ገብተው ፡ ብዙዎቹም ፡ ወደ ፡ ውጭ ፡ አገር ሄደው ፡ ይማራሉ፡፡ ነጋዴዎችም ፡ የውጭ ፡ አገር ፡ ተወላጆች ከሆኑት ፡ ነጋዴዎች ፡ ጋር ፡ ተቀላቅለውና ፡ ጐን ፡ ለጐን ፡ ሆነው ሀብታቸውን ፡ ለማስፋፋት ፡ ይጣጣራሉ፡፡

ነገር ፡ ግን፡ በትምህርትም ፡ ሆነ፡ በንግድ ፡ በኩል፡ የሚደረገው ፡ አካሄድ ፡ በጥንቃቄ ፡ በተጠና ፡ መንገድ ፡ እንዲከናወን ፡ ካልተደረገ፡ ከፍ ፡ ያለ ፡ ጉዳት ፡ እንደሚያመጣ ፡ በብዙ፡ አገሮች ፡ የተፈጸመት፡ ነገሮች ፡ ምሳሌ ፡ ሆነው ፡ ያስተምሩናል፡፡ በንግድና ፡ በኢንዱስትሪ ፡ በኩል ፡ ያለውን ፡ ሥራ ፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን ፡ ራሳቸው ፡ እያስከዱት ፡ ያገራቸውን ፡ ሀብቶች ፡ እንዲጠቀሙበት ፡ ለማድረግ ፡ ቢችሉ ፡ በዚያን ፡ ጊዜ ፡ አገራቸውን ፡ ከሌሎቹ ፡ ከሠለጠኑት ፡ አገሮች ፡ እኩል ፡ አደረገት ፡ ለማለት ፡ ይቻላል፡፡ በዚያን ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ማንኛውም ፡ የባዕድ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ሊያጠቃቸው ፡ አይችልም፡፡ ማንኛውም ፡ ኃይለኛ ፡ እንዳይመጣባቸው ፡ የሚሰጉ ፡ መሆናቸው ፡ ቀርቶ ፡ ራሳቸው ፡ የተፈሩ ፡ ይሆናሉ፡፡

እንግዲህ ፡ ይህን ፡ ከመሰለው ፡ ከፍ ፡ ካለው ፡ ዓላማ ፡ ለመድረስ፡ እንዲችሉ ፡ ሊከተሉት ፡ የሚያስፈልጋቸውን ፡ መንገድ ፡ ሊያውቁትና ፡ ሊረዱት ፡ ይገባል፡፡ ለዚህ ፡ ጉዳይ ፡ የሚያገለግለን ፡ አንድ ፡ ምሳሌ ፡ ለማግኘት ፡ በዓለም ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ውስጥ ፡ ከፈለግሁ ፡ በኋላ ፡ ጃፓን ፡ የተከተለችውን ፡ መንገድ ፡ ከመተከተል ፡ የተሻለ ፡ ሌላ ፡ ምሳሌ ፡ ላላችን ፡ አልቻልኩም፡፡ ጃፓን ፡ በቅርብ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ተነስታ፡ ከታላላቅ ፡ መንግሥታት ፡ ጋር ፡ እኩል ፡ ሆነች ፡ ሲባል፡ እንሰማለን፡ ይህም ፡ እውነተኛ ፡ ነገር ፡ ነው፡፡ ነገር ፡ ግን ፡ እንደምን ፡ ያለ ፡ መንገድ ፡ ተከትላ ፡ ይህን ፡ ለማድረግ ፡ እንደቻለች ፡ መመርመር ፡ በጣም ፡ ጠቃሚ ፡ ነገር ፡ ነው፡፡ ስለዚህ ፡ ይህን ፡ ላገራችን ፡ ሰዎች ፡ ለመግለጥና ፡ ለማስረዳት ፡ አስቤ ፡ ለዚህ ፡ ሥራ ፡ የሚያገለግሉኝን ፡ ስለ ፡ ጃፓን ፡ ታሪክ ፡ የሚናገሩትን ፡ በያይነቱ ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡ ሰብስቤ ፡ በማንበብ ፡ አዋጥቼ ፡ ያዘጋጃሁትን ፡ በዚህ ፡

