

**A HISTORY OF DÄMBÄÇA WÄRÄDA TO 1991**

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A Thesis Presented to the School of

Graduate Studies

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June 2011

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the  
Degree of  
Master of Arts in History

June 2011

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A History of Dämbäça *Wäräda* to 1991

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## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank the following for their assistance in writing this thesis.

I owe a big debt of gratitude to my advisor Dr. Kassaye Begashaw for his professional supports and constructive comments from the very outset of developing the research proposal to the writing up of the thesis.

I would also want to extend my thanks to Addis Ababa University for funding my research. Axum University also deserves to be thanked, for it has relieved me from teaching responsibilities so that I could concentrate on my thesis work.

I am also very much indebted to all my informants for the patience and cooperation they showed in providing me with what they knew about the historical developments of the *wārāda* for the period under discussion.

I would like to be grateful to my father (Abayè) and mother (Anny) for their candid and unreserved support. My brother and sisters (Zikre, Saba, Eleny, Ezra and Fikir) also deserve my gratitude, as they have been on my side morally throughout the conduct of the study.

I want to extend my gratitude and appreciation to Abay, Alebachew, Ayele, Adera, Temesgen, Friewelega, Ato Abebe, and Ato Desalew.

I am also deeply indebted to my soul mate Wubante Kelemework and to his brother, Dani and his sister, Elsa.

## **Abstract**

Historical enquiry and research in Ethiopia has been for long centered on general themes and historical developments that revolve around the national historical phenomena. However, in the last decade or so attempts have been made to reconstruct the history of many localities from a local vantage point. To this end, apart from some references made in relation to the general historical developments of Gojjam, it is difficult to find the history of the *wäräda* explained in a relatively detailed way. It is towards filling the gap that the study has been conducted.

The study concentrated on reconstructing the history of the *wäräda* to 1991. It starts its historical analysis for the *wäräda* by exposing the different developments that *wäräda* had experienced before the Italian occupation period. Then it tries to discuss major historical events of the *wäräda* during the occupation period. The restoration of the imperial rule and the changes the restored imperial administration had introduced especially in relation to administration and land relations and the subsequent reactions of the peasants of the *wäräda* to the introduced changes are the main themes of analysis for the period between 1941 and 1974.

The study also tried to see developments that the *wäräda* had experienced during the Dergue regime. The new regime's attempt to place its power on a better footing by introducing several measures at a national had its own negative and its challenges and positive effects in the socio-economic and political lives of the peoples of the *wäräda* are the major areas of emphasis for the study. Finally, the *wäräda* both during the imperial and during the Dergue regime was inadequately furnished with basic socio-economic facilities.



## Glossary

*Ato*- a civil title given to ordinary people.

*Abba*- father, title particularly to a priest or a monk.

*Abun*- bishop.

*Alläqa*- head of the Ethiopian Orthodox church.

*Aser-alläqa*- a military title equal to commander of ten.

*Aṭbiya-dañña*- local judge.

*Awraja*- administrative sub-province.

*Balabbat*- Individual with the hereditary owner of *rest* land.

*Bitwäddäd*- the highest politico-military title.

*Çeqa-šum*- Village chief

*Däjjäzmač /Däjjäč/* - a military title a step below *Ras*

*Däga*-. Zone with cold climatic condition.

*Fitawrari*- a military title below *Däjjäzmač*.

*Gaša*- unit to measure land, which is equivalent to 40 hectares.

*Geber*- tribute.

*Grazmač*- commander of the left, military title.

*Gult*- non-hereditary right to collect tribute from *rest* land owners.

*Gult-gäž*- *gult* governor.

*Hamsa-alläqa*- a military title equivalent to commander of fifty.

*Kumälé*- unit of land measurement in some parts of Gojjam Such as

*Dämbäça* and *Däga Damot* equivalent to 9.2 hectares.

*Lej* 'child,' - title reserved for sons of the royal family and of the upper nobility.

*Mälakä-Berhan*- a religious title in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church given to head of a church.

*Mämher*- head of monastery.

*Märiğéta*- a religious title given to the clergy who educate the liturgy.

*Mäto-alläqa*- a military equivalent to Lieutenant.

*Meketel*- an administrative unit next to *mesläné*.

*Meslāné*- an administrative unit under *wārāda*  
*Nāç-lābaš*- local militia.  
*Qābällé*- lowest administrative unit.  
*Qāñnazmač*- commander of the right, a politico-military title above  
*Gerazmač*.  
*Qolla*- hot climatic zone.  
*Ras*- the highest traditional title.  
*Rest*- usufruct rights over land.  
*Rest-gult*- hereditary *gult*.  
*Šallāqa*- local representative of a higher authority entrusted with the  
collection of tribute .  
*Sheikh*- a religious title given to Muslims.  
*Ṭāqlay-Gezat*- province.  
*Wārāda*- administrative unit below *awrajja*.  
*Wāyña-dāga*- moderate climatic zone.  
*Wāyzāro*- a civil title given to married woman.  
*Yāgobāz-allāqa*- village chief  
*Zāmač*- campaigner.  
*Zāmāča*- campaign.  
*Zāmānā-māsafent*- the era of princes, 1769-1855.

## **CHAPTER I**

### **Geographical Setting and Historical Background of Dämbäça *Wäräda***

#### **1.1. Geographical Setting**

Getting sufficient information regarding the geographical milieu of places and events is crucial for such a historical research. It is, thus, imperative to provide readers of my thesis an overview of the geographical and historical background of the area under study. Dämbäça, the geographical unit of the study area, is found in Gojjam, in the northwestern part of Ethiopia.

As far as the earliest geographical limit of Gojjam is concerned, particularly on the territorial limit of its western boundary, there is no consensus among scholars. During the medieval period, the territory of Gojjam was considered to be the area almost enclosed by the Blue Nile River, which is the broad geographical sweep stretching from Lake Ṭana in the north to the great eastern and southeastern bends of the same river. <sup>1</sup> Hence, it has become difficult to understand clearly the territorial limit of Gojjam during this period. <sup>2</sup> From the seventeenth through to the twentieth century, however, the name Gojjam came to refer to the much restricted geographical area within the Blue Nile bend inhabited dominantly by the Amhara people. <sup>3</sup>

In the early years of the eighteenth century, according to some writers, Gojjam's western neighbors were Agäw Meder in the southwest and Qwara in the northwest. <sup>4</sup> Based on different sources, Agäw Meder, which was unorganized political entity, was considered as the neighbor of Gojjam but gradually became absorbed by Gojjam itself. In this regard, Juan Maria Schuver, as cited by Mockler, noted the incorporation of the Agaw as "...the Abyssinians considerably advanced their frontier towards the West, effacing what was left of the independent regions." <sup>5</sup> Apart from this, during this period the areas of Gubba and Däq Island in Lake Ṭana administratively became elements of Gojjam. <sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, various sources depict that in the history of Ethiopia, the name "Gojjam" referred to different geographical areas at different times. Most of the historical writings consulted for the study attest that references on the region were made as "Gojjam proper" and "Damot". <sup>7</sup> Before the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, most of the history of Gojjam was characterized by regional power struggle for political supremacy among the descendents of *Ras* Hailu (r.1775-1795). <sup>8</sup> It was during this time that the geographical area that is historically known as Gojjam began to be referred to as Gojjam proper and Damot. <sup>9</sup>

Gojjam proper referred to Eastern parts of Gojjam consisting of the districts around contemporary Bičäna, Moṭa, and Däbrä Marqos that extend to the Blue Nile. Damot referred to Western parts of Gojjam, which had two sub- districts, Däga Damot, and Qola Damot.<sup>10</sup> Briefly, Dämbäça *wäräda*, founded by

*Dājzmach* Zäwdé as his capital, which will be explored in this thesis, is practically equivalent to the province some time referred to as Damot. <sup>11</sup>

According to the post-1991 arrangements of the Federal Democratic Government of Ethiopia, it is one of the eighteen *wärādas* in Western Gojjam Administrative Zone of the Amhara Region. Dämbäça *wärāda* is located north of Addis Ababa (380 Kms) and south east of Baher Dar (205 kilometers), the capital of both the Amhara National Regional State and West Gojjam Zonal Administration. <sup>12</sup> This town has a latitude and longitude of 10°33'N 37°29'E / 10.55°N 37.483°E coordinates to 10°33'N 37°29'E / 10.55°N 37.483°E .<sup>13</sup> It has an elevation of 2,083 meters above sea level. <sup>14</sup> Dämbäça is the center for the *wärāda's* administration and it is the major area of emphasis for this study.

Based on figures published by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia in 2005, the territorial extension of Dämbäça *wärāda* was estimated to be 979.26 square kilometers. <sup>15</sup> Therefore, it is one of the largest *wärādas* in West Gojjam Zone. As far as the current administrative structure of the *wärāda* is concerned, Dämbäça was brought under West Gojjam Zonal administration unit. <sup>16</sup> Some of the *wärādas* administered under this zone are scattered along the main road from Dämbäça to Baher Dar and the rest of the *wärādas* are found out of this main route in the radius of 19kms to 40kms from Dämbäça. <sup>17</sup>

Here, it is important to note that until 1946 Dämbäça *wärāda* was part of Gojjam *Awraja* whose capital was Däbrä Marqos. <sup>18</sup> This administrative unit in its

geographical setting is, more or less, equivalent to the region that we call it currently Eastern Gojjam in general. <sup>19</sup> Dämbäça *wäräda* is bordered in the south by the town of Buré, in the North by Däga Damot and Bibuñ , in the west by Jabitehnan and in the East it shares a common boundary with Mačakel and Elias *wärädas* which are presently under East Gojjam Administrative Zone.<sup>20</sup> The center of the *wäräda*, Dämbäça , was established during the *Zämäne Mäsafint* ( Era of Princes) by Däjazmač Zäwdé . <sup>21</sup>

Based on the 2007 national census conducted by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (CSA), this *wäräda* has a total population of 129,260, an increase of 44.50% over the 1994 census, of whom 64,683 are men and 64,577 women; 17,913 or 13.86% are urban residents.<sup>22</sup> With an area of 971.29 square kilometers, Dämbäça has a population density of 133.08, which is less than the Zone average of 158.25 persons per square kilometer.<sup>23</sup> A total of 30,731 households were counted in this *wäräda*, resulting in an average of 4.21 persons to a household, and 29,608 housing unit. <sup>24</sup>

In terms of economy, agriculture has been the mainstay of the people of Dämbäça *wäräda*. The altitude of the *wäräda* ranges from 1500 to 2,595 meters above sea level.<sup>25</sup> In terms of climate, it houses three agro-climatic zones: *däga* (cold or high altitude), *wäyna-däga* (temperate or moderate altitude) and *qolla* (hot areas or lowlands).<sup>26</sup> The *däga*, *wäyna-däga* and *qolla* zones account for 11%, 83% and 6% of the total area of the *wäräda* respectively. The long term average temperature of the *wäräda* is between 13° and 18°C. <sup>27</sup> The *wäräda* is, therefore, to a large degree

characterized by moderate climatic conditions of the *wäyña-däga*. In terms of settlement, the *däga*, *wäyña-däga* and *qolla* zones house for 10%, 82% and 6% of the population of the *wäräda* respectively. <sup>28</sup> The prevalence of ecological differences in the *wäräda* gave opportunities to grow different crop types and rear different livestock types. <sup>29</sup>

According to available data, the mean annual rainfall ranges from 988 to 1,302mm. The *wäräda* receives relatively higher annual rainfall compared to other parts of the Zone with a mono- modal distribution that extends from May to September. <sup>30</sup> Like most parts of Gojjam, shortage of rainfall is not a constraint for crop and livestock production in the *wäräda*. Rather, agricultural extension experts reported that long and excessive rainy season sometimes detrimentally affect crop productions like *teff*, wheat, maize and sorghum. <sup>31</sup> The climate and soil types of the *wäräda* have made it suitable for cultivating various crops and growing vegetations. Apart from this, as to scientific explanations and farmers' experience, the types of soils in Dämbäça *wäräda* are suitable for growing their crops and various vegetations. The major soil types found in the *wäräda* are Humic Nitosols, Eutric Cambisols and Eutric Vertisols. Humic nitosols cover 74% of the land of the *wäräda* while Cambisols and Vertisols account for 14% and 12% of the *wäräda*'s land coverage. <sup>32</sup>

Most of the areas in the *Däga* agro-ecology are covered by Humic Nitosols type of soil while areas with *wäyña-Däga* have Humic Nitosols and Eutric Vertisols. On the other hand, the *Däga* lands have Eutric Cambisols. The Humic Nitosols found

in the *Dāga* land are vulnerable for soil erosion and soil acidity. This has become one of the major problems for the conduct of better agricultural activity in the *wārāda*.<sup>33</sup> In contrast, Eutric vertisol type of soil has water logging problem. As a result, farmers and experts are forced to use such lands for crop production when the rainy season ends. <sup>34</sup> In preserving and keeping the fertility of the soil most, if not all, farmers in the area are well aware of the importance of crop rotation. They have used organic fertilizers like compost (dung and crop residues) to improve soil fertility.

Furthermore, as has been the case in other *wārādas* in the region, deforestation, overgrazing and soil erosion have become the major sources of environmental deterioration. <sup>35</sup> Such a thespian change in a few decades and the increasing percentage of completely degraded lands, from virtually nil in 1957 to about 3% in 1995, undoubtedly indicates the prevailing peril of land degradation in Dāmbāça *wārāda* and its contiguous areas. <sup>36</sup>

The total territorial coverage of the *wārāda* as a whole is made up of twenty-nine *qābālés*. From this territorial coverage, twenty five rural *qābālés* and four urban *qābālés* are found. According to the information obtained from the communication office of the *wārāda*, the rural *qābālés* in Dāmbāça are: Anjeni, Angot Yādāgāra Bētā Sāyéd, Addis Alām, Enāwold, Boneqāna, Estéboj Egziabherab, Daba, Gādāb Kāndamo, Enamora, Gombārčér, Gālila, Jajerab Akababi, Gānāb Aše, Ljātā , Qunedi, Mwkare Leg, Kurifa, Sazuri Dimela, Sesen ,Šoletena , Šemnami, Wad, Šemāna Ab ,Yābuna Mar, Wānčār Sidist Dong, Yāmāhal, Yāčārāqa, Yešāboč,

Yāṣād, Yāwārāda Wājāt, Yāzālāka. Among these Yāçärāqa and Addis Alām are categorized as small towns in the *wārāda*.<sup>37</sup>

The existing favorable climatic condition and fertile soil types have made the inhabitants cultivate a variety food and cash crops. Maize, *teff*, barley, finger millet and wheat are the major cereals produced in the *wārāda*. Chickpea, haricot bean, and field pea are pulses, pepper, potato, tomato, carrot, cabbage, garlic, lettuce, onion, beetroot, and swiischard are vegetables, and coffee, sugar cane, hops, mango, chat, lemon, peach, citron, papaya and banana are the cash crops widely growing-up in the *wārāda*. *Noug*, *tälba* and *säliṭ* (sesame) are the major oil crops available in the *wārāda*.<sup>38</sup>

In the *däga* (cold or high altitude) climatic zone, wheat, potato, pea, bean, and barley are commonly grown. *Ṭeff*, maize, wheat, and sorghum are also grown in abundance in the *wäyna-däga* climatic areas. Pepper, sesame, and chickpea are more of *qolla* crops. Based on annual production, wheat, maize, and *ṭeff* are the four leading crops in the *wārāda* under study. <sup>39</sup>

As it is the case to the other areas of the region, the *wārāda* is found in the Abay River basin. It has a number of rivers and springs. The rivers are either perennial or seasonal. The main perennial rivers are Gulla (33kms long), Greida (32kms long), and Tämça (59Kms long). <sup>40</sup>

Tāmça, one of the longest river, rises from hill in Erbab, East Gojjam Senana *wäräda*, and drains to the south across Yädägäm Gabi in Dämbäça territories and joins the Abbay River. Tāmça is one of the historical and rivers in the *wäräda* over which the Italian Count Salimberi, a friend of *Negus* Täklä Haymanot, built the bridge over the river in 1884-1885. Tāmça Bridge is, according to sources, the first modern and the longest bridge in Gojjam. <sup>41</sup> Qaçem is found the Northern part of Dämbäça and drains across Berqeñ and Enamra territories to the South and joins the Berr river in the *wäräda*, and finally together join the Abbay river. Yäçäräqa is one of the most important and historical rivers of the *wäräda*. The people of the *wäräda* in particular and the history of Ethiopia remember the river in general as a symbol of pride and patriotism as we shall see later on. Yäçäräqa River rises from a place called Enamra, north of the *wäräda*, and drains to the south making its eventual destiny to Berr river <sup>42</sup>. Berr is another river found in Dämbäça, and it rises around Bahirdar near the mountain of Adama and drains to the south and joins the Abbay river across Dämbäça *wäräda*. The other major rivers with their lengths within the *wäräda* are the Qaçem, Zenbel and Berr rivers . The total length of the rivers and streams in this *wäräda* is about 220kms. <sup>43</sup>

It is predominantly characterized by flattish territory made up largely of open and uncultivated fields. Dämbäça *wäräda* also characterized by a wide plain dotted with hill, steep precipice and rugged lowlands and highlands particularly around Tāmça River, on the way from Dämbäça to Elias. To some extent, highland areas are also seen sprinkled in the *wäräda*. <sup>44</sup>

In the production years of 1997/1998, of the total 85,999 hectares of the *wäräda*, 44,083 hectares of land were under crops, 13,209.43 hectares were grazing land, and 6,627 hectares were under forest and shrubs, 7,101.7 hectares were under water and other possessions covered 16,757.18 hectares. *Ṭeff*, sorghum, wheat, and maize are the major cereals covering 15, 662, 4,675, 2,549 and 1,524 hectares respectively. Horse beans, field peas are the pulses, and among the native crops to Ethiopia *noug*, *tälba*, and linseed are from the oil crops, which constitute 4628 hectares.<sup>45</sup> Cereals are the largest in annual production and in area coverage in the *wäräda*.

As stated above, the organic fertilizers like compost and crop rotation are employed to maintain soil fertility. But, with increasing difficulty of pressure on land and other factors, the people of the area have also been using chemical fertilizers. Crop pests such as Checkolet spot, route, smut and shoot fly and crop disease such as rust and blight are reported in the area<sup>46</sup>. Here it is important to note that Dämbäça has good experience to preserve vegetation and forest coverage relative to the other *wärädas* in the zone. This is mainly because the *wäräda* has been employed different conservation techniques so as to preserve forests in the *wäräda* and to plant the new ones. In this regard, individuals living in the *wäräda* have been played major roles. Among them, due to their contribution in keeping the eco-system of the *wäräda* in particular and the country in general the man from Dämbäça invited to attend the international summit on climate at Copenhagen, Norway.<sup>47</sup> The *wäräda* has abounded in eucalyptus trees

particularly on the way from Dämbäça to Bahirdar. There is also a forest owned by the man discussed above in the *wäräda*.

Pertaining to the vegetation coverage of the *wäräda*, the dominant vegetation in the study area are grasses and shrubs. Scattered acacia trees and thorny scrubs are also found. Indigenous tree species in the *wäräda* include *Wanza* (*Cordia africana*), *Besana* (*Crotonmacrostachys*), *Yabäša Ʀid* (*Juniperus procera*), *Yäfärenji Ʀid* (*Cupressus lusitanica*), *Säsa* (*Albiziagummifera*), *Bärbära* (*Millettia ferruginea*), *Zägäba* (*Podocarpus falcates*), *Šola* (*Ficus sure*), *Warka* (*Ficus vasta*), *Qäräro* (*Aningeria adolfifriederici*), *Qäy Baher Zaf* (*Eucalyptus camaldulesis*), and *Korč* (*Erythrina bruci*).<sup>48</sup> However, it is imperative to note that such trees are found in Dämbäça in a very small numbers. Most of the indigenous tree species have depleted in abundance as they have been cleared to make way for croplands, for fuel wood, charcoal making, and for the construction of homes and fences.

The major wild animals in the *wäräda* include rabbit, hyena, Anubis baboon, velvet monkey, jackal and duiker.<sup>49</sup> There is no a well organized mechanism to preserve wildlife and it is hardly surprising that there is no reserved area for wild animals in the *wäräda*. Regarding livestock and poultry, there were 188,538 cattle, 83,782 sheep, 13,884 goats, 14,095 horses, 1,190 mules, 20,230 donkeys, and 86,788 poultry in 2005. There were also 3,558 traditional beehives in the *wäräda* in the indicated year. Blackleg, Blackquarter (*Abba Gorbba*), pasteurellosis, Anthrax (*Abba Sängga*), Rinderpest, internal and external

parasites, and Coccidiosis are animal diseases that afflict the health balance of animals in the area. <sup>50</sup>

For long, the economy of the people of Dämbäça *wäräda* has depended on mixed farming. Most of the people of the area are herders and farmers. Besides, trade is one of the most important economic activities that occupy a central place in the history of the people Dämbäça *wäräda*. The different crops and animal products from the *wäräda* are usually sold at local markets. Most peasant produce is consumed at home and the surplus products of the area are usually sold to markets.

In line with this, it is worth noting the fact that the livestock had been the main source of meat and dairy products for the people of the *wäräda*. The revenue from skins and hides is also played significant role to support the income of the *wäräda*. In this regard, there are indications that a large amount of skins and hides supplied to Addis Ababa. For instance by 1997, 3414 hides, and 18,582 skins (in number) were also supplied to the central markets in Addis Ababa. <sup>51</sup>

Only about 9 per cent of the total population in the *wäräda* had access to potable (drinkable) water supply. Firewood, dung and crop residue are important sources of domestic energy. There were no banks and insurance organizations in Dämbäça *wäräda*. However, in 2009, the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia has opened its branch at Dämbäça town, but still there are no private banks and insurance organization in the town. <sup>52</sup>

In 1997, the *wäräda* had forty-nine primaries, one junior secondary and two senior secondary schools with 28,506 students of which 13,303 were females and 15,203 were males. In this year, the number of teachers with degree and diploma were 7 and 117 respectively. In 2002, it had 77 primary and junior and 2 senior secondary schools with 35,000 students of which 16,955 were females and 18,005 were males. In this year, the numbers of teachers with diploma were 228 and there were 106 with degree.<sup>53</sup> The *wäräda* had 21 health centers and 1 clinic with no doctors, 3 health officers, 6 nurses and 18 health assistants. Similarly, there is one animal health clinic and there are two Doctors in veterinary medicine.<sup>54</sup>

The *wäräda* has good potential for industrial activity like milk and meat processing, skin and hide processing sand stone working around Säqlä Maryam basalt and clay for cement production.<sup>55</sup> Regarding tourism, Enzägidim, Dämbäça Mikaél church and Säqlä Mariam, Wombächär cave and Gubrit Selassé are some of potential tourist attracting sites of Dämbäça *wäräda*.<sup>56</sup>

## **1.2. Historical Background**

### **1.2.1. Early History of the People of Dämbäça Wäräda**

In the history of Ethiopia in general and Gojjam in particular, ancient writers and the society tended to use the Bible as a textbook reference to write the origin and the identity of different groups of people. To this end, most of the writers associated the origin of the people of Gojjam with the biblical statement of “...after the flood all the nations of the earth ascended from Noah.”<sup>57</sup>

Based on this, the original settlers in Ethiopia descended from among the children of Noah who were dispersed to different parts of the world. The tradition takes that Iteyopis was the forerunner to the land of Ethiopia. <sup>58</sup>

According to this tradition, the name Gojjam, where the major area of emphasis for the study is found in, is therefore, directly associated with Gozi, one of the direct descendants of the fore settlers of the Noah children in the area. Sources like *kibre nāgāst* and the chronicle of Aleqa Tekleyesus clearly demonstrates that Gozi was the founding father and the earliest settler in the place what we call currently Gojjam. <sup>59</sup> The tradition argues that the term Gozi gradually evolved into Gojjam. <sup>54</sup> The twenty-third generation and its settlement pattern and group identities have become the area of emphasis among scholars who dwell on the tradition to expose the early history of Gojjam. The tradition further extrapolates that the descendents of Gozi, namely, Mälälö, Säläläo, Däräbé, Särbäé were said to have ascended the heights of the Çocé Mountain and through surveying divided the resourceful areas of the region. <sup>60</sup> Mälälö and Säläläo were assigned to settle between the Çay River (today found in current Bičena) and along the Abay river. The rest were assigned to occupy the area to the East, Southwest of the Çoqé and the area between the Çay river in the east and Zingni in the Southwest.<sup>61</sup> It seems that the later occupied the larger part of the area as a result of their strength as compared to the former.

The original settlers of Dämbäça area are not specifically mentioned in this tradition; however, the study attempts to scrutinize historical and geographical

evidences so as to provide some points about the original settlers of the area under study to readers.

According to Aläqa Tekleyesus, the chronicler of Täklähaymanot, the children of Mälälo settled in the areas of Bibuñ, Gedeb Seltanaile, Bekaka, Sarmidir Gonja and Enebsie.<sup>62</sup> To Aläqa Tekleyesus, it looks, the descendents of Mälälo had settled in some parts of eastern Gojjam. On the other hand, their counterparts, Sälälo, predominantly occupied Aräfa, Qoläla, Ašmän, Yelmana Dënisa, Zéga and Ačefer.<sup>63</sup> These areas are found in the current administrative units of northwestern and northeastern Gojjam.

Based on the above explanation, one can draw that the children of Mälälo and Sälälo might not have direct hereditary relation with the people of Dämbäça and its surrounding, who currently live in the western part of Gojjam. Here, it is also important to bear in mind that due to the scarcity of sources and the very complexity of researching the genealogy of the society, it is difficult to take the study as granted. It rather serves as a valuable input for further probing for scholars who want to deal with the issue of the origin and identity of the earlier people that inhabited the study area.

Nevertheless, Däräbé and Säräbé were the most important personalities who were supposed to have first settled in Gojjam. As noted in the chronicle of Täkläyäsus, the children of the Däräbé were said to have settled in the Gozamen, Anädäd, Ṭelatgen, Awobäl and Wudmit areas, which are found in the East Gojjam

administrative zone.<sup>63</sup> These places names, the tradition further shows, were the names of the children of the founding father, Dārābé. <sup>64</sup> However debatable it is, it is logical to safely assume that based on the tradition recounted in the above stated chronicle and information obtained from informants, the children of Dārābé could be the ancestors of some of the original people of the respective aforementioned places. <sup>65</sup>

The other name that the tradition often makes reference regarding the origin of the people of the area under study is Sārābé. Sārābé is depicted as to have bigoted three children: Şehnan, Maçakäl and Säbradén.<sup>66</sup> These children occupied and settled in the land found between the rivers Gédéb and Zengni. Maçakäl occupied the territory between Gédéb and Tämça rivers while the area found along Fäţam River became the domain of Şehnan. Säbradén took the territory found between Fäţam and Zengni rivers. <sup>67</sup>

In fact, these sources are inadequate to draw a rather whole picture of the issue raised, but it seems logical to make a link between the descendents of Sārābe with the early settlers of the area under discussion. The study believes that the issue raised is worth dealing with due to the following major reasons. First, the source consulted for the study clearly illustrates the respective geographical location of the settlement pattern in the names of the aforementioned names. Two, one can claim that the earlier people of Dämbäça and its surrounding stretching from Tämça river (south of Dämbäça) to Fäţam river (in Tilili *wäräda*) had been predominantly the descendents of Şehnan. Moreover, because of the proximity of

the domain of his brother who settled at Mačakāl area, there might be close interaction and assimilation between the descendents of Mačakāl with that of Şehnan.<sup>68</sup>

This study, after examining and analyzing the sources available, tries to concede that determining the ancestors of the people of the area under study is complex and it has thus been the center of debate among historians. But based on data accessed from informants and other consulted sources, it is possible to assume that the early settlers of Dämbäça and its environs, before the advent of the Gafat people in the area, were to a large extent the descendents of Şehnan.

Moreover, there are also traditions that tend to take the Gafat people as ancestors of the people of Gojjam. Aläqa Täkläyäsus took them as the decedents of Noh and immediate successors of the Gozi. Hence, he put them on the sixth and twelfth group in the genealogy he had developed about Gojjam.<sup>69</sup> His genealogy shows that Gafat was the son of Säbrad.

As noted above and as illustrated in this tradition, Säbrad, the Father of Gafat, was a pioneering settler over this region he was an ancestor of the people of the area under discussion.<sup>70</sup> An explanation by Ayenäkulu Märäsa, a cleric in Dämbäça Mikaél , indicates that the descendants of Säbrad were the primary settlers of Damot areas.<sup>71</sup> In line with this, Taddässä Tamrat, Tsega Endalew, and Fentahun Berhane also claims that the Gafat were the ancient settlers of Gojjam

in general and the study area in particular. Therefore, Damot, which incorporates Dämbäça *wäräda* is sometimes referred to as *yä gafat agär* (land of the Gafat).<sup>72</sup> However, these sources are far from being complete to show exactly the over all settlement pattern of these people, specifically in Dämbäça *wäräda*. As a result, the exact period when penetration of these people into the area started has become a source of scholarly debate. It is thus equally impossible to tell when the descendents of Noah and the people of Gafat had settled in Gojjam in general and Dämbäça *wäräda* in particular. This Gafat thesis, however, seems logically more palatable than the Noah thesis, for some researchers have attempted to grossly sketch the socio-economic and political history of the Gafat people.

In the sixteenth century, however, another historical event took place, which added another element on the genealogical inquiry of the region under discussion. This was directly associated with the movement of the Oromo people and the subsequent destruction of the Kingdom of Damot in this period.

Damot was part of the Christian kingdom and during the war of Imam Ahmed the kingdom disintegrated and fleeing away and surrender were the fates of its people.<sup>73</sup> From 1578-1586 a considerable number of people from Damot marched to Enarya via Abay and Gibe rivers.<sup>74</sup> Tekleyes noted that the people of Damot came to the land of Gojjam under the following bosses: Amor, Bärqäñ, Ṭälim and Qarit. This group of people settled on the land of Säräbe starting from Yäçäräqa River in Dämbäça to the coolest areas of the Çoqé Mountains.<sup>75</sup> Since the climatic condition of this area is very chilly (*däga*) and the name of the new

arrivals was Damot, from this time onwards the place might have acquired the name Däga Damot. <sup>76</sup>

It is worth noting that unlike many *wäradas* and places in the region, the place under study, Dämbäça, did not inherit its name either from the line of Noah or from the Damotés. As clearly stated above, the people of this *wärada* could be the results of this long-lasting genealogical history. However, the gap created in its designation and its failure to acquire one of the names of its predecessors does not entail whether these people are strange and are hardly associated with the lines of Noah and Damot.

As far as the etymology of Dämbäça *wärada* is concerned, there is a local tradition that associates the name Dämbäça with the words *däm* and *biça* that means blood and yellow respectively. Narrating the very origin of this tradition, informants tell us that during the time of Yekuno Amlak monks came from Däbrä Tabor to the region carrying the ark of St. Mikaél and settled at the place where Dämbäça Mikaél church is found today. At night, however, robbers living in the jungle came out and injured the monk who carried the ark and at this moment and left him bleeding. On the next day, the people saw on the ark the combination of two colors, blood which is red and yellow (the color of the ark) and said *dämbiça*. According to informants, beginning from this instance the vicinity around where the ark was placed, later Mikaél church, gained the name Dämbäça. <sup>77</sup> Since it has become difficult to find other traditions that could be used as corroborating evidences to show the etymological development of the name Dämbäça, the study

wants to concede that at least for now it is important to take the above narration as something having a role to play in exposing how the name Dämbäça came into use.

Briefly, the aforementioned scanty historical facts discussed may lead historians to further probing so as to explore more and to understand what could have taken place in Gojjam in general and Dämbäça *wäräda* in particular.

### **1.2.2. Economic and Political Significance of Dämbäça Wäräda , from the Last Decades of 18<sup>th</sup> Century to 1936**

As put forward by fairly large number of scholars, in the history of Gojjam people in general and Dämbäça area in particular, the fourteenth century can very well be considered as a decisive point in time. This is for the reason that as far as the recorded history of Gojjam as part of the Ethiopian Empire is concerned; it dated back to the early fourteenth century, particularly to the reign of Amäde Şion (r.1314-1344). <sup>78</sup> It was during this period that written historical accounts about the region began to flourish. In a long list of local governors in 1332, his (Amäde Şion's) chronicler significantly used the titles of *Nägasi* and *Mesfin* for the various local officials of Gojjam, Şawa, and Damot. With regard to these sources, scholars illustrate that it is most likely that these titles referred to the descendants of the former rulers of these areas before their annexation by the Ethiopian kingdom. <sup>79</sup>

Many scholars rightly noted that Gojjam, which is located in Northwestern part of Ethiopia, was one of the most prosperous and surplus producing regions in the country. The area what we describe as Gojjam, according to many writers, is often referred to as an island of a river. This is mainly due to the reason that most of its territory is surrounded by Abay River (the Blue Nile River).<sup>80</sup> According to various historical sources, in the sixteenth century Gojjam was administered as a kingdom and these sources describe that the kings of Gojjam used to pay tribute in horses, mules and gold to the central government.<sup>81</sup>

Before the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century most of the history of Gojjam as we shall see later on was characterized by regional power struggle for supremacy principally among the descendents of *Ras Hailu* (r.1775-1795). Hence, it was during this time that for historical and political reasons the smaller geographical area that is historically known as Gojjam began to be referred as Gojjam proper and Damot.<sup>82</sup>

Gojjam proper referred to Eastern parts of Gojjam that extends to the Blue Nile and Damot referred to Western parts of Gojjam that included the two sub-districts of Däga- Damot and Qola-Damot. Dämbäça rose into prominence following this division. It was supposed to have been founded by *Däjjazmač Zäwdé* as the capital of Damot.<sup>83</sup> Thus, it is evident that this political development left an indelible imprint in the history of Dämbäça situated in the then category of Damot, about sixty kilometers North West of Däbrä Marqos.

Writers like Abdul Samad, M. Abir, C. Beke, Gustavo Bianchi, Fentahun Berhane and Truilzi in their work on the people of Gojjam in general tend to discuss the significant socio-economic and political activities in the region. According to them, Dämbäça was one of the most important regions in Gojjam where trading activity was extensively conducted in its weekly Monday market. It was also an important center of handicraft products, wax and hides.<sup>84</sup>

As far as the origin of Dämbäça as a town is concerned, different individuals forward different explanations. The first argument about the development of the town states that Dämbäça probably developed as an urban settlement for it was centrally located on the area for marketing and the great western caravan route that stretched from Gondär to Limmu Enarrya traversed it.<sup>85</sup>

On the other hand, some sources related the development of Dämbäça as a town with the renowned church, Dämbäça Mikaél, in which the metropolitan Abunä Yaba made a sanctuary there in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. According to my informants, from then on wards the people began to settle surrounding the historical church of Dämbäça Mikaél.<sup>86</sup> Finally and most importantly, the majority of the scholars discuss and associate the strengthening and growing up of Dämbäça as a town directly with renowned personality in the history of the *wäräda*, *Däjjazmač Zäwdé*. The death of *Ras Haylu Yosédéq* (also called *Talaqu Ras Haylu*, r. 1777-1795), was a turning point in the history of Gojjam in general and Dämbäça in particular.<sup>87</sup> By this time Gojjam was re-divided into its former independent units. It became a

bone of contention among the descendants of *Ras Haylu Yosédéq* until *Ras Adal Täsäma* reunited it in 1873.<sup>88</sup>

Following this, from 1795 to 1799, Gojjam proper was taken by *Ras Märed*, son and heir to *Ras Haylu Yosédéq*.<sup>89</sup> *Dajjač Zäwdé*, son-in-law of *Ras Haylu Yosédéq*, refused to obey the overlordship of *Ras Märed Haylu* and took control of Damot.<sup>90</sup> *Däijjač Zäwdé* who is considered as the founding father of the Damot ruling house and the forefather of *Ras Adal*, afterwards *Täklä Haymanot*, were supposed to have an Oromo origin. Hence, *Zäwdé*, after coming into the political scene of the region, abandoned the capital of his predecessors, *Buré town*, and founded *Dämbäça* to be his residence in 1795.<sup>92</sup> Local traditions indicate that the shift of the political center to *Dämbäça* was the result of peasant protest in *Buré-Damot* against *Dajjač Zäwdé*.<sup>93</sup> Following this, *Dämbäça* became politically significant and the subsequent socio- economic and political development of the town was directly associated with this historical episode.

However, *Gualu*, the successor of *Mered*, made alliance with *Ras Gugssa* and *Däijjač Eleyas* of *Agäw Meder* and tried to destroy *Dämbäça* and take over the territory of *Däjjazmač Zäwdé*. Consequently, he attacked Damot while *Zäwdé* was in *Agäw Meder* fighting with *Däjjazmač Elias*.<sup>94</sup> The soldiers of *Gualu* pillaged the residence of *Zäwdé* in *Dämbäça* and looted considerable number of matchlocks and cattle. Moreover, *Gualu* captured *Denqnäs*, the wife of *Däijjač Zäwdé* offered her to *Ras Gugssa*, the lord of *Yäju*, as a token of friendship.<sup>95</sup>

Ranges of sources show that when Zäwdé returned to Dämbäça he found the situation precarious and took a refugee at the church of Dämbäça Mikaél. Priests and prominent individuals in Dämbäça intervened in the situation and tried to broker peace between the two feuding political rulers. <sup>96</sup>However, their effort bore no fruit. Gualu and Elias took all his properties. Following this, Zäwdé left Dämbäça and marched to Amuru Oromos in Wäläga across the Abay river.<sup>97</sup> He went to this people because the Oromo lands along the Abay river such as Amuru, Gudru, Limmu ,Hibantu, Horo and Jimma had owed allegiance to *Däjjac* Gošu. <sup>98</sup>

Hence, sources confer that these areas had good relation with the kingdom of Damot starting from Zäwdé down to *Ras* Adal, who tried to subdue these territories. <sup>99</sup> After reorganizing his force, he attacked and defeated Elias, ruler of Agäw Meder. Then, he fought the forces of Gualu at the plain of Säntära where Zäwdé came out victorious. <sup>100</sup> Zäwdé made his forces accompanied by heard of cattle, which was intended to increase their number and to create panic on the side of his opponent. He, therefore, succeeded in that the soldiers of Gualu thought that they were outnumbered by their enemies and retreated. <sup>101</sup> By the use of this system, *Däjjazmac* Zäwdé defeated Gualu and eventually he was able to renovate his former territory and began to rule Damot by making Dämbäça his base. Because of his double victory over his enemies, the people of the region enshrined their appreciation to Zäwdé as: ደጃች ዘወዴ ኣገወችን በ ቆርበት ጎጃሞችን በ ሜዳ ከብት ኣሸነፏቸው :: <sup>102</sup> which is equivalent to: *Däjjac Zäwdé defeated the Agäws by pelt and the Gojjamés by the herds of cattle.*

These front lines, therefore, clearly demonstrated the subtle and astute personality of Zäwdé. Here it is worth noting that the problem of his wife Denqneš was still up in the air. The man once again decided to attack *Däjäč* Gugssa and made all the necessary preparations to liberate his wife by force. <sup>103</sup> When the people heard the preparation made by Zäwdé the following couplet was coined by a certain person to a *gizot* (*Azmarī*) as: gloss

ጦር ግድግዳ ሆኖ በሾተል ቢማገር፤

ሳላየው አልቀርም የድንቁቱን አገር። <sup>109</sup>

*Though there was a formidable army stationed in shotel [a place name],  
I [Zäwdé ] definitely will see into the country of Dinqitu.*

In contrast to the previous battle fields, the campaign made by Zäwdé against *Däjäč* Gugssa was not triumphant rather he was defeated and captured by the soldiers of Gugssa and became his prisoner. Following this *Däjäč* Gošu replaced Zäwdé and in the mean time *Däjäč* Tädla of Gojjam proper replaced *Däjäč* Gualu and as anticipated the two individuals continued the traditional rivalry, which they had inherited from their antecedents.<sup>110</sup> *Däjäč* Gošu of Damot was, however, more powerful and had superior military proficiency and strength than the juvenile *Däjäč* Tädla of Gojjam. Accordingly, *Däjac* Gošu succeeded in broadening his ascendancy over Gojjam and most importantly, the town of Dämbäça was more consolidated and developed during the time of *Däjäč* Gošu.<sup>107</sup> At this time Dämbäça Mikaél acquired the status of *Däbr* and its wall was decorated by both spiritual and secular paintings. Among secular paintings, the soldiers of Gosu and his portrait were found on the walls of this church. <sup>108</sup>

Currently in the church of Dāmbāça Mikael, however, the paintings of the soldiers or his portrait are hardly available. At this point, it is important to realize that these paintings were secular and had nothing to do with the very essence of the doctrine of the church. To this end Alāqa Täklä Iyäsus, noted that *Däjjac* Gošu was the one who painted the first completely secular painting on the wall of a church.<sup>109</sup> When Emperor Téwodros was in Gojjam in his campaign he visited the church and criticized the painter for depicting the portrait of *Däjjac* Gošu and his army on the wall of the church. According to Täklä Iyäsus, as cited in Abebaw, further described the situation during the presence of Tewodros at Dāmbāça as follows:

ከዚያ ወዲያ ከ ቤተክርስቲያን ገባ በምስራቅ የተሳለውን የደጃች ጎሹን ስል ከብካቡን አይቶ አስጠየፈው በቤተክርስቲያን ተማህጻኖ ይሳልበታል እንጂ ስጋዊ ሰው ከብካብ ይሳልበታል ብሎ አለቃ ምእራፍን [ሰአሊውን ] ነቀፈዉ።<sup>111</sup>

*After that, he [Emperor Téwodros] entered the church [of Dāmbāça Mikael]. He was disgusted seeing the painting of *Däjjac* Gošu [and] his army and court painted on the eastern [side of the wall of the *mäqdäs*].*

He criticized the painter, *Alāqa Me'eraf*, “saying it is beseeching that has to paint on a church [wall. How come he] paint a procession of armies like a man of earthly interest.” Even though Tewodros reacted like this, one of my informant on the issue critically substantiate his point as: ጎሹ እና አባቱ [ ዘዉዴ] ማካእኤልን አጥብቀው ይወዳሉ ምስሉም ትክክል ባይሆንም ከጨዋነት እንጂ ለሌላ አይደለም።<sup>112</sup> It is equal to *Gošu and his father [Zäwdé] keenly respect and believe in Mikael, he [Gosu] made mistake unknowingly.*

In substantiating his argument, the man associated with the choice of Dämbäça by Zäwdé with Mikaél church as well as his asylum in the church during critical times as discussed above. Moreover, the rebuilding of the church by Gošu and its consolidation during his period were the major reasons forwarded by him. <sup>113</sup>

Be it as it may, concerning his political relation with his counterparts various sources demonstrate that *Däjjač* Gošu refused to recognize Gugsa and rebelled against him. <sup>114</sup> In sharp contrast Gualu, the governor of Gojjam proper, was loyal and friend of *Ras* Gugssa. Following this, under the leadership of Gualu *Ras* Gugssa marched from Bägémeder to Damot, however, by this time *Däjjač* Gošu, like his father, made a fugitive to their traditional associate of the Oromo people on the periphery of Gojjam.<sup>115</sup> This news was heard by Gugssa and he left his soldiers to *Däjjač* Gobäna and returned to Bägémeder. <sup>116</sup> The return of Gugssa was good report to Gošu and did not spend time to attack and defeat the man called Gobäna. Here after *Däjjač* Gošu returned to Dämbäça and began to lead a stabilized life there. <sup>117</sup> Auspiciously, in the mean time, the governor of Gojjam proper was died and he was able to control Gojjam proper defeating Yemer, the son of Gualu.<sup>118</sup> Moreover, the possible attack against the providential Gošu from Bägémeder was come to an end with the death of Gugsa on the following year. <sup>119</sup>

In 1820, *Ras* Yemam, the successor of Gugssa, was died and replaced by his brother *Ras* Maryé. It was during this time that Maryé again attempted to subdue the governor of Damot Gošu in his capital Dämbäça.<sup>120</sup> To this end, Maryé marched against Gošu accompanied with the Raya , Yäju, and Bägémeder armed forces. Having realized the superiority of the forces of Maryé, *Däjjač* Gošu and his

son Berru escaped for strategic reason to the mountains of Jäbälla and Soma respectively. Maryé found Damot and its capital Dämbäça politically vacant and he appointed his men Lägäsä Qasim and *Däjjac* Maḥtäntu to govern Damot and Gojjam proper respectively. <sup>121</sup>

The Damotés began to prepare themselves to attack the newly appointed individuals over their historical domain. The people of Damot in general and Dämbäça in particular began to express their opposition against the new arrivals and adherence to Gošu by poem in this fashion.

ተጠናከር ጎጃም ተጠናከር ዳሞት፣

እኛ አይተን አናውቅም ባረፋ ነጋሪት። <sup>122</sup>

*Be strong Gojjam, be tough Damot*

*We have never heard a negarit on the day of Id al Adha.*

When *Däjjac* Maḥtäntu heard this, it is said to have been he gave a response to the people as follows:

በል አንዳችም በል አንዳችም፣

እግዚር ከሰጠ ሰው አይነሳም። <sup>123</sup>

*What ever you talk, what ever you say*

*If God recommends man cannot escape.*

The idiomatic conversations between the two parties vividly show the opposition of the people of Damot against the newly appointed individuals over their domain. In addition, the couplet ignited their hatred of the new arrivals fearing the supremacy of the Yäju families through associating the situation with the religion Islam.

Be it as it may the allied force of Gošu and Berru defeated Maḥṭāntu at the battle of Sägodét and following this Maḥṭāntu and Lägäsä evacuated from Damot.<sup>124</sup>

Later on the son of, *Däjjäč* Gošu, *Däjjäč* Berru took over Gojjam from his father, *Däjjäč* Gošu. *Däjjäč* Gošu died at the battle of Guramba in November 1852 while he was fighting with *Däjjäč* Kassa, and later on in 1854 *Däjjäč* Berru also fall under his control on march, 1854.<sup>125</sup> This marked the end of the Era of the Princes in the history of the country in general and more specifically this historical development also marked the end the political significance of *Dämbäça wäräda* in the region.<sup>126</sup> Before this episode, as discussed above *Dämbäça* was served as the political seat of the successive rulers of Damot. Throughout this time, *Dämbäça* was the town more powerful and it had been strong and influential center for the Damot rulers, which were attested by the incorporation of some territories from its traditional rivalry and neighbor of Gojjam proper.<sup>127</sup>

With the coming of the man called Kassa Hailu in the political scene of the country in general and the area under discussion in particular, the socio economic and political significance of Damot and its capital *Dämbäça* was declined. Here after, the balance of power in the region was shifted from Damot to its contender, Gojjam proper.<sup>128</sup> One of the most important reasons for the decline of the significance of *Dämbäça* was that the supremacy of the people over the region by the people of Gojjam proper and the resultant swing of their seat

from Dämbäça to Mänqorär by Tädla Gualu, the then leader of Gojjam under the supervision of *Ras Engda*..<sup>129</sup>

Generally, the period was marked by the revival of Dämbäça as a town and also characterized by social and political instability. During this period though Dämbäça was founded and served as the political seat of different governors of Damot and it is convincing to argue that the people of the town relative to their neighbors were under a more precarious situation. The area what we call currently Gojjam by that time was under internal conflict with the periodic invasion of the Yäju rulers. As clearly demonstrated in various sources, as a result of inter and intra regional rivalries there were extensive destruction and loss of life in Damot in genera and the capital Dämbäça in particular. To this end, Plowden, as cited by Fischer, reported that their respective leaders held the expeditions to this area as discussed above sever orders. For instance, general massacre and an over all plundering of the region was among the missions of these forces.<sup>130</sup>

Be that as it may, there are still evidences that show the socio-economic and political significance of the area under discussion. Before and after the historical development discussed above some sources demonstrate that Dämbäça was among the most important places in the region and as a result attracted various prominent individuals in the history of the country.

To this end, different sources attested that in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, following the great bend of the Blue Nile River European travelers visited Dämbäça area. To

some extent, travelers who visited the region left their own eyewitness about the region by describing different issues principally about its socio-economic activities and the overall geographical nature of the region. In this regard, at about 1840s, one of the travelers, Walter Plowden wrote about the area and expressed the nature of the land in the region as a “wonderful fertility”, he referred Dämbäça as the big village, and because of this and other strategic significances, the area became the capital of Damot. <sup>131</sup>

Besides, another important personality whom contributed a lot in writing the historical, geographical and socio-economic condition of Dämbäça in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century was Doctor Charles T. Beke. His account is relatively a well organized and comprehensive and serves as an input for such a study. His account entails us the he resided several days in this town during 1842, he had cherished, relation with the people of the area and *Däjjazmač* Gošu Zäwdé. <sup>132</sup> Like others, Beke on his part described the town at that time as a "large town" located "on the slope of another ridge of the mountains coming from the North East." He also notes its economic significance as a result of its geographical location on one of the principal caravan routes which passes through Gojjam.<sup>133</sup> To this end a paragraph of his travel account intensely demonstrate the importance of the place under study for the caravan trade of the time and also his account incite the major trading items of this trading activity as follows:

...as far as the river Chamoga, soon after crossing the river we turned off rather more to the E. On the way we met with a

numerous ...of merchants with slaves, ivory, civet, &c., proceeding to Gondar ..., by the Way of Dämbäça. Several of them were of the party in whose company I had come up from the Abai, they having been detained thus long near Yejubbi... <sup>134</sup>

Moreover, in 1880 another important explorer that could be mentioned in contributing written account about the region is Gustavo Bianchi. His account narrates that the man arrived at Mänqorär (Däbrä Marqos) in East Gojjam and stayed most of the time there, but later on *Ras Adal*, the then governor of the area, ordered him to spend the rainy season at Dämbäça.<sup>135</sup> Here it is important to note that due to the climatic condition of Däbrä Marqos which was very called (*wurç*) individuals including Hailu and others important personalities used to spend the rainy season in Dämbäça area, which was relatively moderate type of temperature.<sup>136</sup>

Therefore, *Ras Adal* to show his reverence advised him to leave for Dämbäça and enjoy the climatic condition there. Interestingly, Bianchi by building a simple hut for himself and for his servants he stayed at Dämbäça until the rains ceased in September. <sup>137</sup> During his stay, Bianchi observed different things in the region and illustrated his revelation in this manner. According to him, by that time Dämbäça was the largest and one of the most important villages of Damot but its environs were sparsely populated and revealed that the local people were most fascinated in hunting buffalo and other wild animals. <sup>138</sup>

On 23 October 1880, Bianchi left Dämbäça to go to Mänqorär to meet *Ras Adal* and [Bianchi p 592, 602-604] on 3 November, however, Bianchi, with his friends, Cecchi and Antonelli, returned back together from Mänqorär to Dämbäça (written Dunbeccià by Cecchi) and stayed in the already built Bianchi's house there. <sup>139</sup> On 20 December Gustavo Bianchi, Pietro Antonelli and Antonio Cecchi left Dämbäça to pay their respect to Emperor Yohannes at Sämära (see Däbrä Tabor, they were permitted to meet him on 5 January 1881) which eventually wounded the affiliation between *Ras Adal* due to the historic animosity between Adal and Yohannes. <sup>140</sup>

According to the works Fentahun, and some European travelers such as Bek and Plowden, demonstrated a place where litigants, tax payer, travelers and officials were met. <sup>141</sup> These travelers were visited the then ruler of the region *Däjjazmač* Gošu and hence the town appears to have gained importance in the late decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the twentieth century. Apart from this, *Däjjazmač* Gošu also resided there over his long period of rule of Gojjam and Damot. <sup>142</sup>

As discussed above Dämbäça was a town where different travelers were visited and resided there at different times. Furthermore, by the end of the nineteenth century there are evidences that show the prevalence of big local market in Dämbäça. These sources attested that Dämbäça, in the first decades of the twentieth century, was the chief town of the historical province of Damot. <sup>143</sup> According to these sources, there was market-place in Dämbäça where different merchants involved from the local people and its neighbors which was located in

the south of the town. <sup>144</sup> At the market places of Dămbăța, in addition to different commodities, a considerable amount of skins of freshly killed bushbuck, reedbuck was available.<sup>145</sup>

In addition to this, regarding the nature of trading activities in Dămbăța, the market was mainly attended by merchants of Basso who brought slaves and by those of Moța and Adét who brought amoles. <sup>146</sup> This shows that in the region there was slavery and slave trade. So this market in Dămbăța was therefore served as the center of slave trade in the region. In line with this, the condition of slaves in the area under discussion a group of individuals from Germany who visited Dămbăța on the market day in the first decade of the twentieth century noted that they observed two slaves with a man who kept them chained, and the Germans got the opportunity to take care of the two slave boys on the permission of local official. <sup>147</sup> As far as the involvement of merchants from different parts of the country, at this market there were merchants attended from Elias who came up with iron works and clothes. <sup>148</sup>

According to the work of Abdul Sămăd and Făntahun it was common that attendants of the market from different parts in return took the skin work of Dămbăța. By making Dămbăța as the base this trade had two major routes. The first trade route stretched from Dămbăța to Adét which was connected with Dămbăța, Yăcărăqa, Jega, Hamusit, Dabi, Qollo Găbăya, Goșye and then Adét and the other route was extended from Dămbăța to Moța was conducted from Dămbăța across the Çoqé mountains, Răbu Găbăya, Bărăbabo and then Moța.<sup>149</sup>

Abdul Sämäd in his work understood that Dämbäça was served as a major route for the region's trading activities and its strategic importance was further illustrated in this fashion. Merchants from Basso proceeded from Dämbäça by crossing Amanuél, Däbrä Marqos over Çämoga river and then to Basso. Merchants of Elyas followed the route from Dämbäça was also connected with Buré through Jega and Mankusa.<sup>150</sup> Sources also enshrine that American group of naturalists from Chicago arrived at Dämbäça on 7 March 1927.<sup>151</sup> The observation of the region during this time by these groups of people was briefly and fascinatingly forwarded as follows:

... Dämbäça is a curious one, worn deep by long use. It is a narrow trench, at places eight or ten feet below the land level, and walled in further by trees and hedges of tall rank cane, so that one literally sees nothing of the town after he enters it until he comes out, like the New York subway at 110th Street, already well out of town...<sup>152</sup>

Needless to talk about, though a considerable amount of travelers and explorers visited the region they failed or very little to say about the history of the region in general and Dämbäça *wäräda* in particular. The work of Abdul Sämäd on trade and politics in Gojjam from and other field of studies on the region under discussions are I think among the few literatures, which repeatedly mention and discuss the district of Dämbäça. Therefore, the work is a valuable contribution for further probing and reconstructing the history of the *wäräda*. Despite of its long lasting strategic economic importance, scholars failed to produce a comprehensive

socio-economic and political account of the people of Gojjam in general and the people of Dämbäça in particular.