መጽሐፍ ፡ ሳቀርበው ፡ ላገራችን ፡ የሚጠቅም፡ ነገር ይገኛለታል፡፡ ለዚህም ፡ ይህን ፡ ተከትለን ፡ በመስራት ፡ ፍሬ ፡ ያለው ፡ አገልግሎት ፡ ላገራችን ፡ እንሰጣለን ፡ ብዬ ፡ በሙሉ ፡ ልብ አምናለሁ፡፡

ይህን ፡ የመሰለውን ፡ አሳብ ፡ ስንከተል፡ ልንዘነጋቸው ፡ የማይገባን ፡ ዋና ፡ ዋናችን ፡ የሆኑ ፡ አንዳንድ ፡ ነገሮች ፡ አሉ፡፡

አንደኛ ፡ ሥልጣኔ ፡ የሰውን ፡ ክብር ፡ ከፍ ፡ አድርጋ ፡ የምታሳይ ፡ ትልቅ ፡ ዋጋ ፡ ያላት ፡ መሆንዋን ፡ በማሰብ ፡ ከልብ ፡ ልንወዳት ፡ ይገባናል፡፡ ይህንንም ፡ ለማድረግ ፡ እንድንችል ፡ የተወደደች ፡ ለመሆን ፡ የተገባች ፡ የሚያደርጋት ፡ ጠባይዋ ፡ ምን ፡ እንደሆነ ፡ ለማወቅ ፡ ከመጣጣር ፡ አለማቋረጥ ፡ ያሻል፡፡ ሁለተኛ ፡ የሥልጣኔ ፡ ጥበቦች ፡ ሁሉ ፡ ሊያስተምሩን ፡ የሚችሉ ፡ ነጮች ፡ ስለሆኑ ፡ የምንፈልገውን ፡ ጥበብ፡ ከእነሱ ፡ ለመማር ፡ ተግተን ፡ መሥራት ፡ እንደሚገባን ፡ አለመዘነጋት ፡ ነው፡፡ ይህንንም ፡ ለማድረግ፡ የምንችለው ፡ ትእግስትንና ፡ መስዋዕትነትን ፡ መሣሪያ ፡ በማድረግ ፡ ብቻ ነው፡፡ ሦስተኛ ፡ በነጮች ፡ ዘንድ ፡ ጥቁሮች ፡ ምንም ፡ ቢማሩ ፡ ከፍ ፡ ባሉት ፡ ዕውቀቶች ፡ መሐንዲስነትን ፡ ሕክምናንና ፡ ኢንዱስትሪን፡ በመሰሉት፡ ጥበቦች፡ ራሳቸውን ፡ ችለው ፡ ለመሥራት፡ አይችሉም፡፡ እየተባልን ፡ ስለምንናቅ ፡ ይህንኑ ፡ እውቀነው ፡ ሐሰትነቱን ፡ ባፍ ፡ ሳይሆን ፡ በሥራ ፡ ለዓለም ፡ ለመግለጥና፡ ይህን፡ ሐሜት ፡ ለማስተባበል ፡ መጣጣር ፡ አለብን፡፡ ጃፓኖች ፡ በታሪካቸው ፡ ውስጥ ፡ እንደምንመለከተው ፡ ሁሉ ፡ አገራቸውን ፡ ትልቅ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ሊያደርጉት ፡ የቻሉት ፡ እነዚህን ፡ ከፍ ፡ ብለን ፡ የዘረዘርናቸውን ፡ ነገሮች ፈጽመው ፡ በመገኘታቸው ፡ ነው፡፡ ባሁኑ ፡ ዘመን ፡ አንድ ፡ ትልቅ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ የጎይሉ ፡ አውታር ፡ ተዘርግቶ ፡ የተቋቋመበትን ፡ ዋና ፡ ዋናችን ፡ ሥራዎች ፡ ባዕድ ፡ ሰው ፡ ሳይገባብን ፡ እኛው ፡ ራሳችን ፡ ለማስኬድ ፡ እንድንችል ፡ ጥበቡን ፡ ከነጮች ፡ መማር ፡ ይገባናል ፡ ብለው ፡ ቁርጥ ፡ አሳብ ፡ ስላደረጉ ፡ ከዚህ ፡ ግብ ፡ ለመድረስ ፡ በማያስደንቅ ትእግስትና ትጋት ስለሠሩ ፡ ቀናቸው፡፡