As far as the decline of this trading activity is concerned, the development of Addis Ababa Djibouti Rail-Way and the subsequent diversion of the trade route to East Gojjam and southwest Ethiopia seem to have played a major role in its decline of Dämbäça as a significant market place in the twentieth century. <sup>153</sup> This thesis therefore aimed at exploring the socio economic and political history of the *wäräda*, both pre and post- Italian occupation periods. Apart from this, it will provide readers the *wärädas* historical development during this time by making emphasis on the challenges and opportunities different measures taken by the subsequent regimes.

## **Chapter II**

### **Dämbäça *Wäräda* from Occupation to Liberation**

#### **2.1. The Italian Interlude: Invasion *Vis-à-vis* Resistance Movement**

**(1936-1941)**

Italy launched its invasion of Ethiopia on October 3, 1935 by making the town of Adwa its primary target. <sup>1</sup> Enticho and Addigrat were the other major routes through which the invading force designed to intrude in to the heart of the country. <sup>2</sup> In the aforementioned areas of the country, due to different factors the colonial army faced less organized resistance from the local people. <sup>3</sup> As a result, the invading force entered into Addis Ababa in May 1936, which marked the beginning of the five-year Italian rule. <sup>4</sup>

It is apparent that just like other parts of the country, the Italian stay in Gojjam in general and Dämbäça *wäräda* in particular was until the year 1941.<sup>5</sup> During the early days of Italian intrusion into the province under discussion, unlike other parts of the country they faced unexpected and some what strong resistance from the local people. <sup>6</sup> According to various sources, the people in Dämbäça *wäräda* violently opposed and resisted the Italian invasion. <sup>7</sup>

Following this historical development, in July 1935 Emperor Hailä Selassé made a call to all provincial governors of Ethiopia to recruit and prepare resistance forces to defend the country in their respective domains. <sup>8</sup> To this

end, *Ras Imeru Hailä Selassé*, the then governor of Gojjam, recruited more than one thousand peasants and trained at Däbrä-Marqos.<sup>9</sup> According to my informants, Dämbäça *wäräda* contributed about one hundred peasant soldiers to defend the country from the Italian aggression.<sup>10</sup>

In the meantime, the governor of Gojjam declared a general mobilization order to the people of Gojjam to get prepared for the inevitable attack of the enemy.<sup>11</sup> The people of Gojjam in general and Dämbäça *wäräda* in particular gave swift reply to the appeal and they began to prepare themselves in different ways.<sup>12</sup> Soon after the request of *Ras Imeru*, some of the well-known government officials in the province such as Hailä Yäsus Filatè, Nägaš Bäzabeh and Mängäša Jämbärè and others gave instant reaction and began to mobilize their forces in their respective neighborhoods.<sup>13</sup> As far as the quality and the patriots resource is concerned, the recruited peasant soldiers in Gojjam were inexperienced and ill-equipped.<sup>14</sup> The types of armaments used by resistance leaders were backward and incomparable with that of the Italians.<sup>15</sup>

Hence, in an attempt to equip and better train the peasant force of Gojjam, the central government sent one hundred and fifty palace guards to this area.<sup>16</sup> The difference was inconceivable that the arrival of this battalion from the center would scarcely solve the problem of in competency in the military power. Some of the armaments that were found in the hands of the patriots of Gojjam in general and Dämbäça *wäräda* in particular were *wäçafo*, alpine (*albine*), carbine, mouser, machine gun, lebel, lee met ford, pistol, and grenades. In this

area, there were only eleven machine guns and one canon. <sup>17</sup> To the contrary, the enemy force launched its mission with modern and devastating military weapons such as flame bombs, flame throwers, cannon, tank, pistol, mustered gas, grenades, caterpillars, military cars, radio, binoculars, aircraft, and various types of ammunitions. <sup>18</sup>

Nevertheless, the difference created in the military balance did not prevent the noted local *šiftas* or *arbānòas* and their chiefs to abandon their villages and stationed in the massifs of Dämbäça *wäräda*. In the early phases of this period, sources attest that the town of Dämbäça served as the center for resistance movement in mobilizing and collecting armaments from different parts of the region. <sup>19</sup> Different weapons collected from the local people, soldiers' food supply such as butter, honey etc. were accumulated in Dämbäça and sent to the patriotic guerilla fighters. <sup>20</sup>

Throughout this period, *Ras Imeru* played a vital role in mobilizing the chiefs and people of Gojjam. Nevertheless, on October 20 1935, *Ras Imeru* left the province for Šeré front. <sup>21</sup> After four hours, he reached at a place called Amanuël and on the next day, *Ras Imeru* arrived at Dämbäça. According to different sources, *Ras Imeru* spent some time there waiting for the soldiers recruited and trained at Däbrä Marqos. <sup>22</sup> At this moment, the province of Gojjam in general and the town of Dämbäça in particular were in a precarious situation.

The ambiance in Dämbäça was the most severe one due to the absence of peace and order in the area. The prevalence of abundant jungles and massifs in the area served as the veil posts of those criminals, robbers and betrayals, locally known as *wäselata* or *jawusa*, who congregated from different parts of the adjacent *wärādas*.<sup>23</sup> Using this opportunity, they robbed travelers in the day and houses in the town at night and killed civilians ruthlessly to the end of 1940s. They also raped children and wives of farmers and town men.<sup>24</sup>

Ras Imeru during his stay at Dämbäça called for a public meeting to deal with the problem of insecurity in the *wärāda*. At this occasion, he tried to create awareness of the people about the prevailing situation of the country and underscored that every individual should stop creating such problems and stand together to fight the common enemy. Finally, he announced the assertion from the center particularly to those who were engaged in such tricks as follows:

በዱር በገደል ያለህ ጃዉሣ አገራችንን የሚቃወም ጠላት ስለመጣ ጥፋትክን ምሬሃለሁ እና በያበጋዝህ ገብተህ አብረህ ዘምተህ እርዳ። በዚህ ምህርተ ቃል ግን ያልገባህ እንደሆነ ባገር ቤት ገብተህ ስታዉክ የተገኘህ እንደሆነ ምህረት የሌለዉ ቅጣት መቀጣትህን እወቀዉ።<sup>25</sup>

*To robbers and bandits in jungles, the enemy has come against us and I made pardon for all your wrong deeds. Therefore you urged to come and join your Abägaz[ regiment ]. Nevertheless, if you refuse the call and pursue disturbing the people, you will be punished ruthlessly.*

In fact the above announcement was forwarded not only to those groups of people in Dämbäça but it was also transferred to all individuals who were engaged in such tricks in the whole Gojjam. These resulted in the submission of known bandits and robbers. They submitted to the government and show their interest to join in their respective *Abägaz* in order to attack common enemy. Some of them, however, refused and continued their trouble and insurgency which extended to the collaboration with the enemy.<sup>26</sup>

After his futile attempt, Imeru continued his journey through Buré Damot to Gondär.<sup>27</sup> The situation in Dämbäça after *Ras* Imeru's withdrawal remained in unstable condition. Realizing the refusal of *wäslata* or *Jawusa* to fight the enemy, and their preference to remain in the jungles of Yäçäräqa, Tälaman and Tämça the local people expressed their emotion towards these individuals as follows.

ጅግንነቱን አጠቀሀል፤  
 በዱር በገደሉ ወጠህ ወርደሃል፤  
 ጠላት ለመፋለም አነተ ምን ያንሰሃል፤  
 የጨረቃ ጃወሳ፤  
 ጠላት መጥቶልሃል በቀን ተነሳ።<sup>28</sup>

*You [ the bandit ] have known what bravery is  
 You have gone up and down through the jungles  
 What do you luck to stand against the enemy?  
 Hence, robbers at Yäçäräqa, come out from massifs at daytime  
 and let you prepare and fight the enemy.*

In the above verse, the people seek to articulate their feeling by using the common way of expression in the area called *säm enna wärq* [wax and gold]. The hidden and open messages of the couplet found in the word *Yäçäräqa*. The open [*sämu*] meaning is the name of a place called *Yäçäräqa* where a considerable number of these groups of people were gathered round. The hidden [*wärqu*] message is to tell that you are heroes at night and through the poem, they asked to come out at day times and to fight the common enemy.

A considerable number of writers attempt to discuss the major events that took place in Gojjam during the early period of Italian occupation. According to these sources, the period following January 1936 witnessed the episode that shocked those who loved their country. It was the betrayal of his country by a prominent man *Gäsäsä* and his collaboration with that of the Italians.<sup>29</sup> It is apparent that, *Fitawrari Gäsäsä* was a man of great reverence in the throne after he captured *Lej Iyasu* in 1932.<sup>30</sup> However, he was embittered when the post of governing Gojjam was given to the *Šäwan Ras Imeru*.<sup>31</sup> He thus, used the Italian invasion as a perfect opportunity to voice out his opposition of the *Sawan* dominated politics. Finally, *Fitawrari Gäsäsä* joined the Italian camp and played a pivotal role in leading the enemy to take control of *Debre Marqos* on 20 May 1936.<sup>32</sup>

Moreover, when *Ras Imeru Hailä Selassé* left Gojjam for the Northern front, *Däjjac Nägaš Bāzabeh* replaced *Imeru* and became governor for a brief period.<sup>33</sup>

Here it is worth noting that the afore mentioned historical developments were instrumental in paving the way to the advent of General Achili Starace to the province. <sup>34</sup> In the interim, the towns of, Buré, Jega, Mankusa and Dangela, fell under fascist control between May and June 1936.<sup>35</sup> Hence, *Däjjac* Gäsäsä Bäläw was instrumental for the Italian encroachment in to the land of Gojjam.<sup>36</sup>

As indicated in their first encroachment in to the *wäräda*, the enemy faced strong resistance from the people. The study area Dämbäça *wäräda* was the battleground between the patriots and the enemy camped in Däbrä Marqos. But gradually the patriots were forced to retreat to the massifs of the *wäräda*.<sup>37</sup> The patriots of Dämbäça area were organized and led under *Fitawrari* Hailä Yäsus Filaté. *Ftawrari* Käbbädä Esätu, *Qäñ Azmaè* Worqnäh Jämbäré, *Qäñ Azmaè* Käbbädä Täsfayè, *Qäò Azmaè* Zägdu Täsäma, *Qäñ Azmaè* Alähln Esäté, *Fitawrari* Admas Dästa and *Qäñ Azmaè* Zärgaw Bitäw were some of the prominent patriots of Dämbäça *wäräda*. <sup>38</sup>

The resistance in the *wäräda* did not persist for long as a result of different factors. Lack of organization and shortage of military equipment were the common problems of the patriots, which eventually made their task, at least for a short period, futile. Moreover, the prevalent traditional animosity among the patriots of the area was another problem. Hence, to alleviate the problem, *Azaž* Käbbädä Täsäma in his message gave emphasis to the situation faced by the

enemy, tried to reconcile, and asked them to stand together against the common enemy. He exchanged series of letters with patriots of Gojjam on the possibilities of attacking the Italian camps and to free those under colonial possession. <sup>40</sup>

After the failure of the *wäräda* under colonial administration, patriots continued their resistance in different ways. Be it as it may, during this period Dambaca *wäräda* became part of the Italian northeast colonies. Hence, the colonial powers established their administration over the *wäräda* .

Italy tried to administer its northeast African colonies including Ethiopia by dividing it into big territorial divisions known as Governates. <sup>41</sup> In the Italian East African colonies there were six Governates and these were again divided into Commissariat. This in turn further divided in to residencies and sub-residencies. Therefore, Gojjam was organized as one commissar while Däbrä Marqos was the seat of the Commissariat. <sup>42</sup>

They also established military camps in areas where there were better road facilities. For instance in Damot and Agäw Meder areas, there were totally 23 camps with tough fortresses. Some of the major towns where there were Italian military camps and fortresses in this part of Gojjam include Dämbäça , Buré, Baher Dar, Injjebara and Dangella. <sup>43</sup>

On the other hand, the patriotic resistance was organized and conducted by the prominent personalities such as *Fitawrari* Mängäša Jämbärè, *Däjjazmač* Nägaš Bäzabeh, *Qäñazmač* Admasu, *Lej* Zäwdé Märed, *Qäñazmač* Zälläqä, and

*Fitawrari Häylä Yäsus Flaté.* <sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, the course of this confrontation, which in most cases was conducted by the ill organized and inexperienced group of individuals in and around Dämbäça collapsed and dispersed within a short period of time. <sup>45</sup>

In short, as indicated in the preceding paragraphs, the occupation of Dämbäça *wäräda* was not accomplished without the resistance from the local people. Before they could impose their rule, the Italians had to triumph over the resistance for the last time from the people. However, the Italians were not fully successful in their attempt of the suppression of the resistance movement in the *wäräda*. <sup>46</sup>

## **2.2. Dämbäça Wäräda under Italian Rule**

After occupation, like many other parts of the country, the colonial administration stationed large number of troops in the town of Dämbäça and the surrounding rural *qäbälés* of the *wäräda*. <sup>47</sup> The army in Dämbäça comprised of infantry and cavalry accompanied by a special brigade equipped with modern weapons such as mortars. <sup>48</sup> The army made its base along the rivers of Tämça, Godëlla and Yäçäräqa. <sup>49</sup>

During this time, as noted earlier Däbrä Marqos was served as the head quarter and the seat of the office in this zone in which five mechanized brigades were stationed. <sup>50</sup> From this, the third brigade was under the leadership of Colonel Natale who took the responsibility in the affairs of Gojjam.

Apart from Däbrä Marqos in the northern part of Gojjam there was a military garrison under the leadership of the governor of Dämbäça who was appointed by the Italian to place at the town of Dämbäça. During this time, the man who was appointed by the fascist government of Italy to govern Dämbäça was Tinenti Chikato. <sup>51</sup> Tinento Chikato had the responsibility to control and lead the military garrison in Dämbäça as well as to administer the town and its surrounding in subduing resistance movements using both peaceful and coercive actions. <sup>52</sup>

Moreover, after they occupied the territories of Dämbäça in particular and Gojjam in general, the Italians sought to assure their presence for long by following different strategies. To this end, they established a new regiment with the mission of controlling the peace and stability of the already occupied territories of the region. Henceforth, a regiment ruled under one Tenent Colonel was sent from Asmara to Gojjam. <sup>53</sup> As stated, this regiment had a mission of keeping the peace and stability of the occupied territories of Ethiopia particularly in the Amhara areas. With this objective, large numbers of Italian soldiers resided in Gojjam and from this special fascist force of Italy, there was a regiment ruled under one Marshallo that was stationed in Dämbäça. Furthermore, Dämbäça was under close follow up by the regiments of the 1<sup>st</sup> *šaläqa* and the 31<sup>st</sup> *šaläqa mädefäña*. <sup>54</sup>

As we have discussed a considerable number of enemy soldiers resided in Dämbäça and it's surrounding. By taking this and its strategic position into

consideration, different sources and individuals incited that the Italians made Dämbäça a major center of army logistics. Furthermore, the town had also served as the store of various goods and commodities used for the preparation of meals for soldiers in that zone. <sup>55</sup>

Unlike many parts of Gojjam, most of the ordinary people of Dämbäça in general and the government chief officials in particular were determined to defend their country from the enemy and they were loyal to their leader. But this does not mean that the *wäräda* was totally free from those collaborators of the enemy. Like many parts in the country, Dämbäça also saw individuals who worked for the advantage of the enemy.

As far as the duration of fascist Italy in Dämbäça is concerned, for the sake of convenience, it is imperative to divide the period in to two phases based on historical developments. The first period covered the time from the Italians intrusion into Dämbäça to August 1937, the period when the Italians evacuated the town for a short period and the second phase encompasses the period from 1937 to liberation.

In the first phase, about a year, apart from their strategic tasks to subdue the resistance movements from the local people they also attempted to gain acceptance from the populace employing different mechanisms. Like what they had undertaken in many parts of the country, the Italians gave recognitions to those they thought historically marginalized societies of the *wäräda* by the

Imperial regime such as Muslims, artisans, *faqi* (tanner), *šāmané* (weaver), *dābānānsä* (potter) and *anterāñña* (smith).<sup>56</sup>

To get the support of the Muslims of the *wārāda*, the Italian Administration promised to construct mosques and facilitate conditions for travel to Mecca for pilgrimage. Because of this, the Italians were able to gain the support from some group of Muslims in the town. Nevertheless, in Dämbäça, little number of Muslims lived and the intention of the Italians was not as successful as they thought.<sup>57</sup>

On the other hand, the Italians also attempted to win the support of the artisans in the town who had been treated as the second class citizen by the society for long. Indeed, Muslims and artisans of Dämbäça *wārāda* had suffered from extreme marginalization from the state as well as the local people.<sup>58</sup> For instance, these minority groups of people in Dämbäça *wārāda* especially the tanners have been physically and culturally secluded from the entire society. They lived in their own separate *säfärs* (quarters) along the river Gula. According to my informants and as I have observed, this was made by taking in to consideration the relation of water with these groups of people.<sup>59</sup>

Here, it is important to note that the settlement pattern was arranged along the banks of this river not for the advantage of the tanners rather to keep the interest of other groups of people whom they considered artisans as *Erkus* and to hide them from direct contact from those “clean Christian Amharas”.<sup>60</sup> In

this regard, one of the typical examples that reflect the marginalization of the artisans to date is that albeit weavers are Christians they are not allowed to enter in to churches. The children of this group of people and themselves are secluded to attend and pass through the enrolment of church education. In short, the church in the *wārāda* banned weavers and tanners not to participate in any activity in the church and they do not have the right to be deacon or a priest. <sup>61</sup>

In Dāmbāça *wārāda*, the majority of the artisans are tanners. Surprisingly such marginalization discussed above which is related to church and church education serves only for tanners (*faqi*) and weavers(*šāmané*). Locally tanners in Dāmbāça and Gojjam in general have a derogatory name called *faqi* (literary meaning those who scrape hides and skins). <sup>62</sup> Describing the reason behind that the tanners and the weavers segregation of the church not to involve in internal church affairs; one of my informants told me that in their day to day activities they have close contact with hides and skins and meat as well. Others like potter (*dābānansa*) and smith (*antrāñña*) have treated in the church better than others. <sup>63</sup> By taking all these things in to consideration, the Italians began to show their gratitude and respect towards these people. Briefly in Dāmbāça Italians were to some extent were successful in attaining support from these groups of people.

However, some members of the upper nobility and a considerable number of individuals did not completely surrender to the Italians. They waged guerilla

warfare against the Italians and were never contented under the subsequent propaganda which were disseminated by the colonial administration. Some of these people by making their base the jungles of Yăçărâqa, Tămça, Pălmăn and the heights of Çoqé in collaboration with those in the town inflicted considerable losses over the Italians. <sup>64</sup>

On the other hand, the Italians position towards religion disappointed the leaders and the followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Paradoxically, the Italians pro-Muslim propaganda served as the cause for the mobilization and the rise of the majority of Christians against fascist Italy in the town and the rural *qăbălés*. Hence, their strategies did not crack their problem and hardly made the Italians free from fear of guerilla attacks from the locality rather as we shall see later the attempt aggravated the situation. The resistance continued in an on and off manner in the rural part of Dămbăça, but it was not well organized and tactic full. <sup>65</sup>

It is noticeable that many of the local people abandoned Dămbăça to the nearby jungles were ill armed and they could not confront the Italians who possessed modern weapons including aircraft. Their combined effort was also introverted by lack of experience of engaging in wars and. Above all, communication barriers and lack of efficient war leaders thwarted them to conduct a well-organized and intensive assault over the enemy. <sup>66</sup> In general, the resistances made by the people of Dămbăça were often made on the local

basis and most of the fighters habitually opened an assault on the Italians at different times. <sup>67</sup>

In general, in the first phase of the resistance movement in Dämbäça, unorganized and ill-equipped patriots made blinking resistance. These engagements were not successful but they were instrumental in creating pressure on the enemy, which eventually made them to evacuate the wäräda under the pretext of strategic reason.

The second phase of Italian occupation of Dämbäça as stated above started following their withdrawal from the town by 1937. In August 1937, most importantly, for strategic reason, the Italians evacuated Dämbäça. <sup>68</sup> They began to mobilize their forces into two directions to Däbrä Marqos and Dangella. Meanwhile, they withdrew from Injjebara and the withdrawal of the Italian forces from Injjebara and Dämbäça provided the prospect for the armed nationalists of Gojjam to occupy these areas. <sup>69</sup>

This period in the area marked the commencement of stiff and somewhat more organized resistance movements by the patriots that eventually led to the liberation of the province and the country at large. In this regard, Yohannes Berhanu and Saltana Syoum discussed the success of Bälay Zäläqä and the fertile conditions created for insurgency activities following the evacuation of Italians from some territories. <sup>70</sup> Oral traditions in Dämbäça also denote that following the withdrawal of the enemy a historical event took place that hundreds of people in the *wäräda* including women were collected at the main

street and expressed their resentment of the Italians through poems, music, *fukära, qärärto* and *šeläla*.<sup>71</sup>

During this period many people had participated in the guerilla war taking different strategies. For instance, the resistance movement in Dämbäça was highly mobilized and led by the *Gobäz Aläqa* and *Wuṣṭ Arbäña*.<sup>72</sup>

The function of the *Gobäz Aläqa* by this time was to mobilize and lead the people of the *wäräda* in both town and rural *qäbälés* to attack the enemy. The *Wuṣṭ Arbäñas* served as intelligence persons and the rest were instrumental in supplying updated information about the conditions and military movements of the enemy. Moreover, there were also propaganda works by patriots to instigate the public. In this regard religious leaders played vital role by making speeches condemning fascist Italy to the crowd. In this regard, *Aläqa Mälakä Berhan Alämayehu* and *Mämher Woldä Gäbrél Mänasé* were among the spiritual leaders who were active in anti-Italian propaganda in Dämbäça.<sup>73</sup>

The strategic position of Dämbäça *wäräda* served as the base connecting the patriots of the whole Gojjam. Because of its location the patriots of Gojjam such as *Bälay Zäläqä*, *Hailu Bäläw* and *Mängäša Jämbärè* met around Dämbäça wherever they wanted to make discussions.<sup>74</sup> To this end, in August 1937, the combined patriotic attack of the area scored decisive victories over the Italians. As discussed above by this time, Dämbäça was free from the control of the enemy and patriots moved forward to *Säkäla* and *Buré*.<sup>75</sup> In

addition to individuals mentioned above *Māmher* Liqā Mariam and Gila Giorgis Equbit were among the prominent patriotic leaders of the time. <sup>76</sup>

In sharp contrast, the post 1937 period was also characterized by the unfaithfulness and easy submission of some group of people to the enemy. The first and the most important point that has been raised widely in relation to this is the withdrawal of the Emperor from the country. <sup>77</sup> As we all know, after the defeat of the Ethiopian forces at the battle of Mayçäw, the Emperor left the land of Ethiopia and it is apparent that some patriots tended to feel as if Emperor Häylä Sellassé had abandoned the fighting and left for Jerusalem paying no attention to his country as well as the people. This greatly disheartened some of the patriots who were fighting the enemy stationed in the terrains of the country. <sup>78</sup>

Besides, this period witnessed the infidelity of some of the prominent personalities of the province. It is hardly unanticipated that when the people saw the Emperor and some other high-ranking government dignitaries in the region under study being 'disloyal' to their country, they felt halfhearted and decided to halt the fight. <sup>79</sup> In short, development of defection directly or indirectly affected the resistance movement which took place in the area under discussion. Only some of the highly committed leaders of the resistance movement who fought consistently to liberate their country without any vacillation.

Furthermore, the history of the people of Ethiopia was characterized by the domination of the feudal nobility over the peasantry and the subjugation of court officials by the entire people of the country by government officials.<sup>80</sup> Hence, it is convincing to argue that such circumstances in one way or another might have affected the liberation campaign in the effort to attain full and enthusiastic support from the public.

This situation to a certain extent created among some group of people to develop “unpatriotic” feelings and expectedly these guys tend to collaborate with the enemy forces using the opportunity as the way of expressing their hatred to the Imperial rule.<sup>81</sup> Though it seems unsound, the “collaboration” of a considerable number of Ethiopians with Fascist Italy against the rule of Emperor Hailä Selassé was common.

### **2.3. Dämbäça Wäräda towards Liberation**

The return of the former governor of the province to Gojjam gave the patriotic movement life. The coming of *Azaž Käbbädä* to Gojjam facilitated the organization of the patriots, and the importation of firearms and war supplies from the Sudan to reach the patriots. There was also propaganda work aimed at raising the morale of the Ethiopian patriots.<sup>82</sup> The Italians were equally engaged in the propaganda works to bring patriots to their side. They were also hindering the influx of firearms, ammunitions to the patriots in addition to the natural difficulties of transportation to the interior.<sup>83</sup> The Italian propaganda

in Gojjam focused mainly on the issue of the Gojjamé throne that was initially given to Kántiba Matábé, and latter to *Ras Imeru*, both were of Šāwan origin.

Many Gojjamé nobilities were disappointed by the emperor's appointment policy that put the Šāwans on the throne of Gojjam following the detention of *Ras Häilu*. Informants argue that many Gojjamés sided the Italians for their personal hatred of the emperor. They said that it was natural in the Gojjamés tradition to replace a son in his father's place. However, the emperor did not maintain the Gojjamé tradition.<sup>84</sup> Likewise; Italians propagate to the people about the death of Empress *Zāwditu* and later *Lej Iyāsus* as deliberate act of the Emperor. They argue that, the emperor was simply rushing to satisfy his personal power interest rather than the wish of the Ethiopian people and the country. Therefore, the emperor was the enemy of the Ethiopian people. Following a statement of Italian propaganda dispatched to the people a letter written by a certain disappointed collaborator *Fitawrari Zāwdé* to *Azaž Käbbädä* on 7 November 1933 E.C reads as :

“.....የእንግሊዝ ግዛት የነበረው የሱዳን አገር የሀይለኛው የኢጣሊያን መንግስት መያዙን አረጋግጠን ዐወቀነዋል። አንተም [ ከበደ ተሰማ ] በዚህ በማይሆን ነገር በማታለልህ እግዚአብሔር አይምርህም። ለምን እንግሊዞች ድል መሆናቸውን እያወቅህ ይህን ስራ ስለሰራህ።ኢጣሊያኖች የጭካኔ እና የግፍ ስራ ይሰራሉ ስለተባለው የኢጣሊያ የርህራሄ ስራ ይሰራሉ እንጂ የጭካኔ የግፍ ስራ አይሰሩም። እልቁንስ የአጼ ምኒልክ ትልልቅ መኳንንቶች እና ንግስተ ነገስታታት ዘወዲቱ ልጅ እያሱን በመርዝ ገደላቸውን [ሃይለስላሴ] ሰምተናል። በሃገራችን የግፍ እና የጭካኔ ስራ ስራ የምንለው [ይህንን ነው]።”<sup>85</sup>

*We assured that the mighty Italian government took over Sudan from Britain. Knowing the British loss of Sudan, you cheated us.*

*God will not forgive you for this. To reply for what you said that the Italians did nasty and cruel deeds upon the people, you are mistaken. They are rather kind and generous. What is considered as pitiless in our country is the act of the emperor [Häilä Selassé] who killed Emperor Menilek's higher officials including queen Zäwditu and Lej Iyasu.*

The above statements of the letter show that British and Italian government military power was one of the propaganda works. Becoming an ally of those powerful governments was considered as sign of prestige and a guarantee of power. Letters from the patriots to *Azaž Käbbädä Tässäma* during the war period are important sources in this theme. The letters ideas mostly focus on the request to the British Air force attack on the Major Italian camps. They believed that the Italian supremacy, particularly in the Air Force was the major reason to their victory in the major battles including *Mayçäw* in 1937 and currently the enemy force is found in a well-established forts of *Dämbäça*, *Burè* and *Dangella*. Therefore, the patriots tried to address the problem of launching an attacking strike that could cost thousands of lives to break the forts. This also made the war to become more protracted. So, they insisted on that the British Air Force should help us in attacking the Italian soldiers in their forts.<sup>86</sup> Patriots argue that deploying the Air Force would have a double wining significance. In one hand, it accelerates the weakness of the Italian military strength; on the other hand, it would enhance the people's morale to support the patriots.<sup>87</sup>

According to my informants, in Dämbäça serious clashes occurred between the patriots of Dämbäça and the collaborators from Däbrä Marqos who came to plunder the region.<sup>88</sup> A note written by Käbbädä Tässäma to Emperor Hailä Selassé about the Italian possessions in Gojjam indicates that the collaborators who camped in Däbrä Marqos frequently plundered the areas around Däbrä Marqos. However, they cannot stay for long because of the patriots' attack.<sup>89</sup>

One among the collaborator who was frequently wedging war to the area was *Fitawrari* Gäbäyahu Wäldä Mareyam. He camped in Däbrä Marqos until he finally changed his support to the Ethiopian patriots especially after the coming to Gojjam of *Azaž* Käbbädä Tässäma in 1941. <sup>90</sup> *Fitawrari* Gäbäyahu Wäldä Mareyam once deserting the Italian camp from Däbrä Marqos, played a significant role in the liberation of the country from Italian rule. He was part of the Ethiopian patriots in the battle of Yäçäräqa and that will be elaborated below.

In the history of the country, the joint British and Ethiopian military operation of 1940-1941 could be regarded as the last phase of the resistance movement against fascist Italy. According to various sources, Gideon Force under Major Orde Wingate conducted a campaign towards the Ethiopian province of Gojjam.<sup>91</sup> When they initially embarked on their campaign, the Gedeon Force composed of seventy British Officers, The Second Ethiopian battalion with 800 men, A Frontier Battalion of Sudanese army again with 800 men and two-

mortar platoons with propaganda and transportation units.<sup>92</sup> The Ethiopian and the Sudanese battalions were led by Major Boyle and Colonel Hugh Boustead. This force was also accompanied by 500 bodyguards of Hailä Selassé.<sup>93</sup> On the other hand, the enemy force in Gojjam during this period was composed of 16 colonial and 4 battalions. The enemy force was also composed of 2 regular *banda* group and numerous irregular units in Gojjam.<sup>94</sup>

During their ride to the heart of Gojjam, Emperor Hailä Selassé and Gideon Force rallied Ethiopian patriots and the respective local people, wherever they went, using powerful loudspeakers the patriot forces announced the presence of the emperor and inducing local tribal leaders and Italian askaris to desert the Italian cause.<sup>95</sup>

As far as the settlement pattern of the forces of the enemy is concerned, in the last years of their existence of the province, they were heavily concentrated in the towns of Baher Dar, Enjjebara, Burè, Dämbäça and Däbrä Marqos. Most of my informants told me that the forces stationed in these places were highly organized and decisive units in which the fascist government believed in. Among these places, Dämbäça *wäräda* by this time served as divisional head quarter of the enemy force. <sup>96</sup>

Pertaining to the reaction of the local people towards the intervention and assistance of the British is concerned, they welcomed them with joy expressing their feeling publicly even in those places where Italian camps were found.<sup>97</sup>

The people began to support the joint force in different ways. For instance, relatively small and irregular forces often disrupted Italian supply lines and provided important intelligence to the joint Ethio- British force. <sup>98</sup> On February 22, 1941, Ethiopian and Wingate forces won their first victory in the province at Injjebara. Here Wingate took time and devised a new plan for the forthcoming operations towards Buré and then to Dämbäça. The architecture of the war on this line understood that the Italian withdrawn from the area to hold the lines of the rivers Tämça and Yäçäräqa between Elias and Dämbäça areas. <sup>99</sup>

Colonel Wingate, after his critical assessment of the overall situation in the region, ordered 200 soldiers headed by Major Simons and additional 1000 patriots under the leadership of *Fitawrari* Woldä Gäbrél in the Northern front. This was made to defend them from the possible attack by Colonel Toreli from Dangella. The remaining force that was estimated to be 1600, prepared to launch night trek to the south particularly to Buré. <sup>100</sup>

On March 4, the regiment in Buré again retreated amassing its soldiers in Wan, Mankusa, and Jegga towards Dämbäça. Many of my informants argue Colonel Natale pulled out his soldiers from Buré and headed for Dämbäça mainly fearing not to disrupt his line of communication to Däbrä Marqos and fortified there. As indicated, Wingate had the objective of alienating Natale forces from his counterparts in Däbrä Markos. In effecting this Wingate prepared different war plans. To complete his mission successfully he ordered

his forces in Sākāla headed by Thesiger to join with Haylā Yāsus at Fārās Bét and in line with this he imposed a responsibility on this unit to supervise and control the situation in Dāmbāça. The other segment under Major Boyle was sent foreword to get closer with the force at Fārās Bét. <sup>102</sup> The remaining patriots were given the mission to conduct constant pressure and create confusion on the enemy. This tactic ranged from practical attack of the enemy to the blowing of guns over the retreating army to won psychological supremacy. <sup>103</sup>

On the other hand, Boyle assembled his forces on a low ground on the course of Yāçäräqa River close to Dāmbāça aimed at attacking the enemy from the west. <sup>104</sup> On the other side, colonel Natale and Mamo Hailā Mikaél were nervous about it and when they attempted to escape from the siege suddenly fell under the Ethiopian battalion of Boyale at Yāçäräqa where his forces were caught by large Italian force and a hand-to-hand fight followed.<sup>105</sup> Wingate described the situation as

“ ... it must have been one of the worst tactical positions for defense in history... the result was that the heavy and determined fire that assailed him from an area much closer than he [ Natale] expected, had the effect of surprise. ”<sup>106</sup>

It is reported that at the battle of Yāçäräqa in Dāmbāça wäräda over a quarter of the second Ethiopian battalion was lost in action. Hurried from behind by

the frontier Battalion, Natale's column met the second Ethiopian Battalion head-on just west of Dämbäça. The Italian battalion put up a stiff resistance against the enemy force but was finally overwhelmed. <sup>107</sup>

The Italian forces were crashed through leaving about 200 dead and 1000 wounded. The second Ethiopian battalion suffered about 100 casualties and a considerable number of horses and camels dead. Among these some of the prominent patriot leaders; *Fitawari* Garädäw Kidanè, *Däjjazmaè* Fäläqä Daòòä, *Šaläqa* Ayälä Hailä, and Bäqälä Adära were among those severely wounded while they were fighting audaciously with the enemy. <sup>109</sup> This battle was the most ruthless which cost the lives of well-known warriors such as *Gerazmaè* Däbäla, Mngeša Šeberé, Gašaw Bäza , Nigatu Dubalä, Märssa Däbé, Špotaw, Hailä Mikaél Garädäw, Yerom Sägäd Wäldä Sellassé, Käbbädä Wäldä Giorgis, Därbé Gänät Yewalu, Asrat Tägän, Kassa Hailé, Fäläkä Wäldä Šadiq, Ŧasäw Menda, Bäqällä Çohé , Wäsän Gobäna, Mäkonnän Bäšel, Abäbä Täsfoyé, , and others. <sup>109</sup>

Wingate and Zäläqä forces from the west and that of Häylä Yäsus from the North ambushed the enemy until they left Dämbäça on March 8 to Däbrä Marqos.<sup>110</sup> Yet the battle of Yäçäräqa cost the liberation forces dearly. Theisger gave his testimony that "...the patriot battalion had been destroyed as a fighting force. Similarly on the Italian side, casualties were heavy. Elders from Yäçäräqa and Dämbäça recall the event as a horrible and the site full of human and animal bodies." <sup>111</sup> As a result of this, Natale, the leader of the Italian force at Dämbäça

front, had been traumatized by these events and he was forced to abandon Dämbäça on 8 March and dragged all the battalion back to Däbrä Marqos.<sup>112</sup> The austerity and harshness of the battle of Yäçäräqa is still kept in mind of the local people as:

ሀሙስ ተለቅለቆ አርብ ተበራየ

ከንግዲህ ነጭ አያበቅልም

የጨረቃን ያየ።<sup>113</sup>

*On Thursday, the ground was swept off*

*On Friday, it became refined*

*Hence afterwards, no white men will come to Yäçäräqa.*

Following this, the Italian force totally lost the land of Dämbäça and retreated to Amanuél , southwards on the way to Däbrä Marqos. Mammo Hailä Mikaél was the man who directed the shortest route for the enemy force while it was retreating to Däbrä Marqos.<sup>114</sup> He left the main road and proceeded with those soldiers who escaped from the war of Yäçäräqa to Amanuèl across the town of Dämbäça. From Amanuèl base, the enemy force attempted to launch a revenge attack towards Dämbäça. Nevertheless, the attempt was not successful and once and for all the enemy force retreated to Däbrä Marqos and stationed around Gulit. The Ethiopian warriors stationed at the jungles of Dämbäça met in the town and began preparation for another more organized expedition towards Däbrä Marqos.<sup>115</sup>

Here, it is important to note that the Ethiopian force at Dämbäça acquired ample supplies and commenced its campaign towards Däbrä Marqos. The combined force launched its campaign with the forces of two companies and details frontier battalion, One company and Ethiopian Battalion, the sections Ethiopian mortar platoon and a demolition squad under captain Boyle. The force launched its expedition from Dämbäça intended to block the enemy's retreat over the Nile gorge. <sup>116</sup>

At this juncture, it is also important to discern that the triumphant victory over fascist Italy at the battle of Yäçäräqa was decisive to the ensuing victories and control of two critical places of Däbrä Marqos and most importantly the city of Addis Ababa. <sup>117</sup> At this moment, Emperor Hailä Selassé resided at Mätäkäl. After the victory was achieved at Yäçäräqa, the Emperor moved towards Burè accompanied by *Däjjazmaè* Mängäša Jämbärè. At Burè, the Emperor met their prominent patriots who fought and attained sensational victory at Dämbäça. On this occasion Käbbädä Tässäma, Nägaš Bäzabeh and Mängäša Jämbärè were instrumental in leading and accompanying the Emperor on the way from Burè to Wan. The Emperor stationed in Wan and began to lead the war from this area. <sup>118</sup> Because of premeditated reason, the Emperor ordered Käbbädä Tässäma to move upfront and join the force stationed at Dämbäça.

By this time Käbbädä had a mission to collect information about the situation in the area between Dämbäça and Däbrä Marqos. He had also the mission to assess information about the conditions of the *bandas* in Dämbäça and he was

expected to report on the amount of crop types collected and captured food items of the enemy in the wäräda under study. <sup>119</sup>

Here, it is worth noting that the battle of Yäçäräqa witnessed an extraordinary leadership and fighting skill from Ethiopian patriots and more interestingly, the area was finally chosen by Emperor Hailä Selassé and his consultants as a safest way to return home. In his return, the combined forces of British army and the Gojjamè Patriots supported him. <sup>120</sup> The historical place of Dämbäça during the emperor's return served as a post for the temporary settlement of the Emperor and his bodyguards, who were estimated to be 500 men. By this time Emperor Hailä Selassé and Wingate discussed and sketched out strategic military maps and sent to their fighters in Amanuël and around Däbrä Marqos from their head quarters of Dämbäça. <sup>121</sup>

Generally, Gojjame fighters, known as *arbäðoè*, destroyed and drove out the Italians from the areas around heavily fortified towns like Burè, Dämbäça and Däbrä Marqos. Among the bases of Italians they crushed the strong fascist force at Dämbäça particularly along the river Yäçäräqa was crucial which eventually paved the way for the immediate and tranquil liberation of Gojjam in particular and Ethiopia in general.

After their defeat at the battle of Yäçäräqa, they failed to launch strong and durable attack and were impotent to restore their lost territories. By early April, the Duke of Aosta ordered the withdrawal of the Italian forces to evacuate from

Däbrä Marqos. Subsequently, Hailä Selassé arrived at Däbrä Marqos on April 6 and was applauded by Wingate as well as the influential local patriots of the province. <sup>122</sup>

## Chapter III

### Dämbäça Wārāda in the Post-Occupation Period, 1941 -1974

#### 3.1. Administrative Reforms and Challenges

The history of colonialism in Ethiopia ended by the year 1941 and following this, new administrative arrangement was imposed all over the country.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the State was reorganized into twelve *Awrajas*, sixty *wārādas*, 339 *wārāda-meslānēs* and 1,176 *meketel-meslānēs*.<sup>2</sup> This arrangement was revised again in 1946 and hence the above administrative structure was serviceable only for about four years.<sup>3</sup>

During this period, Gojjam, one of the twelve provinces of the state, was administered by Hailu Bälāw.<sup>4</sup> On March 1942, the Emperor awarded the province to him appreciating his effective mobilization and leading quality of patriots and most importantly his allegiance to the throne.<sup>5</sup>

At this point, it is important to understand that the standards of appointment of higher officials in this period were primarily based on their allegiance to the Emperor and the quality of leadership and the commitment to fight with the enemy often took the second position. This, therefore, resulted in the disagreement between most of the patriots and the Emperor. The conflict between Emperor Hailä Selassé with Belay Zälāqä and other patriots and patriot leaders in the province, was the case in point.<sup>6</sup>

Be it as it may, Hailu Bälāw reorganized his domain Gojjam in to seven administrative *wärādas*. These were Däbrā Marqos, Bečāna, Moṭa, Däga Damot, Qola Damot, Agāw Meder and Baher Dar *wärādas*. He made Däbrā Marqos his political seat and the town was served as the capital of the province under discussion.<sup>7</sup>

Based on the 1942 declaration, which states the arrangement of the province, Dämbäça was categorized under Däga Damot *wärāda*. *Fitawrari* Hailä Yäsus Filatè was appointed as the governor of this *wärāda*. Under this *wärāda*, there were also *meslānés* such as Enzägedem, Arāfa, Quarit and Enamra.<sup>8</sup> During the period under discussion, the whole part of Däga Damot was furthermore divided into a number of *meketel-meslānés*. Local governors in Dämbäça were selected and appointed by the Governor-General *Ras* Haylu Bälāw. They had responsibilities of maintaining peace and order, collecting taxes and dispense judiciary activities. In line with this, the proclamation of July 23, 1942 also affirmed that those who fought the enemy to defend their country should receive a *gaša* of land as their property on which they would pay a land tax.<sup>9</sup>

Apart from this, in 1942 new form of land tax proclamation was introduced. The declarations made clear that all landowners in the *wärāda* should pay tax according to the fertility of the land they owned. Therefore, the land should be registered and assessed by the committee established by the state.<sup>10</sup> In Dämbäça *wärāda*, the committee that comprised of the *Mälkäñña*, *Çeqa Šum*, selected leaders of the locality, and one priest from the church was established.

This assessment committee was established mainly to pleat information about the land owners of the *wäräda* and its fertility and finally to impose the amount of tax accordingly up on the cultivators. <sup>11</sup> To this end, the established committee in Dämbäça *wäräda* attempted to assess and identify *rest - gult* and *sämon* or church lands. The committee reported that in the *wäräda* there were lot of *rist-* holders including the Orthodox Church which owned extensive *gult* in Dämbäça *wäräda* .<sup>12</sup>

It is therefore apparent that these individuals and churches in the *wäräda* had enjoyed privileges. They had a privilege of engaging in judiciary activities and *gult* governors had the authority to collect tax and acquiring a portion of it from their respective parishes. <sup>13</sup> The restored regime, however, tried to get rid off the *glut* governors and *däber aläqas* from such activities putting their inefficiency as a major reason. <sup>14</sup>

It is evident that the ambition of the state was to centralize its administration by eliminating the intermediary role of the *glut* governor as well as the clergy from any kind of administrative affairs of the *wäräda*. Hence, on November 3, 1941, the Emperor made public the proclamation that prohibited the clergy from involving in judiciary activities. Besides, it banned *gult* governors and centralized the system of the collection of tax to be carried out by the salaried individuals. <sup>15</sup>

Briefly, most of land tax proclamations issued between the years 1941 and 1944 were designed for the centralization of the administration in that they

reduced the power of the *gult* governor and the clergy in the administrative affairs of the locality.<sup>16</sup> To this end, the appointment of salaried *meketel wārāda* officials took the administrative role of the *gult* governor and prohibited the *gult* governors collecting tribute from *rest* owners. In such manner, the Imperial Government regulated the administration of both the secular and spiritual affairs of the *wārāda* in a more centralized manner.<sup>17</sup>

In this proclamation, the issue of land in every *wārāda* fell under the supervision of the commission that was established by individuals from the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Justice. <sup>18</sup> Most of the proclamations did not have major differences and as we shall see later on, they failed to gain acceptance and improvement as intended .

In 1944, opposing different proclamations and measures that had taken place by the state, the clergy and the nobility in Eastern Gojjam and Damot complained to the Emperor. This group of individuals appealed to the state to get back their administrative privileges. Following this, the state revised the administrative structure and some *reforms* were introduced. Hence, the Emperor entrusted *gult* governors the responsibility of collecting tax with the support of the *çeqa-šum* (village chief) and allowed them to take a third of the tax collected from the *rest* owner. <sup>19</sup> To this end, the *çeqa-šum* was appointed in Dāmbāça as the lowest position of the administrative hierarchy. The *çeqa-šum* in the *wārāda* had the obligation to preserve peace and order, collect tax and disseminate rules from the *balä-gult* to the people. <sup>20</sup>

Paradoxically, during this time the newly introduced administrative system of Dämbäça *wäräda* remained in effective. Despite this, the role of the *çeqa-šum* in the *wäräda* was not worth mentioning. Since they had all the administrative experience and most importantly the support of the owners of *rest*, power was in the hands of *gult* governors. <sup>21</sup> Government officials of Dämbäça *wäräda* were busy in effecting different proclamations of the state. In spite of this, most of the proclamations of this period failed to touch ground as intended.

Opposition of proclamations introduced by the state and the refusal of the people of Dämbäça *wäräda* to pay tax characterized the closing dates of Hailu Bäläw. According to historical accounts, most the people of the *wäräda* refused to pay tax to the collectors. As a result of this, large amount of unpaid land tax in Dämbäça *wäräda* was reported to state higher officials. Following this, Abäbä Šänqut, the director of the province of Gojjam, arrived at Dämbäça and call the *meslänés* for a meeting. On this occasion, major officials of the province and the *wäräda* , such as *Däjjazmač* Hailä Yäsus Filatè, *Qäñazmač* Guangul Asräss, *Qäñazmač* Aboyè Worago, *Ato* Addis Fänta , *Fitawrari* Fänta Wubè and *Ato* Abatä Gädamu were attended. The objective of the meeting was principally to investigate major reasons for the failure of the *wäräda* officials to collect the revenue and solve the problem. <sup>22</sup>

Based on the investigation and the source available, Dämbäça *wäräda meslänés* were accused of not collecting 5,450 Birr and 1,000 *šeläng* totally 90,777.51 Birr and 1 *šeläng* and submitting to the treasury. The report entails as the problem was because of the corrupted personality of some *meslänés* and also the *assrat* was not collected while the people expected mercy from the Emperor. Some of the *meslänés* criticized for being corrupted and unable to collect the tax from the people were: *Fitawrari Admasu Dästa*, *Fitawrari Dästa Berru*, and *Qäñazmač Mäsfın Alämayehu*, *Fitawrari Kassa Negusè*, *Aläqa Adegäh Dägu*, *Lej Ayalèw Bäzabih* and others.<sup>23</sup>

The meeting ended by making the following decisions. The first was the *meslänés* were ordered to collect tax as soon as possible and to enter in to the treasury. If not, they would be forced to pay 99,077 and also would be suspended from their jobs. Different reports mentioned different factors for the refusal of the people of Dämbäça *wäräda* to pay tax.<sup>24</sup> Here it is imperative to understand that it would be naïve for the one to argue by rising the aforementioned factors as the major reasons for the refusal of paying tax by the people of Dämbäça *wäräda*.

On the other hand, during this time, following his visit of Dämbäça *wäräda*, *Lej Šänqut*, reported to the Ministry of Interior that;

“...in Dämbäça *wäräda* most of the *meslänés* were not capable enough to take such big responsibilities...there in efficiency is the

cause for the entire problem in Dāmbāça *wārāda*”. He noted that, most of the government officials in Dāmbāça *wārāda* were born and grown up in Dāmbāça. Because of this, they failed to work and fulfill their responsibilities as expected”.<sup>25</sup>

In contrast, he reported that some officials of the *wārāda* had shown a diligent performance. In describing the quality of these officials, Abābā underscored that they are from Addis Ababa not from the locality and hence they have better experience. Hence, the report recommended that in order to solve the problem, individuals from other places should replace some of the officials in Dāmbāça *wārāda*.<sup>26</sup>

The year 1946 marked the coming of *Dājjazmač* Kābbādā Tāssāma, who was appointed as Governor-General of Gojjam. In the course of his rule, the political map of Gojjam was restructured and this resulted in a basic change on the administrative structure of the province.<sup>27</sup> In this regard, following the proclamation of June 28, 1946, one of the most important measures was taken that the administrative structure in the province with the status of *wārādas* were directly transformed in to that of *awrajas*. Accordingly, *Dājjač* Kābbādā Tāssāma merged Qolla-Damot and Dāga-Damot *wārādas*, where Dāmbāça was found, to form *awraja* in 1947. He made Fenotä-Sālam the capital of the Qolla-Dāga-Damot *awraja*.<sup>28</sup>

Briefly, based on the new structural amendment, the territory of Gojjam was reorganized in to five *awrajas*, thirty-two *wäräda* governors and ninety-three *meketel wäräda* governors. The province of Gojjam during this period was comprised of Mätäkäl, Agäw and Baher Dar, Qola Däga Damot , Däbrä Marqos and Bičäna enna Moṭa *Awrajas*. Hence, Dämbäça was situated in Qola Däga Damot *Awraja* under the governorship of *Däjjazmač Zäläkä Dästa*.<sup>29</sup>

As indicated, Qola Däga Damot *Awraja* was also divided in to six *wärädas*. These were Wombärma, Tähnan, Šekudad Guagusa *enna* Akako, Jana Säkäla Lejambära and Däga Damot. According to this arrangement, Däga Damot constituted the *wäräda* under study and it was governed by *Fitawrari Dästa Beru*. *Ato Tädässä Ayälä* was the secretary of the *wäräda*. Moreover, the *wäräda* was composed of about seven *Meketel wärädas*. Based on this division, the whole of Färäs Bét, Ṭälim, Namra, Bärqäñ and Enzägedem were pounded in to this *wäräda*. The name of *meketel wärädas* and their respective governors and Secretaries are listed at the endnote.<sup>30</sup>

### **3.2. The Problems of Security in Dämbäça and the Role of the Police and the Judiciary**

As discussed above, during the time of Hailu Bäläw, there was an administrative problem in Dämbäça *wäräda*. Hence, *Däjjazmač Käbbädä Tässäma* and *Fitawrari Desta Berru* in particular were reinstated to administer the *wäräda* with its multifaceted administration problems.<sup>31</sup> The first challenge

came from the dwellers of Dămbăța appealing the newly appointed officials to solve the problem of administration in the *wărăda*. During this period, there were problems of security and the public pledged the governors of the *wărăda* and appointed officials to alleviate the existing problem. <sup>32</sup>

Different factors were forwarded as reasons for such a precarious situation because of the intensification of looting, killing and burning of houses in the *wărăda*. The first point was that most of the dwellers in the *wărăda* were well equipped with different weapons that were distributed by the regime to defend the country during the colonial period. <sup>33</sup> In addition to this, the people also equipped with rifles acquired from the Italians and these weapons were not fully collected, which eventually became sources of insecurity among the people. In the *wărăda*, using this opportunity there was also illegal trading of weapons and ammunitions, cattle particularly with the Sudanese. <sup>34</sup>

The other challenge for the intensification of illegal activities in the *wărăda* was the prevalence of favorable areas such as the massif of Tămța and too dense jungles of Yăcărăqa and Țălim. These places served as hiding posts of *Șiftas* coming from Dămbăța as well as other neighboring *wărădas*. <sup>35</sup> Because of these, Dămbăța *wărăda* became one of the *wărădas* in the province where insecurity prevailed.