ነገር ፡ ግን ፡ ተመልካች ፡ የሆነ ፡ አንባቢ ፡ ጃፓኖች ፡ በጠባያቸውና ፡ በባህሪያቸው ፡ ልዩነት ፡ ያላቸው ፡ ሕዝቦች ፡ ናቸው ስለ

መ ግ ቢ ያ፡፡

ዚህ ፡ ልንመስላቸው ፡ እንዴት ፡ እንችላለን? ይል ፡ ይሆናል፡፡

ነገር ፡ ግን ፡ የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ከጃፓን ፡ ሕዝብ ይበ
ልጥ፡ የታደለ ፡ የሆነበት፡ ዋና፡ ነገር፡ መኖሩን ፡ ማሰብ ፡ አለብን፡፡
ጃፓን ፡ መሬቷ ፡ በእርሻም ፡ ሆነ ፡ በማዕድን ፡ ረገድ ፡ ደህ ፡ በመ
ሆኑ ፡ ያውግጥን ፡ ሥልጣኔ ፡ ተምራ ፡ የኢንዱስትሪ ፡ አገር ፡ ከሆ
ነች ፡ በኋላ ፡ ጎረቤቶቿ ፡ የሆኑትን ፡ አገሮች ፡ እየወረረች ፡ ሀብታ
ቸውን ፡ መቀማት ፡ ግድ ፡ ሆኖባታል፡፡ ይህም ፡ አደራረግ ፡ ከማን
ድሹሪ ፡ ከምንጎሊ ፡ ከኮሬ ፡ ከመስኮብና ፡ ከሺና ፡ አገሮች ፡ ጋር ፡
እንድትጋጭ ፡ እያደረጋት ፡ ቂምንና ፡ በቀልን ፡ አትርፋለች፡፡ የኢት
ዮጵያ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ግን፡ ተግባሩ፡ በመሥራት፡ የአውሮፓን፡ ሥልጣኔ ፡
ተምሮ ፡ ኢንዱስትሪን ፡ እያስፋፋ፡ የሚያስፈልገውን ፡ ነገር ፡ ሁሉ ፡
ራሱ ፡ በሠራ ፡ ባለጸጋ ፡ ከሆነችው ፡ መሬቱ ፡ የሚያገኘው ልዩ ፡
ልዩ ፡ ሀብት ፡ በጣም ፡ ብዙ ፡ ስለሆነ ፡ ከማንም ፡ አገር፡ ጋር ፡ ሳይ
ጋጭና ፡ ሳይቀያየም ፡ በሰላም ፡ መኖር ፡ ይችላል፡፡ በብልጠትና ፡
በግፍ ፡ ሥራ ፡ ላይ ፡ ፖሊቲካቸውን ፡ መሥርተው ፡ የሚኖሩ፡ ሕዝ
ቦች ፡ ሁሉ ፡ ምንም ፡ እንኳ ፡ ለጊዜው ፡ የማይደፈሩ ፡ መሰለው ፡
በታየን ፡ ይህ ፡ የብልጠታቸው ፡ ፖሊቲካ ፡ ዋጋ ፡ የሌለውና የማ
ይዘልቅ ፡ መሆኑን ፡ የሚገልጡልን ፡ ብዙ ፡ ነገሮች ፡ ዛሬ ሲፈጸሙ
በማየት ላይ ነን፡፡

ማ ው ጫ

ገጽ

ጃፓን ካሮጌው ዘመን ወደ አዲሱ ዘመን ስለመተላለፍ.....	፩
የጃፓኖች የትምህርት እቅድ (ፕላን)	፭
የኢንዱስትሪ ሥራ ስለመስፋፋቱ ሚትሱኢና	
ሚትሱኢ	፲፬
የጃፓን ሕዝብ ቁጥር	፴፩
የጦር ሠራዊት በሲቪል ወገኖች ላይ ስለመነሣቱ.....	፴፱
ጃፓን በመርከብ ሥራ.....	፵፭
ጃፓን በማንድሹሪ	፶
ጃፓንና መስኮብ በሲቤሪ	፶፬
የጃፓን ታላላቅ ሰዎች	፶፱
ነገሠ ነገሥቱና ሕዝቡ.....	፷፫
ሁለተኛው የዓለም ጦርነት	፷፱
ሊቲራቱር በጃፓን አገር	፺፯
መደምደሚያ	፺፯