The people blame the government appointees and owners of the *gult* as responsible for the escalation of insecurity problem. Hence, on May 30, 1946 they wrote a letter to the Ministry of Interior requesting the state to arrange a working system that would make the owners of *gult* as well as security forces in the *wārāda* to be more organized and responsible. <sup>36</sup>

New forms of judiciary system and security forces were introduced to address the problem of insecurity in the *wārāda*. This measure was made with the intention that the problem of insecurity in Dāmbāça *wārāda* was the result of the absence of strong police force and efficient judiciary activities in the area. <sup>37</sup> The government, therefore, appointed individuals to work on the security of their localities under the title of *Léba Edem*. Despite the difference in status they had, this group of people had responsibilities to undertake all the functions of a regular police. <sup>38</sup>

Moreover, new form of court system was introduced in the *wārāda* under study. To this end, on June 28, 1947 , the local court called *aṭbiya-dañña* was introduced by the proclamation. The establishments of the *aṭbiya-dañña* in every *wārādas* and *Meketel wārādas* was intended to provide quick justice and arbitrate disputes in their respective villages. <sup>39</sup> In principle, these appointees were elected from the owner of the *gult* or outside of it. According to the proclamation, the *aṭbiya-dañña* made to acquire half of the fee obtained from litigations and this became for local judges the major source of income. Cases

beyond their capacity were directly heard by the *meketel wäräda* and the *wäräda* court accordingly. <sup>40</sup>

The establishment of *aṭbiya-dañña* courts, however, affected the relationship of *gult* governors of Dämbäça *wäräda* and the regime. This happened principally because of the denial of Käbbädä Tässäma to the claim of *gult* holders for the position of *aṭbiya-dañña* as their right on the ground that there was no in Gojjam. <sup>41</sup> As stated, *Däjjac* Käbbädä Täsäma argued that the *balä gults* of Gojjam do not have the right to claim the position of *aṭbiya- dañña*. Nevertheless, a considerable number of individuals attest the prevalence of *rest-gult* system in Gojjam in the period under discussion. To this end, some of them referred the place called Gojjam as “the country of *rest*”. <sup>42</sup> Such position of Käbbädä Tässäma on the people of Gojjam in general and Dämbäça *wäräda* in particular created a cleavage between the people and the regime, which eventually became one of the sources of opposition and uprising.

On the other hand, the establishments of local judges had still its own problem since there were no mechanisms set out by the state to control their day-to-day activities. As a result, of this problem, the *aṭbiya daññas* were irresponsible and highly corrupted. Besides, since every litigation enable them to earn some amount of money, they made themselves busy in hearing minor cases and this made them highly vulnerable for corruption. <sup>43</sup>

Another administrative problem in relation to this was that there was frequent appointment and dismissal of *aṭbiya daññas* by the government. The direct appointment of local judges was also highly criticized by the local people of Dämbäça *wäräda*. Principally, in the years between 1947 and 1948 the owners of *gult* and *rest* in Dämbäça wrote letters to Käbbädä Tässäma opposing the intervention of the government in appointing and deposing *aṭbiya daññas*.<sup>44</sup>

Apart from *aṭbiya daññas*, there were also about six church courts that carried out judiciary activities in Dämbäça *wäräda*. These courts used to hear both civil and criminal cases. The head of the police in Dämbäça *wäräda*, therefore, send different cases as well as those criminals under control to the church courts. These courts were under *yädäber Aläqa* (*head of the church*). Church courts, however, were inefficient in passing the right decisions up on the criminals. They instead undertook arbitrary activities. Moreover, these courts had no prison places, which eventually made judges not to pass sentences of prison according to the weight of the cases they investigated.<sup>45</sup>

In general, the land tax and administrative reforms during this period further exacerbated the insecurity problem of Dämbäça, which finally led to mass uprisings.<sup>46</sup> Among the administrative reforms effected and resulted in peasants dissatisfaction, the proclamations in relation to land assessment and land measurement took the first place. The people of the *wäräda* were not happy in everything that took place in their respective areas. The first reason

was that *gult* governors were ignored to acquire responsibilities from the government in the process of the assessment of land. <sup>47</sup>

Whatever it is, land assessment took place and based on that the land of Dämbäça *wäräda* fall under the category of fertile (*läm*), semi fertile (*läm-ṭäf*) and poor (*ṭäf*) and land tax was levied accordingly. <sup>48</sup> However, the assessment and classification of any land in every *qäbälé* failed to take in to consideration of the natural environment and the overall situations in which the assessed land was located. Moreover, the commission undertook its mission without employing any scientific techniques to identify the degree of the fertility of the respective land. This and other factors made some of the reports of the assessment far from facts and ultimately resulted in opposition from the owners of land. <sup>49</sup>

### **3.3. Rebellion in Dämbäça Wäräda during the Last Decades of the Imperial Period**

This section attempts to explore the movements that witnessed popular grievance and rebellion in the *wäräda* to redress the maladministration of the regime. It also tries to address the major causes of the rebellion and its socio economic and political impacts that the revolution inflicted up on the officials of the province and the system at large.

#### **3.3.1 Causes of the Rebellion**

It is apparent that rebellion in most cases is a movement in which certain groups of a society seek to achieve its interest through violence.<sup>50</sup> Different factors led the society to engage in such activities against the regime. To this end, in the last two decades of the Imperial period, the history of Gojjam in general and Dämbäça *wäräda* in particular was characterized by intermittent public uprisings and rebellions as a result of the following factors.

The fundamental factor that forced the people of Gojjam to be involved in uprising in the period under study was principally linked with land and land related measures taken by the government. According to various writers, the state sought to culminate the existing communal system of land tenure in the province and this resulted in un abated resistance and violence from the society. This was made since it faced difficulty to identify the owners of the land. This in turn resulted in complications on the side of the government in

order to impose and collect land tax revenue from the cultivators.<sup>51</sup> To alleviate this problem, the state issued new land tax proclamations in 1942 and 1944. The very essence of these proclamations had nothing to do with identifying the owner of the land rather to acquire the intended revenue from the land tax. Here it is worth noting that the state had been in a big trouble in identifying the owner of land and levying tax in the province as a result of the tradition of the communal system of land holding. The new proclamation, however, attempted to alleviate this problem by making those individuals using the land to be responsible to pay tax. The amount of tax was made to be imposed according to the fertility of the land and the amount of the produce. Briefly, the proclamation was instrumental in making responsible those individuals cultivating the farm at that moment.<sup>52</sup>

To put these proclamations in effect and levy taxes accordingly; the state should first investigate and gain ample record of the fertility of each cultivated land. As expected, with the couple of its ambition to realize i.e collecting land taxes from the Gojjamè and institute a more centralized administration, the state dispatched land assessors to every corner of the province.<sup>53</sup>

The people of Dämbäça, however, failed to accept the proclamations and refused to provide necessary support to land assessors. Peasants in Dämbäça resisted and refused to make registered their land by committee. They reacted in this way from the ground that the new approach by the state was considered as a dangerous action on their traditional land holding system.<sup>54</sup>

Another source of frustration in relation to land was the land decrees of 1960 and 1967. This declaration states that Muslims have the right to buy and own land. As a result, Muslims began enjoying their own land like that of their counter parts. Moreover, the latter decree made clear that the land less tenants were to be own land. <sup>55</sup> This declaration made those groups of people to own land and those who owned large amount of land began to see the regime suspiciously. They considered these measures as a danger on their traditional right of tenure and social status. <sup>56</sup>

The third factor for the outbreak of rebellion in Dämbäça *wäräda* was the problem of administration. The autocratic and exploitative rule in Dämbäça *wäräda* was instrumental for the advance of protests and the eruption of rebellion. <sup>57</sup> The harsh treatment of the people by *Däjjazmač* Şähayu Enqu Selassé and his counter parts during this period was the case in point. It is apparent that as a result of corrupted and immature personality of the Şäwan governors a considerable number of individuals were killed, detained without charge and the property of peasants and the government was expropriated. <sup>58</sup>

In light of the aforementioned point, during the time of Şähayu the people of Dämbäça were forced to raise a fund under the pretext of developmental activities in the *wäräda*. It is deceptive that my informants regrettably told me that, the idea of fund rising was designed by the “hyena” and the “smaller hyenas”. It is to mean Şähayu and his friends mainly Dämes Alamräw of Bičäna, Mulatè Dästa of Damot and *Fitawrari* Faris of Jabiřähnan, as a means

of generating income for themselves. They argue that these individuals collected large amount of money from different parts of the province. <sup>59</sup>

Nevertheless, the amount of money invested for different purposes such as the building up of the statue at Fenotäsälam was insignificant and Dämbäça was not beneficiary.<sup>60</sup> It is also reported that an estimated 140,000 ETB was collected from the inhabitants of Bičäna and Qola Däga Damot between the years 1965 and 1966. From this, different sources attested that Dämbäça alone contributed about 20,000 birr. <sup>61</sup>

Here, it is worth noting that large amount of money was collected from the ‘destitute’ peasants of Dämbäça *wäräda* and reached the treasury under the direct supervision of Şähayu. It is not surprising that the money collected from the people of Dämbäça did not bring about the construction of new schools, clinics, roads or any other social services. <sup>62</sup> The people of Dämbäça disclosed their dissatisfaction and gripe against Şahayu's regime in writing letters to the central government. Between June and July 1968, the inhabitants of Dämbäça *wäräda* who raised the largest amount compared to its neighboring *wäräda* disclosed their opposition of the deed of the governor through their representatives to the central government. <sup>63</sup>

Moreover, the residents of the *wäräda* made hot discussion over the corrupted and in efficient administration of the *wäräda* and reached an agreement not to pay any form of tax to the state. They claim that “we already paid tax and we will never pay health tax and we do not need health centers and other services

from you [the state]. We use traditional medication for ourselves and it is God not the government that protects us from illness".<sup>64</sup> This argument was forwarded from the ground that the people in the *wäräda* were highly discontented by the existing administration and they decided to oppose every reform by the government whatever it was, imperative or not.

The dissatisfaction of the prominent patriots of the *wäräda* was the fourth factor for the uprising. A considerable number of war veterans in Dämbäça *wäräda* thought that they were not fairly treated by the Emperor. It is obvious that during the reign of Emperor Hailä Selassé, particularly after liberation, some individuals in Gojjam rebelled and entered in to jungle several times mainly due to the ill-treatment of patriots. Whatsoever the criteria were, after restoration, the Emperor attempted to recompense some of patriots of Gojjam in general and Dämbäça *wäräda* in particular. The Emperor, hence, acknowledge their patriotic achievements through different methods. To this end, some of the patriots received awards in different phases and moved from their former status a step ahead according to their contribution.<sup>65</sup>

On the other hand, considerable number of individuals who contributed a lot to the country were marginalized. The people of Dämbäça hence conceive the Emperor as halfhearted in giving recognition. They strongly criticized the criteria of selecting patriots for reward, as it was unfair and no inclusive.<sup>66</sup>

Be it as it may, in Dämbäça *wäräda* very small number of individuals won the patriotic award from the Emperor. The award given to patriots ranges from

medals and insignia to designation of titles. <sup>67</sup> Among the renown patriots in Gojjam, Ayalèw Mäkonnan (governor of Qolla enna Däga Damot, Hailä Yäsus Filatè (governor of Agäwu enna Baher Dar), Därässä Šefäraw (governor of Mätäkäl), and Zäläkä Dästa (governor of Däbrä Marqos), won the title *Däjjazmač* and became *Awraja* governors as a reward. In Dämbäça *wäräda* Šaläqa Käbbädä Dästa and Ayalèw Bäzabeh gained the title of *Qäñazmač* as the four year patriot. Engida Därsäh (the veteran of Shire front), Dästa Yemama, Baläh Kassa, Kassa Ngussè, won the title of *Fitawrari* and became the governors of *meketel wärädas* in Dämbäça. In addition to the titles, the patriots of Dämbäça were also won the awards of insignia. In Dämbäça the patriots from Yäçäräqa, Enzägdem, Aräfa, Bärqän, Namera and Ṭälim were awarded by the emperor. <sup>68</sup>

Be it as it may, my informants told me that in Dämbäça *wäräda* and in the province at large, some of the officials who contributed a lot during bad time and held key positions were removed and those who were collaborators and unknown personalities rewarded key positions. Beyond this, those who bleed and spent three and four years in the massifs of the province categorized as robbers and harassed by the security forces of the *wäräda*. <sup>69</sup> As we shall see later on, this segment of the society had played an irreplaceable contribution in instigating and mobilizing the resistance movement of the people of Gojjam.

The other factor, which probably gave further stimuli to the uprising in Dämbäça *wäräda* in particular and the province in general was the directive of

firearms registration by the state. Registration of the rifles for the people of the area meant ridiculing the patriotic activities of the whole people of Gojjam that inflicted during the Italian invasion. Those who owned rifles understood that this is an extension of Şāhayu's intrigue to disarm and eventually weaken the Gojjamè in general. Surprisingly, registration of firearms was not free. It was rather made with a fee of two birr. This accentuated peasants resistance and unrest occurred in the years of 1963 and 1964. <sup>70</sup> In Dämbäça *wäräda* a considerable number of individuals refused to register their rifles and flocked to different parts of the area. They described that their firearms are their heritages to remember their extraordinary deeds they made against the enemy. They argue that these weapons are not the Emperor and do not belong to him. In short, the act of the government during this time was interpreted as a double insult. <sup>71</sup>

Nevertheless, the officials continued to disarm the people. Mainly those individuals recruited locally as militia groups took this responsibility. In taking rifles from the society, the militia used forceful actions and peasants suffered a lot. Individuals from Šäwa who came for this purpose supervised the activities of the militia. This was made by Şāhayu because he thought that local officials were not loyal to him and the implementation of the state policy in general. <sup>77</sup>

The last and the most important reason for the outbreak of rebellion in the province was the measure taken by the government to terminate church privileges. Certainly, this attempt offended the clergy and paved the way for

churchmen to join the resistance movement. In line with this, the administrative measures which made local officials to be replaced by those who were loyal to Şāhayu added fuel on the resistance movement. <sup>78</sup>

Apart from this, the elimination of local officials was made by the state to control the growing opposition by taking measures under the leadership of those newly appointed loyal officials. <sup>79</sup> In sharp contrast, the removal of local officials created conducive environment to the rebellion to win the support of every segment of the society. In other words, the most prominent group of individuals principally the clergy and ‘politicians’ joined the opposition movement. To be brief, Şāhayu, the governor of the province, more complicated his job by creating favorable condition for class collaboration, which eventually resulted in a daunting rebellion in most parts of Gojjam. <sup>80</sup>

### **3.4.2. The Course of the Rebellion**

Because of the aforementioned multi bounded motives of the people, most part of Gojjam in general and Dāmbāça *wārāda* in particular turned in to turmoil. Gebru rightly demonstrated the situation in Gojjam as “...the peasants are brawling, rebelling, bashing in the skulls of the tax collectors, hanging police men, running dignitaries out of town, burning offices .. .”<sup>81</sup>

To this end, the district of Damot, where Dāmbāça *wārāda* was found, became the most belligerent zone in refusing to accept all forms of reforms by the government using both peaceful and coercive resistances. According to the

report on a survey of Gojjam regarding the amount of tax assessed and collected by the year 1968 the state failed to collect 39,323.40 birr in the area under discussion. <sup>82</sup> This clearly shows the refusal of the people to accept proclamations of the government. This was one way of opposition in the early phases of the resistance movement. Gradually, however, the nature of opposition transferred from refusing to pay tax and writing letters to the center expressing their dissatisfaction to an open and well-established form of insurrection and violence.

As noted earlier, the official proclamation of an income tax on September 1967 served as the immediate cause for the full scale uprising in most parts of the province. <sup>83</sup> However, before the proclamation the rebellious peasants of Dämbäça *wäräda* from the *qäbälès* of Angot ,Yä Dägäm, Yä Zäläqa, Anjäni, Yäçäräqa, and Daba flocked to the town of Dämbäça and gathered around the church of Dämbäça Mikaël on February 2. On the following day, large number of equipped peasants and town men overwhelmed the *wäräda*. According to my informants, this was made to support other peasant movements in its surrounding and secretly agitated by those individuals particularly the clergy in the town and the countryside. The crowd expressed the protest through unrelenting *Qärärto*, *fukära* and *šeläla*. There were also individuals who read instigating poem to the opposing staff. On this occasion, both men and women from every age group were involved. <sup>84</sup>

Officials heard the situation in Dämbäça and a contingent of the militia was sent to encircle the uprising in the *wäräda*. Meanwhile, the crowd disbanded and retreated towards the village of Yäçäräqa. On the coming day, the first clash between the militia and the rebellion troop took place. At this moment, one of the governor of Dämbäça *meketel wäräda* and about twenty militias were met casualties and the protesters took their guns. On the other hand, about thirteen rebellions were apprehended and taken to unknown place by government forces. <sup>85</sup>

On February 7, 1968, group of rebellious peasants from Däga Damot and Moṭa made discussion and reached at a consensus on the following points. In the first place, both group of people agreed to believe in unity and the other point was they reached an agreement to elect and appoint their leaders and then to expel all appointed officials in their respective areas. Moreover, the rebellious group of Däga Damot and Moṭa sanctioned not to present agricultural products to town markets. They winded up their discussion by making promises in front of elders notifying those who pay any form of tax to be cursed and segregated from the society. <sup>86</sup>

After two weeks, the resistance movement was intensified towards Däbrä Mrqos and Baher Dar. In Dämbäça the rebellion reached its apogee while thousands of rebellious armed peasants from adjacent area joined and poured on the streets of Dämbäça on May 5, 1968. <sup>87</sup> The government at this time made the *Abun* of Gojjam *Abunä Marqos Liqa Papas thä Gojjam*, to intervene. The *Abun*

made long discussion with the rebellions and promised to present all their problems to the Emperor. Hence, they wrote a letter directly to the Emperor for the last time to make their interest more vivid. Receiving the letter the *Abun* abandoned Dämbäça for Addis Ababa. <sup>88</sup>

Between May and July 1968, three commissions were established by the Emperor to alleviate the problem and sent to the province in different times. The first commission reached at Däbrä Marqos on 9 May and started its mission by making talks with different rebellion leaders or *Yägobäz Aläqas*.<sup>89</sup> This delegation was composed of Gojjamè officials under the leader ship of Däräjjä Mäkönnän. The mission of Däräjjä Mäkönnän, however, ended without gaining direct information or feedback particularly about the problems of the peasants of Däga Damot since they were refused to send representatives to talk Däräjjä at Däbrä Marqos. The omission under the leader ship of Däräjjä returned to Addis Ababa and reported its assessment to the Emperor. Nevertheless, the Emperor did not accept the questions raised by the rebel groups. <sup>90</sup>

In the meantime, peasants in Dämbäça *wäräda* were preparing themselves for the possible attack they would face from the side of the government. On the other, hand officials and the militia of the *wäräda* were frightened and began to abandon Dämbäça for the neighboring relatively peaceful *wärädas*. It seems that the rebellion groups in Dämbäça decided to launch a well organized and the most formidable resistance against the regime. <sup>91</sup> As a result, rebellion

groups organized themselves in such a way. The activists elect their leaders from their respective villages under the title of *Yäwonz Aläqa* (chief of the river) and at the *wäräda* level under the title of *Yägobäz Aläqa* (chief of the brave). In Dämbäça *wäräda*, some of the prominent rebellion leaders were *Qäñazmač* Tafärä Dästa, *Ato* Betäw Gètahun, *Ato* Käbbädä Meleket, *Däjjazmač* Čäkol Negusè, and *Däjjazmač* Dämsaš Gälayè. During this period, about two thousand rebellious peasants were gathered in Dämbäça *wäräda* around the church of Särägäla Maryam. Among these, sources attest that about one thousand and five hundred rebellions were equipped rebellions. <sup>92</sup>

In Dämbäça *wäräda*, *Yägobäz Aläqas* and *Yäwonz Aläqas* were vested with the power to mobilize and lead the rebellion movement efficiently. They had also responsibilities of supervising and controlling peace and stability of their respective quarters. Interestingly and most importantly, these appointed leaders also made arbitrary activities among each other. These groups of people were also made an extensive campaign of propaganda to persuade and attain full support from the people and largely their strategy was successful. <sup>93</sup>

It was therefore not difficult for government officials to predict the disastrous consequences of such developments in the *wäräda*. Hence, to quite the problem, the Governor General of the Province demanded military assistance from the center. The Emperor, however, preferred to send another commission to investigate the case. <sup>94</sup> At this juncture, it is crucial to understand that unlike the arrogant and the most hated Şähayu of Gojjam the Emperor

heralded its unlimited effort to culminate the situation peacefully. Hence, on June 1, the commission composed of *Ato Damṭāw Bärädäd*, Colonel *Kätäma Yelma*, *Gerazmač Tafässä Ṭäbkè*, and *Fäkadu Şäga* from finance, police, and security departments of the ministry of interior respectively. The commission was headed under the leadership of *Gerazmač Tafässä Ṭäbkè*, Vice Minister of the Interior. <sup>95</sup>

In the early days of June, *Dämbäça* was in the worst situation. Government officials, militias, and tax assessors were either escaped or found themselves in hidden places. An estimated 9000 armed peasants overwhelmed the *wäräda*. *Gebbru* stated that on June 4, the government attempted to solve the situation in *Dämbäça* peacefully. As to him, 4000 protestors were poured on the street of *Dämbäça* and the members of the commission observed the overall situation. They understood that any attempt to put down the movement in *Dämbäça* was not an easy task. Beyond this the disappointed rebellious groups were not hesitate to take any action on the members of the commission. Finally, the members of the commission returned to Addis Ababa in vain. <sup>96</sup>

As usual, the report presented to the Emperor did not represent the real situations and interest of the people. The report was merely articulated not to disappoint some of the higher officials of the province, principally the governor general. The Emperor therefore un able to discover new cases from the report since it was a direct replica of those reports by *Şähayu*. <sup>97</sup> As to the report, the

major cause of the rebellion was the result of the activities of few individuals who are criminals or those underdogs in parliamentary elections.

As indicated Şāhayu suggested the Emperor to use force to control the uprising in his domain. In a similar fashion, the report suggested that only military intervention would settle the problem and urged the Emperor to send additional military force to the province.<sup>98</sup> At this moment, the level of violence was out of control and rebellions began to attack the militia and houses of traitors in Dāmbāça. The militia was unable to resist the attack of the peasants and began to retreat to save their lives. The rebellions continued attacking the town and they were able to capture weapons of various officials of the *wārāda*.<sup>99</sup>

On June 20, the clergy and elders of the *wārāda* summoned the rebel groups to refrain from un wanted skirmishes in the town. In the meantime, the rebellious troops with the collaboration of elders reached an agreement and arrange talks with state officials.<sup>100</sup>

On July 5, the Emperor send his last mission under the leadership of Kiflè Ergäṭu, from the Ministry of Interior, *Däjjac* Dārājjä Mākonnän, member of the senate, *Afä Negus* Hailä Leul Čärinät, *Däjjac* Bezuworq Gäbrè, *Ato* Dilnäsaw Rāta, *Ato* Tāmāsgän Worqu, and the crown counselor Kiflè Dadi. Apart from higher state officials, the bishop of Gojjam was the member of the delegation.<sup>101</sup> Hence, the commission traveled to different parts of the province and opened discussions with the people. In contrast to other themes of delegations, this

commission attempt to investigate the entire problems rose from the peasants and the Minister Kiflè Ergäṭu promised to the public to answer some major questions raised from the crowd. In this regard, the removal of Şāhayu from Gojjam by Kiflè to the opposing staff was the case in point. <sup>102</sup>

Here after, the Gojjamè were waiting for the response of the commission with regard to taxation. The protesters were sure that Kiflè would celebrate some sort of reform on the amount of tax, if not abrogated. To the contrary, the delegates verified that the government tax proclamation is necessary and it could not be averted. <sup>103</sup> Peasants in return rejected the speech and decided to engage themselves in uprisings. After this occasion, the people of Dämbäça disclosed the attempt of persuasion of the Emperor as;

ከታ ነጠላዮን አልብሽ ብሰደዉ.

ተመልሶ መጣ ርስቴን ሊወስደዉ.፡፡<sup>104</sup>

*I send him [The Emperor] making to wear my Nätäla  
Nevertheless, he returned to take away my rest.*

Based on its mission the committee identified major causes of the problem in the province and reported to the Emperor. The committee reported that Gojjam is currently in a hazardous situation and only a full-scale military operation is the only solution to alleviate the problem from the scratch. They related the current problem with that of the 1942 and 1951 and the general amnesty given in the area. Therefore, the committee suggested that the people of Gojjam should earn a lesson through military campaign. <sup>105</sup>

The Emperor, however, set out new form of approach to settle the problem in Gojjam peacefully. This was displacing provincial and *wäräda* officials including Şāhayu from their positions.<sup>106</sup> When the statement of the Emperor and the resultant removal of Şāhayu reached in Gojjam the public expressed its joy and slang through the following traditional colloquial expression.

መላወ የጎጃም ሰወ እንኳን ደስ ያላችሁ

ሀምሌ አስራ ስድስት ቀን ጸሀይ ወጣላችሁ::<sup>107</sup>

*Congratulations, to all the Gojjamè*

*On July 16, the sun [Şahayu] rose for you.*

The above couplet signifies the removal of the governor of the province Şahayu from his position by using the term Şahay (the sun) as a word containing both open and hidden meanings. Despite the protesters supported the measure taken by the state on Sāhayu, the uprising contrasting different proclamations in relation to land continued un abated.

Peasants of Dāmbāça *wäräda* were not convinced by the officials and understood very well as if they were kidding. In the meantime, tax collectors restarted land assessment in Dāmbāça. According to sources, this was made by the order of *Däjjazmač* Hailä Yäsus Filatè, the governor of the district.<sup>108</sup> Here, it is worth noting that the assessment of land was one of the major problems of the crisis and it was again re started while the situation in the *wäräda* was unstable. It seems that the order by Hailä Yäsus to collect tax was a calculated move to aggravate the problem. In fact, Hailä Yäsus and Ayalèw

Dästa of Moṭa were suspected by state officials at the center as supporters of the uprisings in their respective districts. <sup>85</sup> For instance, Hailä Yäsus was suspected of instigating the crisis, which was, broke out in Dämbäṇa on October 17, 1968. <sup>109</sup>

The event was one of the strong and well-organized attacks by armed peasants against the police and militia force of the government stationed at Dämbäṇa. <sup>110</sup> The then prominent individuals such as Qāñazmaĉ Täfära Dästa, Šifäraw Kassa and Bäzabih Dästa led the rebellion group. The rebel groups were large in number and equipped with modern artilleries equivalent, if not better, to that of the militia and the police force. The protesters won the support of the urban population, destroyed and looted government offices as well as the houses of the *wäräda* officials and traitors as well. <sup>111</sup>

In sharp contrast to other clashes made between the rebellious and government forces, the crisis in Dämbäṇa turned in to a full scale war. The situation in Dämbäṇa *wäräda* was rightly illustrated by Gebru as

“Many incidents occurred, the most serious being the fighting that broke out on October 17 following rebel attack of the police at Dämbäṇa. After two days of fighting that involved the air force, the rebels retreated...” <sup>112</sup>

Hence, to subdue the rebellion, hundreds of federal troops arrived to Dämbäṇa with the support of the Air Force and due to the dangerous situation, the

government obliged to launch a full scale offensive against the rebellion forces in this part of the province. <sup>113</sup>

Around 7000 Policemen and Special Forces were arrived at Dämbäça under the leadership of General Zäwdé Damṭäw, the then General Commander of the Police, and Brigadier General Lamëssa Bädassa, the Police Commissioner of Addis Ababa, respectively. Hailä Yäsus Filatè, with the support of a certain colonel, led the regular state force in Dämbäça. <sup>114</sup> Additional contingent from Mätäma under the leadership of Colonel Tafässä Hailé made to join with the force arrived from Addis Ababa. From October 17 to 18, rebellious forces fought the government gallantly.<sup>115</sup>

This battle resulted in about 50 rebel troops dead, and large number of peasants wounded. On the other side, 14 were dead and large number of militias and police forces wounded. In general, this was one of the most serious incident took place in the history of peasant rebellion in the province.<sup>116</sup>

In the war, large number of police forces of the *awraja* and the *näç läbaš* were participated. These forces fought the rebellion troops not to surrender their possession of the town Dämbäça. With the arrival of the state force, the rebellious troops in Dämbäça burned houses, destroyed offices, slaughtered livestock, and killed suspected saboteurs. Following this, fighter planes destroyed some targeted areas, which costed the lives of four civilians and about eleven rebellion peasants. <sup>117</sup>

The intervention of the military and the air force made peasant soldiers to evacuate Dămbăța. The state force hence ambushed the rebellion from Dămbăța to Moța. Thus, the state force stationed at Dămbăța and began to supervise the situation there. Finally, the rebellious peasants in Dămbăța failed under direct observation of the state battalion in the town and large numbers of protesters were abandoned the Dămbăța for the adjacent *wărădas*.<sup>118</sup>

After the incident of Dămbăța, the rebellion took new momentum in Moța, Fărăs Bêt and Quarit. It is evident that with the military offense that the government opened, the resistance in different parts of the province failed to persist. <sup>119</sup> Through negotiation, some of the rebels at the end reached an agreement to armistice. Hence, the state delegate promised that land would not be measured and assessment was postponed for indefinite period of time and the rebels agreed to pay tax. <sup>120</sup>

The causalities from both sides are not clearly demonstrated. Nevertheless, some sources attest that the fight that took place at Săqlă Mariam in Dămbăța witnessed the most disastrous damage in human and material loss.<sup>121</sup> Moreover, the civilians principally; women, children, and elders suffered a lot. State soldiers and the rebel looted their cattle, sheep, goats and properties as well. Houses and crops were destroyed or burnt which eventually made the lives of the people in the coming years more catastrophic. <sup>122</sup>

To sum up, following the Emperor's proclamation of the general amnesty on land tax, peasant uprisings in Gojjam ended. This proclamation in fact benefited some section of the society but there were individuals suffering in jail. Though the uprising brought under control, opposition engagements were sustained in the *wäräda* until the demise of the regime.

## Chapter IV

### **Dämbäça Wäräda during the Därg Regime, 1974 -1991**

In this chapter, some of the major issues that took place in Dämbäça *wäräda* during the Därg regime are raised and discussed. It is apparent that because of the multi-faceted factors, discussed in chapter three, popular upheaval erupted in Ethiopia in the middle of February 1974. Following this, a mounting wave of strikes and demonstrations overwhelmed the country, which eventually resulted in the downfall of the Emperor from his throne. <sup>1</sup>

On the same year of September 12, the Provisional Military Government known as *Därg* was formally established to rule the country. Soon after this, the regime passed an order that condemned every opposition engagements of the people in every part of the country. <sup>2</sup> Despite this, according to various sources, resistance from different section of the society was unremitting in both towns and the countryside. The most important challenge in this period came from students, teachers and the civilians in the town. Different sources showed that resistances from these segments of the society were spearheaded and articulated by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP). <sup>3</sup>

Resistance movements were also common outside Addis Ababa in the rural parts of the country. Concerning the political situation of the time in Dämbäça *wäräda* and its surrounding, it was inexplicable for the regime to discern the people's curiosity for a moment. Different letters written by the then

government higher officials concerning the situation in the area attest this. Higher officials of the government were curious to know what was going on in this area. In Dāmbāṇa *wārāda* and its surrounding, there were consistent mass gatherings by a considerable number of individuals. <sup>4</sup> Nevertheless; it was difficult for the security forces to easily and explicitly understand the agenda of these meetings. Even it was difficult to discover specific areas in which large number of people gathered for discussion. <sup>5</sup> All these things obliged the government to assess the intention of the meetings in particular and the society in general through different mechanisms. To this end, the regime deployed the so called *mālāyo lābašoṅ* ( men in uniform) and *nāṅ lābašoṅ* (men in white clothes) in the area under study. Both of them had the responsibility to maintain peace and order in the area. <sup>6</sup> They had also the duty to patrol the day today activities of the people in those suspected areas where hidden meetings had been taking place. The security forces were ordered to report such engagements of the people in their respective parishes to higher officials of the province as soon as possible.<sup>7</sup>

Apart from this, the regime ordered every members of the Darg, including provincial and *wārāda* administrators, to travel in every part of the area where such problems were observed to settle all the problems. In the mean time, this group of people had the responsibility to discuss with the society and create political awareness. <sup>8</sup> The agents in Dāmbāṇa *wārāda* called for public meeting repeatedly in the year 1975 and the issues for discussion were many: the

philosophy of Ethiopia First, illiteracy campaign, the establishment of different associations, and their relevance and the importance of what the regime called Ethiopian socialism. <sup>9</sup> As to eye witness accounts, in most, if not all, such occasions the Därg officials underscored that those who were not beneficiaries had instigated security problems in the *wäräda*. Therefore, they urged the public not to be confused by the ‘trivial’ works of such individuals who sought to fend off the revolution by labeling them as ‘reactionaries’. <sup>10</sup>

Despite of this, during this period the situation around Dämbäça *wäräda* deteriorated. Hidden meetings continued; some of the major agendas were publicized, and they become the hottest issue of discussion among the society. From these, the repudiation of peasants not to pay tax to the new regime took the first place. <sup>11</sup> The aim of peasant meetings of the *wäräda* in different times at hidden places was most importantly to reach on agreement among themselves to put stiff resistance together raising issues such as not to pay tax to the government. According to my informants and other sources, such meetings took place usually out of the town of Dämbäça on the way to Färäs Bét. <sup>12</sup>

On April 23, 1974, circumstances in the *wäräda* had become more complicated while about two hundred protesters overwhelmed the streets of Dämbäça *wäräda*. <sup>13</sup> The protestors, coordinated by the man called Adam Kebäbäw, expressed their grievances against some of the administrators of the *wäräda*. <sup>14</sup> On this occasion, they asked for the removal of *Aläqa* Mehrät, the then

administrator of Dämbäça *wäräda*, from his position because of his corrupt administrative behavior. They also disclosed their grievance to Mälakä Selam (a church administrator), who appointed his son, Gétnät Abäbä, as the secretary of the *wäräda* administration. <sup>15</sup> The protesters blamed the appointee as inefficient and responsible for the loss of significant number of public documents after his arrival. Likewise, *Ato Fänta Käbbädä*, the director of the school, *Ato Asäfa*, the judge of Dämbäça *wäräda* court and the workers of the clinic in the *wäräda* were some of the individuals who had met tough opposition from the crowd. Until the investigation of their cases was carried out and final decision was dispended, the activists appealed for the suspension of these individuals from involvement in any affairs of the *wäräda*.<sup>16</sup>

These and other developments accentuated the problem in Dämbäça *wäräda*. Hence, the regime began to take more measures to subdue opposition movements fearing its consequences. Here it is worth noting that those problems articulated by demonstrators were not the only demands of the people. The administrator of the *wäräda* reported that one of the major factors for the failure of the security to control such opposition was the problem of transportation, which prevented the government from quieting down the activists as intended. Hence, the problem of communication particularly the absence of road played the major role for these groups to gather and discuss freely. <sup>17</sup> The second factor raised as a reason for the development of such situations in the *wäräda* was the lack of well-organized and adequate number

of security forces. The security forces in Dämbäça *wäräda* were unable to accomplish their tasks effectively because of different factors. The first and the most important reason was the meager amount of the salary they earned. For instance, the salary of *näč läbaš* without title was 15 birr per year. <sup>18</sup> Because of this, to patrol what had been going on in a near distance, the regime began to deploy more security forces supported by helicopters of the air force. <sup>19</sup>

As indicated above, gatherings often took place in hidden places located between Däga Damot and Dämbäça. A considerable number of individuals from Dämbäça and the neighboring *wärädas* went to a predestined place and made long discussions. The absence of road for vehicles made the situation favorable for these people to conduct their programs without government intervention. <sup>20</sup> The officials found the situation dangerous and decided to eliminate such meetings if possible through ultimatum sent to the attendants that states as if they were making conspiracies on the regime and to stop acting accordingly as soon as possible.<sup>21</sup> Parallel to this, the Därg continued to strengthen the campaign through police forces and the military as well. Here it is crucial to note that the state invested large amount of money for the successful accomplishment of its mission in the area under discussion. To this end, the campaign that was carried out using helicopters charged 30,000 Ethiopian birr every month for fuel only. <sup>22</sup> Realizing the amount of money that the government had investing for the campaign, experts found construction of road connecting neighbor *wäräda* more profitable. According to some of the reports

of higher officials, 30,000 birr was allocated to construct the highway from Dämbäça to Färäs Bét. Here it is important to understand that the amount of money allocated for road construction was a monthly expense of fuel to the state. <sup>23</sup> At this juncture, it is also imperative to note that the road was constructed not to alleviate the socio-economic problem of the area. Rather, it was constructed to make easy the task of the security forces and eventually to eliminate every form of resistances from the area.

In the meantime, the regime conducted an extensive campaign to introduce its program to the public with the intention of attaining the support from the “broad mass.” <sup>24</sup> Some of the major programs and reforms introduced by the regime in Dämbäça *wäräda* are elaborated. The achievements and challenges of implementing different programs in the *wäräda* under study are the major areas of emphasis.

#### **4.1. Challenges and Opportunities of Different Programs of the Därg in Dämbäça *Wäräda*, 1974 – 1989**

Soon after the elimination of the major problems in relation to the question of political power among its members, the command established its first agents with the responsibility to indoctrinate the philosophy of *Ityopiya Teqdām* (“Ethiopia first”) in the mind of the “broad mass”. <sup>25</sup> These groups of individuals started their work under the appellation of *Yäläwuṭ Hawarya* (“Apostles of change”) and they were nominated from the armed force and the police. <sup>26</sup> This

was the first measure taken by government officials to step up the revolution all over the country. Hence, about 276 selected individuals started the task of invoking the socio- economic and political awareness and inculcating of the philosophy of the rule into the public. <sup>27</sup>

Nevertheless, the government found this program unsatisfactory. Therefore, it engaged in a very large scale and well organized duty that would put its mission into effect up on the society from the grass root level. During this period, the regime gave more emphasis to peasants. Thus, the government found an intense campaign as a solution to work on the society in the countryside by making students in town its primary target. <sup>28</sup> To this end, in September 1974, the Därg designed its second program to implement its mission through campaign. <sup>29</sup> This became evident on November 25, 1974 as የዕድገት በህብረት፣ የዕውቀትና የስራ ዘመቻ (Development through Cooperation, Knowledge, and Work Campaign).<sup>30</sup> Therefore, it is apparent that the outline that discussed the mission of the campaigners provided major emphasis on the teaching of the philosophy of *Ityopiya Teqdām*. <sup>31</sup> In the meantime, Därg professed its new philosophy of *Hebrätäsäbawinät* (Lit. it was to mean Ethiopian Socialism) and the resultant land reform declaration on 20 December 1974.<sup>32</sup> Apart from this, teaching and persuading the society in eradicating illiteracy, alcoholism, prostitution, and extravagance were the major activities to be implemented by them. Finally, with these multi-bounded responsibilities, the campaigners

traveled to their respective villages and commenced their activities in different parts of the country. <sup>33</sup>

Different sources attested that in the early hours of this program, the majority of students and teachers involved in the campaign were happy. For instance, in their travel the campaigners had expressed their support and devotion for the successful execution of the program in different ways. The following couplet was chanted by these groups of people during their travel to the rural area was the case in point.

መሄዴ ነዉ ዘመቻ መሄዴ ነዉ ገጠር  
ድንቁርናን ላጠፋ ከኢትዮጵያ ምድር።<sup>34</sup>

*I am to leaving for campaign; I am leaving for the countryside,  
To wipe illiteracy out from the land of Ethiopia.*

Most of the campaigners who were assigned to the province of Gojjam arrived in January 1975 and settled in the prepared station with sweltering reception and collaboration from the *wäräda* officials and the *näç-läbaš*. <sup>35</sup> According to my informants, the campaigners in the first three to five days were hectic in trying to make themselves acquainted with the society and habituate the environment. Throughout this time, they tried to formulate designs and plans which they thought well suited to the real situation of the *wäräda*. Side by side, they introduced themselves with the prominent individuals of the *wäräda*, like elders, who were influential for the successful implementation of their

assignment. Thus, the campaigners, with the support of elders and *wārāda* officials, summoned the mass to collaborate with them. <sup>36</sup> They commenced their practical work by making a half-day campaign to the church of Dāmbāça Mikaél. In their campaign, they attempted to make clear the surrounding of the church from unnecessary plants and rubbish. This measure was in fact vital to won the support of the society in the *wārāda*. The activities undertaken by the campaigners to make clear the church was instrumental to clear the popular confusion whether this group of people respected Christianity or not. In the same way, the campaigners used the opportunities of religious celebrations in every week to disseminate the philosophy of the government to the society in Dāmbāça *wārāda*. <sup>37</sup>

In the early period, they tried to explain the importance of the campaign and attempted to create awareness about the concept of the philosophy of *Ityopiya Teqdām*. In their teachings of the society, they gave more attention on the objective of the philosophy and advocated as its significance to liberate the society from the yoke of poverty and backwardness. <sup>38</sup> According to my informants, the campaigners have repeatedly lamented over the backwardness of the people of Dāmbāça *wārāda* and they attempted to elucidate its reason to the attendants. Campaigners often provided political explanations using a comparative analysis between the Imperial and the new regime in different scenarios. <sup>39</sup> This was made mainly to make sound all the programs designed and publicized by the new regime. To this end, the campaigners regarded the

former regime as 'feudal' and oppressive. They made it responsible for the backwardness of the people in the country at large. <sup>40</sup> They also illustrated in their discussions that the oppression and the exclusion of the artisans, potters and the poor in Dämbäça *wäräda* was the results of the evil and cruel nature of the Emperor as well as his arrogant appointees and oppressive regime. <sup>41</sup>

Briefly, the campaigners advocated the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution and the resultant prevailing programs in the *wäräda* as the solitary and inimitable opportunity that could lead the people of Dämbäça *wäräda* towards prosperity.<sup>42</sup> Here, it is worth noting that there were some individuals in Dämbäça *wäräda* who were vehemently resisted some of the teachings of the campaigners. For these parties, the treatment of the Emperor in such a way was intolerable. In this regard, my informants told me that some of the attendants stood up in front of the crowd and condemned the thoughts and the arguments of the campaigners by labeling them as atheists who came to purge their religion and culture. <sup>43</sup>

Be it as it may, the activists of the program in Dämbäça *wäräda* worked hard to teach basic mathematical computing skills and Amharic alphabets to the society. Generating cognizance among the society in their day-to-day relation was another important effort that was attempted by the campaigners. <sup>44</sup> Though it was scarcely successful, the campaigners endeavor their best to teach the equality of human beings, principally, it was imperative in Dämbäça

*wäräda* to bridge the existing societal gap created between artisans and potters in the one hand and the rest of the society on the other. <sup>45</sup>

The land reform proclamation during this period by the government was one of the most important measures that coincided with the campaign and in fact, it attained acceptance from the large number of the people of the *wäräda*. <sup>46</sup> This was attested by public demonstration held in Dämbäça *wäräda* by those who supported the new land reform proclamation, which was declared on 4 March 1975. <sup>47</sup> By this proclamation, Därg made it clear that “all rural land to be the collective property of the Ethiopian people”. The proclamation also stipulated that “all privately owned rural land was to be distributed to people who were willing to cultivate their holdings personally”. <sup>48</sup> In other words, the proclamation made land to be the property of the Ethiopian people and as a result, people cannot transfer to another person in any circumstance. <sup>49</sup>

Regarding the proclamation, a considerable number of individuals were in fact incredulous about the implementation of the new land reform proclamation. <sup>50</sup> They thought that the proclamation could not be realized and would remain ideal. Despite this, the government did not hesitate to implement the statement of the proclamation effectively. To this end, the teaching of the campaigners and the establishment of peasant associations and the empowering of the responsibility on them to redistribute land in Dämbäça *wäräda* was instrumental for enforcement of the proclamation. <sup>51</sup> As we shall discuss below, the campaign and the establishment of peasant associations played a

significant role for the implementation of the land reform in particular and other programs of the new regime in general.

#### **4.2. Qābälé Peasant Associations in Dämbäça Wārāda**

In the post-revolutionary period, peasants in Ethiopia in general and Dämbäça *wārāda* in particular became the area of emphasis by the authorities of the new regime. As a result, the state began administratively organize peasants under peasant associations all over the country. According to the proclamation, those peasants living in a maximum of 800 hectares allowed to establish peasant associations.<sup>52</sup> The proclamation, however, banned landowners owning more than 10 hectares from joining the association until land had been redistributed.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, some segments of the society, such as, artisans and potters, even those who cultivated land, had been secluded from membership during the old order. Because of this, in Dämbäça *wārāda* artisans and potters, who constituted a significant portion of the population of the *wārāda*, were isolated from their counter parts.<sup>54</sup>

Peasant associations were organized at all administrative levels. Peasant associations in Dämbäça *wārāda* were established at the level of *qābälé*. They became organized societal institutions in the post-revolutionary period.<sup>55</sup> According to eyewitness accounts, most of the peasants of the *wārāda* were happy to be the member of the association in their respective parishes during the first years of the new regime.<sup>56</sup> Here, it is also important to note that during

this time there were also individuals who detested the association and the trend of the government at large. It should be noticeable that the very objective of this program was to terminate the system of feudalism, which eventually affected some of the advantageous section of the society particularly, the landlords. <sup>57</sup>

Be it as it may, the fact shows that the association became popularized and spread in to every *qābālés* of *Dāmbāṣa wārāda*. Hence, the majorities of peasants became members of the associations in their respective parishes.<sup>58</sup> Each peasant associations in the *wārāda* was led by an elected chairman and a committee. The elected chairperson and executive committees had the responsibility to accomplish the day-to-day affairs of the associations. Apart from this, since these associations were vested with the power to deliver administrative services, they also dispended judicial activities in their respective localities. <sup>59</sup>

Regarding the multi bounded function and responsibilities of Peasant association Clapham clearly state that it:

... has its own administrative headquarters, its judicial tribunal, its shop, and its women's and youth organizations. It provides the structure through which to run aid projects and literacy campaigns, to get out the crowd for obligatory demonstrations, and to enforce the military conscription. Its armed guards police the streets at night, enforce the curfew, and help to make Ethiopian cities remarkably free from violent crime. The peasants' association

provides a similar range of services, with additional responsibilities imposed by the requirements of control over the rural economy. Its most important function is to allocate the basic economic resource, land, among its member families. It may also select families in eroded highland areas for resettlement in the south and west, and serves as the basic unit for the villagization programme. <sup>60</sup>

As far as the contribution of peasant associations in Dämbäça *wäräda* was concerned, they were instrumental in providing vital contribution for the improvement of the production of peasants' cultivation. <sup>61</sup> They were also important in involving in different campaigns for development. In this regard, the association played a pivotal role in leading the society for tree planting, road building, and soil conservation programs in Dämbäça *wäräda*. <sup>62</sup>

In line with this, the contribution of these associations for the distribution of land in the area under study is the major issue that should be discussed. In fact, distribution of land was the phenomenon of 1979 and 1980 that took place with the collaboration of the Ministry of Agriculture. <sup>63</sup> In Dämbäça, the committee elected from peasant associations in the year 1979. The committee assessed the ownership of land in the *wäräda* and based on that some of possessed extra land possessed by some individuals was redistributed to the landless farmers in the *wäräda*. <sup>64</sup> Concerning the amount of land distributed by the committee, it differs from one peasant association to the other. In those areas where land was abundant, peasants relatively gained large amount of land and in those areas where the population density was high, there was a

scarcity of land and as a result, landless peasants were given very small and infertile plots of lands. <sup>65</sup>

Generally, the frequent redistribution of land resulted in divergent reactions from different group of the society, important in one place, negligible in another. This program was beneficiary for the artisans, potters and the poor who lived in the town and its surrounding areas like Yāçārāqa and Yādāgām. Nevertheless, it is difficult to say that the distribution of land to this group of people was fair. <sup>66</sup> Moreover, the measure that took place on land eroded the confidence of the people to cultivate the land they owned before until the end of the program. Directly or indirectly, this affected the productivity of farmers and the environment of the *wārāda* under discussion. <sup>67</sup> Fragmentation of farmland was among the major problems of land distribution in the *wārāda*. This is attested by a report made after land distribution that entails the average ownership of farmland by peasants of Dāmbāça *wārāda* between the years 1984-1986 was only 2.5 hectares. <sup>68</sup>

### **4.3. Cooperatives in Dämbäça Wārāda**

#### **4.3.1. Producers' Cooperatives**

Gojjam in general and Dämbäça *wārāda* in particular had been considered among few areas with high potential of agricultural production.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, to enhance the way they cultivate and develop peasant agricultural produce, the state was dedicated to render support the peasants. It is evident that, throughout the first decade of its rule, the government involved in introducing development programs by giving enormous concern on associations and collectivization as solutions to promote production. As a result, producers' cooperatives were established as agricultural institutions as a means to scale up productivity by the state.<sup>70</sup> This program was introduced on the 1979 declaration that stipulated "the establishment of Agricultural Producers Cooperatives" with the intention of promoting group farming among peasants.<sup>71</sup> In Dämbäça *wārāda*, it was established by the amalgamation of a minimum of three different peasant associations in the adjacent areas. Based on this, in Dämbäça *wārāda* nine producers' cooperatives were established and from these, it was only one association that was acknowledged by the state.<sup>72</sup>

As pointed out, encouraging collective farming was the major function of Producers Cooperatives (here after PCs).<sup>73</sup> However, establishing producers' cooperatives and making large number of peasants under the umbrella of this association by the state in Dämbäça *wārāda* was hardly successful.<sup>74</sup> As

pointed out earlier, the majority of peasants preferred to abandon the association and favored to farm in isolation. Insignificant number of peasants, however, joined and established only one PC in the *wäräda*.<sup>75</sup> To influence and increase peasant membership of producers' cooperatives, *wäräda* officials used different techniques to persuade and attract those who refused to join the association. For instance, in the *wäräda* those peasants, who were members of producers' cooperatives, were given priorities in the support they wanted to have from the *wäräda* officials.<sup>76</sup> This approach was in fact encouraged by the central government. It was more pronounced by the 1978 proclamation of "Rural Land Use Fee and agricultural Activities Income Tax Amendment" issued on Negarit gazeta. The proclamation clearly stated that "a farmer who is a member of cooperatives shall pay birr 5 and a farmer who is not a member shall pay birr 10".<sup>77</sup> This was an intended to make those private peasants join producers' cooperatives. The stance of the regime towards PCs can be described as they were taken as "...spearheads for the collectivization of peasant agriculture ... given maximum official support [for PCs]. To criticize the actual performance of PCs was considered a counter-revolutionary act."<sup>78</sup>

To the contrary, the establishment of farmers' producers' cooperatives resulted in the departure of a considerable number of peasants from peasant associations.<sup>79</sup> This was because peasants of Dämbäça *wäräda* were suspicious towards the newly introduced cooperative. My informants, in elucidating their suspicion, told me that *ዕዚህ ማህበር ገባን ማለት ሙሉ በሙሉ ነጻነታችንን*

ተነፈግን ማለት ነዉ :: ምክንያቱም በጎተራችን ናጭ ለባሽ ዕና መለዮ ለባሽ ሊያዘዘበት ነው።<sup>80</sup> (*If we join PCs the nāč läbaš and mäläyo läbaš begin to control our produce and it is obvious that we will lose our economic freedom totally*). Briefly, the attempt by the state to implement this program in Dämbäça *wäräda* was discouraging, as peasants refused to join because of this and other factors.

#### **4.3.2. Service Cooperatives**

The Service Cooperative was also established in Dämbäça *wäräda* by the combination of six to eight peasant associations. In other words, 52 peasant associations in Dämbäça *wäräda* established 8 Service Cooperatives.<sup>81</sup> Providing necessary services to members was the major function of the Service Cooperatives. Another function of the SC was the purchase of grain from peasants in the member peasant associations.<sup>82</sup> In Dämbäça *wäräda*, there were eight service cooperatives and from these seven of them were registered by the state.<sup>83</sup> Here, it is important to note that the registration of associations meant acquiring accreditation from the government. Between the years 1984 and 1986, this cooperative had the capital of 508, 645 birr.<sup>84</sup> The SC bought grain such as wheat, *tef*, barely, oil seeds, peas, chickpeas, and lentils from peasants by on fixed prices and sold them to Agricultural Marketing Corporation ( AMC ). For instance, in Dämbäça *wäräda*, wheat was bought at a price of birr 35 per quintal and sold at a price of birr 40. Hence, the SC earned birr 5 as a profit from each quintal.<sup>85</sup> The other and the most important service provided by these cooperatives was the vending of household goods

through membership card such as: sugar, salt and coffee. Household commodities and different supplies like soap, match, bed sheet, bedspread, nail, dry cell batteries, exercise books with pens and pencil, and others were distributed to their members at lower prices in their respective shops. <sup>86</sup> The shops of the cooperatives were well organized and administered by salaried workers. As a result, they were efficient in providing good service to their members as and they were profitable. <sup>87</sup>

Besides, the payment for membership that ranged from 5-15, according to the size of the household, served as another source of income for the Service Cooperatives. <sup>88</sup> The accumulated money in Dämbäça *wäräda* by the Service Cooperatives was hence the largest amount as compared to all of the *wärädas* in Qola Däga Damot *Awraja*. To this end, the largest amount of money registered as the capital of cooperatives next to Dämbäça was the cooperatives in Däga Damot. <sup>89</sup> According to the report this *wäräda* had the capital of birr 382,861 with thirteen cooperatives which were more than the number of cooperatives in Dämbäça *wäräda*. Here, it is worth noting that relatively small number of service cooperatives in the *wäräda* accumulated the largest amount of money for their association. <sup>90</sup>

By the end of the 1980s, however, the profitability and reputation of these institutions from the public deteriorated. <sup>91</sup> Some of them failed even to open their shops in their fixed working days. The rest failed to deliver all the necessary commodities and satisfy its members as expected. The amount and

variety of commodities, which was available in, stocks of these associations radically diminished and apparently, the prices were increased.<sup>92</sup> Finally, customers lost confidence in their associations and began to return to the shops in the town. The order by the government to peasants to sell at least one quintal from their produce to Service Cooperatives relatively with a minimum price exacerbated the problem. Moreover, the intensification of corruption in these institutions played pivotal role for their failure Of the Service Cooperatives in Dämbäça *wäräda*.<sup>93</sup>

#### **4.4. Villagization in Dämbäça Wäräda**

According to various sources, the program of villagization relatively was a more recent administrative measure introduced to the province.<sup>94</sup> Out of the ordinary; it became one of the national programs in Ethiopia after July 1985 without formal decree.<sup>95</sup> What so ever, the program was put in effect in different parts of the country. The objective of the program, which was known as *mändär meseräta* (villagization), was “to create suitable conditions for the proper utilization of natural resources, narrowing down the rural-urban gap through the provision of social services to the rural community at close vicinity; increasing agricultural labor productivity; and enhancing village security and defense.”<sup>96</sup>

Like many parts of the country, in order to commence this program the regime should first arrange favorable areas in every *wäräda* for the establishment of villages. Therefore, the state assigned group of individuals to select sites based

on the criteria prepared by experts of the respective *awrajas*.<sup>97</sup> To this end, a guideline that contains criteria of site selection were prepared and distributed to every *wäräda* where villages were going to be established.<sup>98</sup> The guideline prepared to select sites to the peasants of Dämbäça *wäräda* gave primary emphasis to the geographical features and environmental conditions.<sup>99</sup> Under this, the guideline pointed out some of the parameters for site selection to the settlers. Guide lines emphasized on areas which are closer to water sources and nearer to fertile as well as irrigable (not to be slant) land which are free from fear of landslide.<sup>100</sup> Similarly, the new sites to be selected should have adequate pastureland within the surrounding area. On the other hand, the guideline underscored the committees to give more emphasis on the location of the main roads and other institutions that provide public services such as, schools, markets, health centers, church or mosque.<sup>101</sup> Further more, the selection of sites should also take in to consideration the over all changes and developments in the future. In this regard, population development, construction of houses with toilets and kitchens government offices, public institutions, etc. were some of the points listed in the guideline.<sup>102</sup>

Be it as it may, in Dämbäça village were identified and the real villagization process was started in the year 1985.<sup>103</sup> Nevertheless, most, if not all, peasants in the *wäräda* strongly challenged the program. They refused to evacuate those places where they born and grow up. As a result, *wäräda* officials unable to persuade peasants and start the program till the year 1986.<sup>104</sup> All through this period, Dämbäça *wäräda* officials invested their time to sway the objective of

villagization to the settlers using both peaceful and coercive approaches. In other words, they attempted to convince them through discussions on the one hand and through punishment on the other hand.<sup>105</sup>

By the year 1986, those who graduated their training at Dämbäça adult training center established villagization committees at *Qäbällé* level.<sup>106</sup> Thus, villagization started in the *wäräda* by these group of between 1986 and 1987.<sup>107</sup> Nevertheless, the program took place with some resistance from the people. Minor clashes with villagization committees and the militias, who were assigned to support and protect them, were common.<sup>108</sup> My informant remind the situation as; “houses were destroyed unmanageably, house hold utensils thrown away out of home, cattle purged, and it was heartbreaking more than the other segment of the society.”<sup>109</sup>

Apart from the refusal of peasant to evacuate from their settlement places, peasant associations chose sites without the consult and agreement of the settlers. This eventually became an additional factor for peasants’ resistance.<sup>110</sup> Though the program was scheduled to be implemented during the dry seasons, particularly in the months between December to March, it was put into effect in the farming season of the *wäräda* which eventually affected the production of the area under discussion.<sup>111</sup>

Moreover, most of the sites such as Yābuna Mar, Gombārčār, Kunādi, Kurifa , Yāšābo, Yāšād scarcely fulfill the criteria listed in the guidelines. Shortage of water, grinding mills, and services like school and health centers characterized these villages. <sup>112</sup> Moreover, most of settlement areas in Dāmbāča were far from main roads connecting to the town, which eventually made the settlers to travel long distance looking for school, clinic and market areas. Moreover, pasturelands were inadequate and as a result, shortage of land for grazing and scarcity of water for both, the settlers and their cattle became additional problems in some of the villages of the *wārāda*.<sup>113</sup> The alienation of peasants from their previous settlements also affected the income they earned from the extra land available in the surrounding of their residence. These plots of lands played a significant role to support the economy of peasants. Some of the items which were planted in this way were coffee, *gešo*, lemon, orange and plants used for spices like *ṭéna adam* and *zeqaqbé*. <sup>114</sup> Regarding, the effect of the loss of their plants, people expressed their grievance through the following couplets.

ጢና አዳም ነበረ ለኔስ መዳሀኒቴ  
እባክህ መልሰኝ ከ ፈረሰዉ ቤቴ። <sup>115</sup>

*My medicine was ṭéna adam  
Please [Dārg] return me back to my ruined home.*

በነጋ በነጋ ደምበጫ ነበረ  
መንገዱም ረዘመ ገባያውም ቀረ። 116

*I used to travel to Dämbäça every day  
Nevertheless, now the road had become long and I stopped to go  
market.*

Besides, suspicion among each other prevailed and it highly injured the social life of village residents. This, however, helped the cadres and the militias of the government to chase and capture the youth with no trouble and send to the military training centers. <sup>117</sup>

In general, during the Därg period the *wäräda* went through several changes, which were sometimes marked by the introduction of new socio-economic and political programs. With the adoption of the *zämäčä* and the subsequent activities in many areas of the *wäräda*, government proclamations like the land reform, the establishment of peasant associations, producers' and service cooperatives were put in place. The initial years of the new regime in the *wäräda* were met by confusion of the local populace, which was used by the political elites of the old order to destabilize the *wäräda*. As a result, the first two or three years of the Därg rule, peasant fervor was common. Moreover, the peasants of the *wäräda* did not welcome the introduction of producers' and service cooperatives. Especially, the introduction and implementation of the villagization program was to have made the peasants weary of the regimes heavy-handed rule.

## Conclusion

The study focused on extrapolating and analyzing the history of Dämbäça *wäräda* to 1991. It tried to reconstruct the history of the *wäräda* mainly focusing on local developments based on oral information and archival materials. As a result, the study, conceding that developing a comprehensive history of the *wäräda* for the period under discussion is difficult, has attempted to look into some of the major local developments that had shaped the historical development of the *wäräda* in a local context. Using the major national contours of historical development for this period, the study has analyzed the history of the *wäräda* taking into consideration local developments.

In the first chapter of the study, major historical developments the area experienced before the Italian occupation period are raised and discussed. The second period of analysis is the Italian occupation. The Italian occupation had disrupted the life of the people of the *wäräda* as it had been to the other peoples of the country. However, what is important is that the *wäräda* in particular and Gojjam in general had seen some changes in the political relation that it had experienced in the pre-1936 period. During the pre-1936 period in an effort to hasten his effort of centralizing power, Emperor Hailä Sellassé I had appointed *Ras* Imeru as the governor of Gojjam. This had caused political disappointment among the ranks of the traditional chiefs of the region. This action of the Emperor was perceived by the local chiefs as an attempt to encroach their traditional rights. Thus, when the Italians came to the region

advancing fast some very much disappointed local political elites joined the invading army in the effort of reducing to nothing the power of the Emperor and the supposed Šāwan dominance in their areas of influence. These political elites were known as collaborators to the Italian rule. During this period, there were, however, elites who managed to galvanize forces to defy the enemy and its continued existence in the *wārāda*. This group of people eventually collaborated with the joint Anglo-Ethiopian force that came to liberate the country via the Sudan. The town of Dāmbāça had been through out the period of Italian rule the center of guerilla patriots. The *wārāda* thus got liberated from the Italian rule following the successful march of the Gedeon Force through Gojjam to Addis Ababa.

The restoration of the imperial regime was accompanied by many changes in the administration and as well as the economic lives of the people and elites of the *wārāda*. Emperor Hailā Sellassé and his imperial government started to work on what they had left in 1935. In the effort of establishing a more consolidated centralized political power and expanding the government's economic base, the regime pursued actively the task of introducing several administrative- and land-related reforms. In terms of administration, the government put in place successive administrative restructurings, which were aimed at controlling the administrative apparatus of the country in a centralized way. This was also done to facilitate to implementation of the prevailing taxation system in a more organized and simple manner. Hand in

hand with this administrative structuring, the regime also concentrated on introducing one land-related taxation policy after the other in the years between 1942 and 1967.

The *wäräda* had seen changes in relation to the attempt of the government to introduce such administrative and taxation restructurings. The study found out that the peasants of the *wäräda* had opposed introduction of the land-related taxes in different ways. The level of reaction was the most aggressive and violent as it had been in some districts of Gojjam and peasants had resisted the implementation of the different land-related taxes of the period. Nevertheless, peasants were not the only social groups who had voiced out their dissatisfaction on the measures the central government took. Members of the nobility and the aristocrats were also challenged the regime in different ways. Thus, the study concludes that one of the reasons for the downfall of the imperial regime was the measures it had successively taken had gradually alienated it from the people of the country.

The study has also found out the downfall of Emperor Hailä Sellassé and the majority of the people of the *wäräda* received the subsequent installation of the Därg regime in 1974 in astonishment. The military junta began to establish its power base by introducing several socialist oriented policies that, it thought, were relevant to deal with the socio-economic and political problems of the country. In this regard, one of the programs of Därg that was launched in the

*wārāda* against illiteracy was somewhat successful. It was one of the biggest successes of the Därg regime in the country in general and in the *wārāda* in particular. In contrast, the people of the *wārāda* did not welcome the programs the regime had introduced like producers' cooperatives, service cooperatives, and villagization. As a result, the implementation in most cases was fraught with strong resistance from the people, which eventually led to the demise of the regime.

## Notes

### Chapter One

<sup>1</sup> Habtamu Mengste, “Lord, Zega and Peasant in Eastern Gjjam, 1767-1901”, (MA Thesis in History, Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa, June 2003), p.1; Abdu Samad H. Ahmed, “ Trade and Politics in Gojjam, 1882-1935 ”, (M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University,1980),p.1.

<sup>2</sup> Fentahun Berhane, “Gojjam, 1800-1855 ”, (B.A. Thesis, Department of History, Haile Selassie I University, 1973 ), p.24 ; Abdusamad H. Ahmed, “Trade and Politics ...” , pp. 23-25.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; Gebru Tareke, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest, Peasant Protest in the Twentieth Century*, (Lawrenceville: The Red Sea Press Inc.,1996), p.163 ; Zewde Gebreselassie, *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia : A Political Biography*, (Oxford Clarendon Press) , pp.1,2.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants: Bälay Mäkonnän, Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä, Kassahun Yezängaw Färädä Dañaw, Bälay Täsäma and Yersaw Gobäzé.

<sup>5</sup> Anthony Mockler, *Haile Selssie’s War : The Italian-Ethiopian Campaign,1935-1941*, (New York: Olive Branch, 2003), p. xxi ; Gerd Baumann, (eds), *Juan Maria Schuwer's Travels in North East Africa 1880-1883* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1996), p. 212.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Gebru Tareke, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest...*, pp.163,164.

<sup>7</sup> Habtamu, p.1; Ewunetu Tegege, “A History of Debre Marqos Town, 1941-1991,” (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2006), pp.1-3 ; Fantahun, p.38 ; Abdu Samad H.Ahmad, “Gojjam: Trade, Early Merchant Capital and the World Economy, 1901-1935 ”, (Ph.D.Dissertation University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1986), p.67 ; Nebeyu Eyasu, “The Administrative History of Gojjam, 1941-1974,” (M.A.Thesis, Department of History, Addis AbabaUniversity, 2004),pp

<sup>8</sup> Fentahun, p.1; Informants: Addis Eneyäw, Awoqä Andualäm, Mäsärät Şägaw, Ʀirusäw Yersaw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Abdu Samad, “Gojjam: Trade, Early Merchants...,” pp. 64, 65.

<sup>11</sup> Fentahun, p. 38 ; Informants: Awokä Andualem and Ʀirusäw Yersaw.

<sup>12</sup> Yä Dämbäça wäräda Gebrena enna Gäṭär Lemat Şefät Bét, “Ya Aksténšn Yä Sera Hidät Yä Hebrätäsäb Čeger Fäči Dasäsa Ʀinat Report”, April 2002 E.C.pp.1,2.

<sup>13</sup> Bä Amara klelawi Mängest Plan enna Economi Lemat Biro Yä Me’erab Gojjam Mästädader Zon Yä Plan enna Economy Limat Mämeréya, “Ye Me’erab Gojjam Zone

Aṭaqlalay Gäṣta Kä 1982-1984”, Baher Dar, Mäskäräm 1986 E.C.pp.3-36.; Dämbäça Wärädä Yämastawoqya Şifät Bét, “Yä Dämbäça Tarik”, Dämbäça, 1997,E.C.pp.1-3; Central Statistical Authority, “ The 2005 Housing and Population Census Report (here after C.S.A) Report of Gojjam Province”, 2005, pp.80-167.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*; <sup>12</sup>Yä Dämbäça wäräda Gebrena enna Gäṭär Lemat Şefät Bét, “Ya Aksténšn Yä Sera Hidät Yä Hebrätäsäb Čeger Fäci Dasäsa Ťinat Report”, April 2002 E.C.pp.1,2; Amhara National Regional State West Gojjam Administrative Zone Finance and Economic Development Department, Baher Dar,1999 E.C. pp.31-39.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*; C.S.A., “ The 2005, pp. 80-167.

<sup>17</sup> Dämbäça Wärädä Yämastawäqeya Şifet Bét Amätäwi Report, 2000 E.C., pp.1-16; C.S.A., “The 2005, pp. 80-167.

<sup>18</sup> “Yä Dämbäça Tarik”, Dämbäça Wärädä Yä Mästawäqeya Şifet Bét, Dämbäça, 1997, E.C.p.1

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*Bureau of Trade and Industry, “Report on the Traditional Market Places Survey of the ANRS”, Baher Dar, June 1998, pp. 3-28.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*; Yä Dämbäça wäräda Gebrena enna Gäṭär Lemat Şefät Bét, “Ya Aksténšn Yä Sera Hidät Report, 2001 E.C, pp.1,2.

<sup>21</sup>“Yä Dämbäça Tarik”, Dämbäça Wärädä Yä Mästawäqeya Şifet Bét, Dämbäça, 1997, E.C.p.1; Fentahun, p.38; Aetiopica Encyclopedia, Volume II, p.74.

<sup>22</sup> CSA 2007 C.S.A.,“The Statistical Report on the Amhara Regional State part I: Population Size and Characteristics ”, 2007, pp.30-91.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*;C.S.A.,“The Statistical Report on the Amhara Regional State part I: Population Size and Characteristics ”, 2007, pp.30-91; See also Note No. 20.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Yä Dämbäça wäräda Gebrena enna Gäṭär Lemat Şefät Bét, Folder No. ṣ/ṣṣ/01, File No. ṣ/01, “Atäqlalay Mārājawäč ”, pp.1-38; and Informant: Addis Eneyäw, Seneşaw Bäqällä, Kassahun Yezängaw, Fantahun Emeru, Färädä Dañaw, Belay Täsäma and Yersaw Gobäzē.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, Bä Sämén Meerab Kätäna Tirf Amerač enna Tirf Amerač Lihonu Silämičlu Wärädawoç Yäqäräbu Mārājawäč , File No, 2 , Däbrä Marqos, pp.1-54.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, Informants: Kälāmāworq Mäkonnän, Wubantä Däräjjä and Käräläm Molla.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, Informants: Azalä Gäsäsä, Yayäh Yerad Ewunätu and Estibäl Yenagär.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>34</sup> Gete Zeleke and Hans Hurni, “Implications of Land Use and Land Cover Dynamics for Mountain Resource Degradation in the Northwestern Ethiopian”, *Mountain Research and Development*, Vol. 21, No.2, May 2001, pp.184–191.

<sup>35</sup>Tesfaye Tafesse, “The Predicaments of Amhara Migrant-settlers in East Wollega Zone, Ethiopia”, *Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, ed.by Svein Ege, Harald Aspen, Birhanu Teferra and Shiferaw Bekele, Trondheim, 2009, pp. 851-858.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup>Amhara Livelihood Report on Dämbäça Wäräda, West Gojjam Administrative Zone, 2005, Baherdar, pp.1-4; Informants: Azalä Gäsäsä, Yayäh Yerad Ewunätu and Estibäl Yenagär.

<sup>38</sup>Yä Dämbäça wäräda Gebrena enna Gäṭär Lemat Şefät Bét, “Ya Aksténšn Yä Sera Hidet Yä Hebrete seb Čeger Feč Tinat, 2001, pp.1,2.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants: Addis Eneyäw, Awoqä Andualäm, Mäsärät Şägaw, Țirusäw Yersaw, Seneşaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup>Richard Pankhurst, *An Introduction to the Medieval History of Ethiopia* (Trenton: Red Sea, 1990), p. 121.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, Yä Dämbäça wäräda Gebrena enna Gäṭär Lemat Şefät Bét, Folder No. ṛ/ᵐ/ 01, File No. ṛ/o1, “Atäqlalay Mārājawäč,” pp.1-38.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup>Gete Zeleke and Hans Hunri, pp.184–191.

<sup>46</sup> Wäräda Agricultural and Rural Development Office, Dämbäça Wäräda Annual Report, Dämbäça , 2008, pp.1-48 ; Amhara National Regional State (ANRS) Bureau of Agriculture, “Diagnosis Training Notes Prepared for the Diagnostic and Planning Workshop”, *Amhara Region Agricultural Research Institute*, , July 24 – August 5, 2005, pp.1-22; Amhara National Regional State (ANRS) Bureau of Agriculture, “Special Report on Technology Packages”, Bahir Dar, Ethiopia, 2003, pp. 2-10.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*,

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.* ANRS, Lively Hood Profile on Amhara Region of Ethiopia, Central Highland Barley and Potato Livelihood Zone, 20007, pp.5-8.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, Cherinet Tariku, “Preliminary Study on Distribution and Prevalence of Hemo Parasites in two *Wärädas* of West Gojjam Administrative Zone of the Amhara National Regional State”, *Proceeding of the 13th Annual Conference of the Ethiopian Veterinary Association*, 1999, pp. 21-44.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants: Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä, Kassahun Yezängaw Färädä Dañäw, Belay Täsäma and Yersaw Gobäzé

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*; Office of Agriculture and Rural Development ( OoARD ), Dämbäça *Wäräda* Office of Agriculture and Rural Development Annual Report, 2009, pp1-24.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants : Däsäläw Yeffa, Mäkt Ašagré and Ṭobya Mot Baynor.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.* Dämbäça *Wäräda* Office of Information and Communication, Special Bulletin, 1998, pp.2-11; Informants: Däsäläw Yeffa, Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä, Kassahun Yezängaw Färädä Dañäw, Belay Täsäma and Yersaw Gobäzé.

<sup>56</sup>Informants: Senešaw Bäqällä, Kassahun Yezängaw Färädä Dañäw, Belay Täsäma and Yersaw Gobäzé.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup>Täklä-Iyyässus (*Alläqa*). “Yä Gojjam Tarik.” IES, Ms., No. 254;p.61.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants: Däräsässä Yäné-Aläm and Yetayew Banté.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants: Senešaw Bäqällä, Kassahun Yezängaw Färädä Dañäw, Belay Täsäma and Yersaw Gobäzé.

<sup>61</sup> Taddesse Tamrat, “Ethiopia in Miniature: The Peopling of Gojjam,” *Papers of the 12<sup>th</sup> International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol.1, (Michigan State University, 5-10 September, 1994), pp.951-960; ; Fentahun Birhane, p.26 ; Ayenäkulu Märeša, “ Yä Gojjam Edel Käf käf Yebäl,” *Addis Zämän*, Genbot 3, 1951 E.C.; Tayä Gäbrä-Maryam (*alläqa*), *Yä Ityopiya Hezb Tarik*. Addis Ababa: Central Matämiya Bét, 1984 E.C , p.61, 23; Informants: Belay Mäkönnän, Amarä Antänäh and Däjné Yäné-Aläm.

<sup>62</sup> Taddesse, “Ethiopia in Miniature,” pp.951, 952; See also Alemneh Melese, “A Historical Survey of the Agaws of Gojjam to 1941,” (M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2004), p.9-22.

<sup>63</sup> Täklä-Iyyässus, “Yä Gojjam...”, pp.6-8; Taddesse, “Ethiopia in Miniature...”, p.955; Here it is important to inform that due to the complex nature of the subject

matter and the scarcity of valuable sources the genealogical history of the *wäräda* is heavily reliant on the work of Täklä-Iyyässus(*Alläqa*) and some of my informants.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants: Belay Mäkönnän (*Margetta*), Addis Kassa, Seneshaw Bakala and Addis Eneyew, interviewed on August 14,2010.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.* See also Taddesse Tamrat,“ Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopia: The Case of the Gafat,” *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2,1988 , pp.140-141; Taddesse, “Ethiopia in Miniature...”, p.951-960.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants: Bälay Mäkönnän and Gašaw Yenénäh.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, Täklä-Iyyäsus, “Yä Gojjam ...,” pp. 7- 9.

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup>Ayenä kulu Märäša, “ Yä Gojjam Edel Käf Käf Yebäl,” *Addis Zämän*, Genbot 3, 1951 E.C., pp.1,2,3; See also *Alläqa* Tayä Gäbrä-Maryam , *Yä Ityopiya Hezb Tarik*. Addis Ababa: Central Matämiya Bét, 1984 E.C., p.61.

<sup>72</sup> Alemneh, p.13-14.

<sup>73</sup> Mohammed Hassen, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History, 1570-1860*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 28-35.

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> Täklä-Iyyässus, “Yä Gojjam....”p.139; Mohammed, pp.28,29,35.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup>Täklä-Iyyässus, “Yä Gojjam...,”p.196.

<sup>77</sup>Informants : Bälay Mäkönnän, Däräsässä Yäné-Aläm and Yetayêw Banté.

<sup>78</sup>Taddesse , “Ethiopia in Miniature...”, pp. 957,958.

<sup>79</sup>*Ibid.*, Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270-1527*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) , p.97.

<sup>80</sup> Abdusamad , “Trade and Politics in Gojjam...,” p.25.

<sup>81</sup>*Ibid.*; Addis Eneyäw, Awoqä Andualäm, Mäsärät Şägaw, Tirusäw Yersaw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>82</sup>Fentahun , p.1.

<sup>83</sup>Abdusamad, “Gojjam: Trade, Early Merchant Capital...,” p. 67; Fentahun, p.38; Informants: Addis Eneyäw, Awoqä Andualäm, Mäsärät Şägaw, Tirusäw Yersaw, Seneşaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>84</sup>Abdu Samad, “Trade and Politics in Gojjam...,” p.31; Mordichai Abir, *Ethiopia: The Era of Princes: The Challenge of Islam and the Reunification of the Christian Empire, 1769-1855*. London: Longmans, 1968, pp.51:76,89; A. Truilzi, *The Godru Oromo and their Neighbors in the two Generations Before the battle of Emobabo* Journal of Ethiopian studies, VI. XIII, No. 1-2, 1975, pp. 53,54.

<sup>85</sup> Aethiopica encyclopedia, V.II:74.

<sup>86</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup>Fentahun, pp.1-10.; Täklä-Iyyäsus, “Yä Gojjam ...”, p.50 ; Zelalem Abera, “Addet : A Historical Survey to 1991”, (B.A Thesis, Department of History Addis Ababa University, 200), p.1; Paul Fischer, *Gojjam’s Political History 1881-1932: A Portrait of two Rulers,* in *History Miscellanea* 18, (1975), p.4.

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup>Fentahun, p.6 ; Ewnetu , p.4.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*,p.11; Informants: Emawa Aklo, Mäkönnän Däräjjä and Getnät Aräga.

<sup>93</sup>Fentahun, p.1.

<sup>94</sup> Abebaw Ayalew, “A History of Painting in East Gojjam in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Study of the Second Gondarine Style of Painting ”, (MA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2002), p.11.

<sup>95</sup> Paul Fischer. *Gojjam’s Political History 1881-1932 : A portrait of Two Rulers,* (January 29,1975), p.4.

<sup>96</sup> Fentahun, p.12; Täklä-Şadiq Mäkuriya, *Yä Ityopiya Tarik: Kä Aşé Lebnä Dengil Eskä Aşé Tewodros*, 6th ed., (Addis Ababa: Qedus Giyorgis Printing Press), p. 308.

<sup>97</sup> Täklä Iyäsus, p. 55 ; Fentahun12.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p.50.

<sup>99</sup> Ewnetu, pp.4-5; 50; Fentahun, p.12.

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> Täklä-Şadiq Mäkuriya, p. 308.

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*, p.309.

<sup>103</sup>*Ibid.*, Informants: Emawa Aklo, Mäkönnän Däräjjä and Getnet Aräga, Interviewed on June 2, 2010.

<sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*; Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä, Kassahun Yezängaw Färädä Dañäw, Belay Täsäma and Yersaw Gobäzé.

<sup>105</sup> Fischer, pp.4,5 ; Täklä-Şadiq Mäkuriya, p.310.

<sup>106</sup> Täklä Iyäsus, pp.54-55.

<sup>107</sup> Abebaw, p.31, 32.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> Täklä Iyäsus , p.66.

<sup>110</sup>*Ibid.* p.112.

<sup>111</sup> Abebaw, p.125.

<sup>112</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> Täklä-Şadiq Mäkuriya,, p.311.

<sup>115</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup>*Ibid.*, Informants : Akaläwärq Nigusé, Ŧilahun Bälaw and Maru Dañe interviewed on August 5, 2010.

<sup>117</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants: Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä, Kassahun Yezängaw Färädä Dañäw, Belay Täsäma and Yersaw Gobäzé.

<sup>118</sup>Täklä-Şadiq Mäkuriya, pp.111, 112.

<sup>119</sup>*Ibid.*, pp.116, 117.

<sup>120</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup>*bid.*; Informants: Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä, Kassahun Yezängaw Färädä Dañäw, Belay Täsäma and Yersaw Gobäzé.

<sup>122</sup>*Ibid.*, pp.116,117.

<sup>123</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>125</sup>Enno Litman(ed), *The Chronicle of Emperor Tewodore of Abyssinia*. New York: Charles Scriber's Sons, 1902, pp.13-14 144.

<sup>126</sup>Fischer, p.5.

<sup>127</sup>Fischer, p.5; Informants: Ṭilahun Bälaw and Maru Dañe, interviewed on August 5, 2010.

<sup>128</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants: Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä, Kassahun Yezängaw Färädä Dañaw, Belay Täsäma and Yersaw Gobäzé.

<sup>129</sup> Fischer, p p.4, 5 ; Täklä İyäsus, p.63

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 4,5.

<sup>131</sup>Walter Plowden, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Countries*. London, 1884, pp.314-431.

<sup>132</sup>Charles Beke, "Abyssinia-Being a Continuation of Routes in that Country," (*Journal of the Geographical Society*, 1944. IES,) pp.20-25.

<sup>133</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup>*Ibid.*, p.22

<sup>134</sup>*Ibid.*; Kassahun Yezängaw Färädä Dañaw, Belay Täsäma and Yersaw Gobäzé.

<sup>136</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> Bianchi, pp. 556, 559-565

<sup>138</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> Täklä-Şadiq Mäkuriya, pp. 59,60; Bianchi, p. 616-621.

<sup>141</sup> Aethiopica encyclopedia V.II:74, 75; Fentahun, pp.23,38.

<sup>142</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> Abdusamad H. Ahmead, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam...", pp.30-32.

<sup>144</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup>*Ibid.*, Powell-Cotton 1902, p. 218-219.

<sup>146</sup> Abdul Samad, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam...", pp.31,32; Informants: Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä, Kassahun Yezängaw Färädä Dañaw, Belay Täsäma and Yersaw Gobäzé.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31,32; Informants: Kassahun Yezängaw Färädä Dañaw, Belay Täsäma and Yersaw Gobäzé.

<sup>148</sup>*Ibid.*, p.32.

<sup>149</sup>*Ibid.*, pp.31,32.

<sup>150</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants: Bälay Mäkonnän, Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä, Kassahun Yezängaw Färädä Dañäw, Belay Täsäma and Yersaw Gobäzé.

<sup>151</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup>Aethiopica encyclopedia V.II:74, 75.

## **Chapter II**

<sup>1</sup>Täklä-Şadiq Mäkurya, *Yä Ityopiya Tarik: Kā Aşé Tewodros Eskä Qādamawi Hailä Selassé*, 2nd ed., (Addis Ababa: Qedus Giyorgis Printing Press), 1951 E. C., p. 257 ; Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991*, Addis Ababa University

Press, 2002, p.53; Saheed A. Adajumobi, *The History of Ethiopia*, Green Wood Press, London, 2007, p.65.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Paul B. Henz, *Layer of Time, A History of Ethiopia*, Shama Books, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2000, pp. 216, 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*; See also Note No.1.

<sup>5</sup> National Archives and Library Agency (here after NALA), Kābbādā Tāssāma (here after h.t ) File No. 18.10, *Bā Gojjam Taqlay Gezat Ya Del Godana*, ( A note written on December 17, 1941 E.C about the visit of Gojjam made by *Dājjazmač* Kābbādā Tāssāma) ; Informants: Estibāl Yenagār, Dāsalāw Yeffa, Awoqā Andualām and Ṭirusāw Yersaw.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Imeru Hailā Selassé, *Kayāhut Kāmastawusāw*, Addis Ababa University Press, Addis Ababa, 2002 E.C. p.263; See Appendix-I

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Informants: Azalā Gāsāsā, Yayāh Yerad Ewunātu and Estibāl Yenagār.

<sup>11</sup> Imeru Hailā Selassé, pp. 264, 265 ; Informants: Dāsalāw Yeffa and Ṭirusāw Yersaw.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* ;Informants: Awoqā Andualām, Dārāsā Yāné-Alām, Yetayāw Banté, Azalā Gāsāsā, Yayāh Yerad Ewunātu, Estibāl Yenagār and Ṭirusāw Yersaw.

<sup>13</sup> Informants : Dārāsāsā Yāné-Alām and Yetayāw Banté.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Imeru,, p.263.

<sup>17</sup> Saltana Seyoum, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam (Ethiopia): 1936-1941” (PhD Dissertation in History, AAU, 1999), p.198.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* Informants: Awoqā Andualām Dārāsāsā Yāné-Alām, Yetayāw Banté Azalā Gāsāsā, Yayāh Yerad Ewunātu, Estibāl Yenager and Ṭirusāw Yersaw.

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix 2 and 3

<sup>20</sup> See Appendix 2 and 3

<sup>21</sup> Yohannes Berhanu, "The Patriots in Gojjam, 1936-1941: A Study of Resistance Movement." (B.A.Thesis, Department of History, Haile Selassie I University, 1972), p.4.; IES, MWTRC, Folder No. 2801, File No.1261, Bā Qādamawi Hailā Sellassé Negusā Nāgāst Zā Ityopiya Yā Qolla-Dāga-Damot Awraja Committee Yā Agālegelot enna Yāheywāt Tarik Masmāskāriya Wārāqāt," 1967 E.C.

<sup>22</sup> Imeru,, pp. 264,265; IES, MWTRC, Folder No. 2801, File No.1261, *Ato Mākonnān Gābru Lā Kebur Yāmārèt Yzota enna Astādār Minister Yātāşafā*, Genbot 8, 1959 E.C.; *Ato Mākonnān Gābru Lā Kbur Yagār Gezat Minister Yā Rest enna Wul Wana Şefāt Bèt*, Hedar 21, 1942 E.C.

<sup>23</sup> See Appendix - 16

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Imeru, p.265.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*; Informants: Awoqā Andualām, Dārāsāssā Yāné-Alām, Yetayāw Banté, Azalā Gāsāsā, Yayāh Yerad Ewunātu, Estibāl Yenagār and Ŧirusāw Yersaw.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, See also note No. 10.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Yohannes, p.8.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*; Informants: Wubantā Dārājjā and Qāralām Addisu.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.7-9 ; Temesgen Gebeyehu, "Peasant Resistance Against the Ethiopian Revolution: The Case of Gojjam, 1975-1978," (M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2005),pp.3,4.

<sup>32</sup> Nebeyu Eyasu, "The Administrative History of Gojjam, 1941-1974,"(M.A.Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2004), pp. 19-20; Saltana, pp.31-35.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Nebeyu, p. 21; Bahru, A Short History..., p. 191-193 ; Seltene, pp. 94-95.

<sup>35</sup> Yohannes, p.17.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Appendix – 5.

<sup>39</sup> Appendix- 6.

<sup>40</sup> Appendix – 7.

<sup>41</sup> See notes 33 and 34.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> NALA, Folder Märsé Hazan Wolde Qirqos (መ.ቃ.ወ.ቂ) , No. 6, File No. 17/78.

<sup>44</sup> NALA, Folder h.t No.22, File No. 29, from Käbbädä Tässäma to Hailä Selassé, 3 Hidar 1932.

<sup>45</sup> Informants : Däsaläw Yeffa, Mäkt Ašagré and Ṭobyä Mot Baynor.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Informants: Awoqä Andualäm Däräsässä Yäné-Aläm, Yetayäw Banté Azalä Gäsäsä, Yayäh Yerad Ewunätu, Estibäl Yenagär and Ṭirusäw Yersaw

<sup>48</sup> Gerima Täfäri, *Gondäre Bägašaw*, (Täsfa Gäbrä Selassé Matämiya Bét, Addis Ababa, Ṭeqmt 29, 1949 E.C.,) p.106.

<sup>49</sup> See Note No, 45.;Informants: Mäkt Ašagré and Ṭobyä Mot Baynor.

<sup>50</sup> Gerima, pp. 106,107.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, See also Note No. 10.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*; Informants: Däsaläw Yeffa, Addis Kassa, Bälay Mäkonnän, Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Informants: Awoqä Andualäm, Däräsä Yäné-Aläm, Yetayäw Banté, Azalä Gäsäsä, Yayäh Yerad Ewunätu, Estibäl Yenagär and Ṭirusäw Yersaw.

<sup>57</sup> Informants: Addis Kassa, Bälay Mäkonnän, Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, See Note No.45.

<sup>59</sup> Informants: Mäkt Ašagré, Ṭobyä Mot Baynor, Awoqä Andualäm, Däräsä Yäné-Aläm, Yetayäw Banté, Azalä Gäsäsä, Yayäh Yerad Ewunätu, Estibäl Yenagär and Ṭirusäw Yersaw.

<sup>60</sup> Informants: Däräsä Yäné-Aläm, Yetayäw Banté, Azalä Gäsäsä, Yayäh Yerad Ewunätu, Estibäl Yenagär and Ṭirusäw Yersaw .

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, Informants: Addis Kassa, Bälay Mäkonnän, Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Appendix – 8.

<sup>64</sup> NALA, Folder, Gojjam Ṭäqalay Gezat, No. 71, File No. 9.

<sup>65</sup> See Note No. 10 and 61.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*; See also Note number 63.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> Yohannes, p.78.

<sup>69</sup> See Note No.61

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, See note number 68.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> Informant: Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>73</sup> Informants: Addis Kassa, Bälay Mäkonnän, Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw

<sup>74</sup> Informants: Andualäm Därsäsä Yäné-Aläm, Yetayäw Banté Azalä Gäsäsä, Yayäh Yerad Ewunätu, Estibäl Yenagär and Ṭirusaw Yersaw .

<sup>75</sup> Saltana, pp. 161,162.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p.73,

<sup>77</sup> Täklä-Şadiq Mäkuriya, *Yä Ityopiya Tarik...*, pp. 289, 290.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*; Informants : Därsä Yäné-Aläm and Ytayäw Banté.

<sup>79</sup> Nebeyu , pp.24,25 ;Yohannes , p.10 ; Saltana, pp.88-89.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, See also Note No. 61 and 63.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> NALA, Folder h.t No.09, File No. 02, from Käbbädä Tässäma to Hailä Selassé, 23 Mäsekäräm 1932 EC.; NALA, Folder h.t Folder No.20, File No. 05, from Bälay Zäläkä to Käbbädä Tässäma, 10 Hidar 1933 EC.; NALA, Folder h.t Folder No. 20, File No. 05, Käbbädä Tässäma to Lej Hailu Bäläw, 16 Ṭeqemet 1933 E.C.; NALA, Folder h.t Folder No. 20, File No. 05, Käbbädä Tässäma to Lej Hailu Bäläw, 16 Ṭeqemet 1933 EC.; NALA, Folder h.t No. 20, File No. 05, from Käbbädä Tässäma to Bälay Zäläkä, 17 Ṭeqemet 1933 E.C.

<sup>83</sup> NALA, Folderh.t No. 09, File No. 02, from Käbbädä Tässäma to Hailä Selassé, 23 Mäsekäräm 1932 EC.; NALA, Folder h.t No. 18, File No. 13, from Däjżmaç

Mängäša Jämbärè to Käbbädä Tässäma, 4 Yäkatit 1933 EC.; Gärima Tafärä, *Gondäre Bägašaw*, (Addis Ababa, Tesefa Gebre Selassie Press, 1949 E.C.), p. 8.

<sup>84</sup> See Note No. 82.

<sup>85</sup> NALA, h.t File 07, File no. 22, From Fitawrari Zäwdé to Käbbädä Tässäma, 7 *Hidar* 1933 E.C.

<sup>86</sup> See Appendix-8

<sup>87</sup> N L A A, Folder h.t No. 07, File No. 22, from Fitawrari Yäšanäw Täsefayä to Käbbädä Tässäma, 15 Tahesas 1933 EC.; NALA, Folder h.t No. 24, File No. 10, from Däjjazmač Mängäša Jämbärè to Käbbädä Tässäma, 2 Yäkatit 1933 EC.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, see also Note No.10.

<sup>89</sup> NALA, Folder h.t No. 22, File No. 29, from Käbbädä Tässäma to Häilä Selassé, 3 *Hidar* 1932.

<sup>90</sup> See Note Numbers 201, 202 and 203.

<sup>91</sup> Rooney, 1994, p. 58.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, Saltana, p.345.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*; Informants: Mäkonnän Däräjjä and Getnät Aräga.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> Rooney, 1994, p. 58.

<sup>96</sup> NALA, Folder No. h.t.22, File No. 29, Käbbädä Tässäma, “Bä Me’erab Gojjam Ṭaliyan Mešeg Särtobät Yänäbäräbät Agäroč,” 1939 E.C.; See also, Folder No. h.t. 18, File No. 36; Käbbädä Tässäma, “Bä Gojjam Yätälät Kambo Yämigänbačäw Sefrawäč,” 1933 E.C.; Gärima pp.106,108, 113; Saltana Seyoum, “A History of Resistance in Gojjam 1936-1941,” (Ph.D.Dissertation, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1999), p.37.; Yohannes Berhanu, p.9.

<sup>97</sup> Saltana, p.345.

<sup>98</sup> See Note NO.72.

<sup>99</sup> Appendix- 9 ; See also Note 72.

<sup>100</sup> UK Ministry of Information, *The Abyssinian campaigns; the official story of the conquest of Italian East Africa.* London, 1942, pp. 63-65.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants: Addis Kassa, Bälay Mäkonnän, Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*; Andualäm Däräsässä Yäné-Aläm, Yetayäw Banté Azalä Gäsäsä, Yayäh Yerad Ewunätu, Estibäl Yenagär and Țirusäw Yersaw.

<sup>105</sup>See Note No. 72.

<sup>106</sup>Wingate, pp.4,5.

<sup>107</sup>Saltana, pp. 378,379; Informants: Däräsä Yäné-Aläm, Yetayäw Banté, Azalä Gäsäsä, Yayäh Yerad Ewunätu, Estibäl Yenager and Țirusäw Yersaw.

<sup>108</sup>Käbbädä, pp.351, 379.

<sup>109</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants: Däräsä Yäné-Aläm, Yetayäw Banté, Azalä Gäsäsä, Yayäh Yerad Ewunätu, Estibäl Yenagär and Țirusäw Yersaw .

<sup>110</sup>*Ibid.*, Wingate, pp.4,5.

<sup>111</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup>Saltana, p.353; Däräsässä Yäné-Aläm, Yetayäw Banté, Azalä Gäsäsä, Yayäh Yerad Ewunätu, Estibäl Yenagär and Țirusäw Yersaw.

<sup>114</sup>Appendix-10.

<sup>115</sup>Käbbädä, p.373.

<sup>116</sup>UK Ministry of Information, 1942, pp. 63-65.

<sup>117</sup>Wingate, p.4.

<sup>118</sup>Käbbädä, p.381; Yetayäw Banté, Azalä Gäsäsä, Yayäh Yerad Ewunätu, Estibäl Yenagär and Țirusäw Yersaw.

<sup>119</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants: Däräsässä Yäné-Aläm, Yetayäw Banté, Azalä Gäsäsä, Yayäh Yerad Ewunätu, Estibäl Yenagär.

<sup>121</sup>Appendix -13

<sup>122</sup>*Ibid.* ; See also Note No.100.

### **Chapter III**

<sup>1</sup> Bahru Zewde, *A Short history of Ethiopia and the Horn*, Department of History, AAU, 1998, p.138.

<sup>2</sup> Gebrewold Ingida Work, Ethiopia's Traditional System of Land Tenure and Taxation, pp. 325, 326 ; "Yä Gojjam Ṭäqalay Gezat Yagär kefefel," *Yagär Gezat Minister Mäṣehét*, 1st year, No. 6, 1954. E.C., pp.9,10; Informants: Banté Mulunäh , Däräsä Yäné-Aläm, Mäkuriyaw Däjäné and Antänäh Alemu.

<sup>3</sup>"A proclamation for Administrative Regulations (Amendments)," *Nägarit Gazéta*, Decree No. 6, June 28, 1946.

<sup>4</sup> Nebeyu Eyasu, "The Administrative History of Gojjam 1941-1974," (M.A.Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2004), pp.48,49,50 ; Informants: Ambayä Agazä , Alämayähu Fenta , Yänésaw Ejegu and Mulunäh Kassa .

<sup>5</sup> Informants: Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä , Addis Kassa, Bälay Mäkonnän, Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*; Nebyou, pp. 49, 50.

<sup>8</sup> "Yä Gojjam Ṭäqalay Gezat Yagär kefefel," *Yagär Gezat Minister Mäṣehét*, 1st year, No. 6, 1954. E.C., pp.9,10 ; Informants :Banté Mulunäh and Däräsässä Yäné Aläm.

<sup>9</sup> Mehari, p.18; Informant: Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>10</sup> "A Proclamation to Provide for a Tax on Land," *Nägarit Gazéta*, Decree No. 8, March, 1942.

<sup>11</sup> Informants: Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä, Kassahun Yezängaw, Addis Kassa and Bälay Mäkonnän.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Informants: Addis Kassa, Bälay Mäkonnän, Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> WMTMRC, Folder No. 2131, File No. 2075, from Yä Ityopiya Nigusä Nägäst Mängest Yagär Gezat Minister to Gojjam Ṭaqelay Gezat, Ref. No. 1/1720, Nähasé 21/1955 E.C.; Folder No. 2158, File No. 276, from Yä Ityopiya Negusä Nägäst Mängest Yä Gojjam Awrajja Ṭaqelay Gezat to Kebur Yagär Gezat Ministär, Ref. No. 3074/34, Ṭer 22/1940 E.C.; IES, Negarit Gazeta Proclamation of Nov.3.1941.

<sup>16</sup> Informants: Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä , Kassahun Yezängaw, Addis Kassa and Bälay Mäkonnän.

<sup>17</sup> "The Land Tax Proclamation", Negarit Gazeta, Decree No. 64, November 1944 E.C.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Informants: Dāräsä Yäné Aläm and Ytayäw Banté.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Informants: Ytayäw Banté , Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä , Kassahun Yezängaw, Addis Kassa and Bälay Mäkönnän.

<sup>22</sup> NALA, Folder, Yagär Gezat Minester, No.53, File No.1104/15.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* ; Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä , Kassahun Yezängaw, Addis Kassa and Bälay Mäkönnän.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> NALA, , Folder, Yagär Gezat Ministär, No.53, File No. 1104/15; N.A.L.A, Folder Yagär Gezat Ministär, Yä Dämbäça wäräda Gezat Report, No.171,File No. 416/19.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup>“Proclamation on Administrative Structure” , Negarit Gazeta, June 28, 1946,

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.* Informants: Ytayäw Banté , Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä , Kassahun Yezängaw, Addis Kassa and Bälay Mäkönnän.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> NALA, from Käbbädä Tässäma to Agär Gizat Ministär ,Folder h† No. 120, File No. 29/2, Refe. No. 1653/34; The following are names of *meketel wärädas* , their governors and Secretaries respectively. Ṭälīm-Ato Tässäma Gètahu and Ato Alamnäh Abozen, Färäs Bét- *Balambaras* Mulugèta Bayabil and Ato Lemänäh Kassa, Namera - *Fitawrari* Baläh Kassa and Ato Gäbrä Amlak Woldä Giorgis, Bärqāñ - *Fitawrari* Fänta Wubè abd *Gerazmač* Alämu Assägè, Quarit-Mulatu Dästa and Meteku Mazängiya, Enzägedem- Ayalèw Bizunäh and Qäšäla Mängestu, Areffa - *Fitawrari* Engida Därsäh and *Qāñazmač* Gäsäsä Alameräw.

<sup>31</sup> NALA, Folder Yagär Gezat Ministär; Ṭor Mäsarya, No. 71, File No.4/2.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants: Ytayäw Banté , Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä , Kassahun Yezängaw, Addis Kassa and Bälay Mäkönnän; See Appendices 14 and 16.

<sup>33</sup> Informants: Addis Kassa, Bälay Mäkönnän and Eneyäw Senešaw.

<sup>34</sup> See Appendices 14 and 16

<sup>35</sup> See Appendix-15.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> NALA, Folder Mersè Hazān Woldā Qirqos , No. 42/17. Here it is important to note that cases beyond their capacity were directly heard by the *meketel wārāda* and the *wārāda* court accordingly.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants: Ytayāw Banté , Addis Eneyāw, Senešaw Bāqällä , Kassahun Yezāngaw, Addis Kassa and Bālay Mākonnān; See Appendix-15.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> NALA, Folder Gojjam Ṭäqalay Gezat Ferd Bèt, No.149, File No.,52/6.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants: Addis Kassa, Bālay Mākonnān, Addis Eneyāw, Senešaw Bāqällä and Kassahun Yezāngaw.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*; Informants:Senešaw Bāqällä , Kassahun Yezāngaw, Addis Kassa and Bālay Mākonnān

<sup>44</sup> Informants: Senešaw Bāqällä , Kassahun Yezāngaw, Addis Kassa and Bālay Mākonnān

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Gebrewold, p. 335.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> NALA, Folder,Gojjam Ṭäqalay Gezat, Yā Sost Wor Report, 29/6, File No.22, Refe. No. 1/1165.; Informants: Banté Mulunāh , Dārāsāssā Yāné-Alām Mākuriyaw Dājāné and Antānāhā Alemu.

<sup>49</sup> NALA, Folder, Gojjam Ṭäqalay Gezat, Bota enna Bèt, No.149, File No.52; Gebru, Informants: Dārāsā Yāné-Alām and Ytayāw Banté.

<sup>50</sup> Gebru,p.; Informants: Banté Mulunāh , Dārāsā Yāné-Alām, Mākuriyaw Dājāné and Antānāhā Alemu.

<sup>51</sup> Schwab, p.249. NALA, from Şāhayu to Ager Gizat Minester, Foder Gojjam Ṭäqalay Gezat, No.120/8, File No.29 Refe. No. 24917/51.

<sup>52</sup> Negrit Gazeta, Nov. 3, 1941.

<sup>53</sup> Informant: Senešaw Bāqällä , Kassahun Yezāngaw, Addis Kassa and Bālay Mākonnān

<sup>54</sup> Gebru, p.166; Schwab, p.249.

<sup>55</sup> See the 1960 and 1967 Declarations in detail.

<sup>56</sup> See Note No.38.

<sup>57</sup> Informants: Banté Mulunäh , Dāräsä Yäné-Alām, Mäkuriyaw Däjäné and Antänähä Alemu.

<sup>58</sup> NALA, Folder Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat, Agär Delidel, No. 150, File No.52/8; Informants: Banté Mulunäh , Dāräsä, Yäné-Alām, Mäkuriyaw Däjäné and Antänähä Alemu.

<sup>59</sup> See Note No. 38.

<sup>60</sup> Informant: Senešaw Bäqällä , Kassahun Yezängaw, Addis Kassa and Bälay Mäkonnän; See Appendix -17.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*: Senešaw Bäqällä, Kassahun Yezängaw, Addis Kassa and Bälay Mäkonnän.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> See Note No. 38.

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> NALA, Folder Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat, Meday Šelmat, No.120/5, File No.29/1, Refe. No.110; Informants: Banté Mulunäh , Dāräsä Yäné-Alām, Mäkuriyaw Däjäné and Antänäh Alemu.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*; See Appendix- 18.

<sup>69</sup> Informant: Dāsalāw Yeffa.

<sup>70</sup> The proclamation discussed on Registration of firearms.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> Informants: Banté Mulunäh , Dāräsä Yäné Alām, Mäkuriyaw Däjäné and Antänäh Alemu.

<sup>80</sup> Gebru, p.176.

<sup>81</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> A report on a survey of Gojjam regarding the amount of tax assessed and collected by the year 1968.

<sup>83</sup> Informants: Banté Mulunäh , Däräsä Yäné Aläm, Mäkuriyaw Däjäné and Antänäh Alemu.

<sup>84</sup> Informant: Däsaläw Yeffa.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> Gebru, p.178; Informants: Banté Mulunäh and Däräsä Yäné-Aläm.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> NALA, Folder, Gojjam Ṭäqalay Gezat, No.150, File No. 52.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*; Gebru,pp.176-178

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>91</sup> See Appendix – 20; Informants: Däjäné Yäné-Aläm, Amarä Kassa, Märed Alämé and Amarä Antänäh.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*; Informants, Däjäné Yäné- Aläm, Amarä Kassa, Märed Alämé and Amarä Antänäh.

<sup>93</sup> Informants: Banté Mulunäh and Däräsä Yäné-Aläm.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> Gebru,p.181; Informants: Banté Mulunäh , Däräsä Yäné-Aläm, Mäkuriyaw Däjäné and Antänähä Alemu; See Appendix – 19.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid*, p.182.

<sup>97</sup> See Note No.64 ; See Appendices 19 and 20

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> Informants: Amarä Kassa, Märed Alämé and Amarä Antänäh.

<sup>100</sup> Informant: Däsaläw Yeffa.

<sup>101</sup> NALA, From Tafässä Ṭäbqè to Dajjazmac Kiflè Ergätu, Gojjam Agär Gezat,Folder No.150/5, File No. 52, Sänè 1,1969 E.C.; See Appendix – 20.

<sup>102</sup> See Appendix- 20

<sup>103</sup> Informants: Antänah Gädäfaw and Däsaläw Yeffa.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Nega, pp.94,95; Informants: Antānah Gādāfaw and Dāsalāw Yeffa.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*; Informants: Banté Mulunāh , Dārāsā Yāné Alām, Mākuriyaw Dājāné and Antānāh Alemu.

<sup>109</sup> Informants : Ambayä Agazä , Alāmayāhu Fānta , Yānésāw Ejegu and Mulunāh Kassa.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> Gebru, p.184; Ambayä Agazä , Alāmayāhu Fānta , Yānésāw Ejegu and Mulunāh Kassa.

<sup>113</sup> Informants: Dājāné Yāné Alām, Amarā Kassa, Māred Alāmé and Amarā Antānāh.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> Temesgen, p.31.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*; Gebru, p.184.

<sup>117</sup> Informants: Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezāngaw.

<sup>118</sup> Temesgen, p. 32; Informants: Banté Mulunāh , Dārāsā Yāné-Alām, Mākuriyaw Dājāné and Antānāhā Alemu.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> Informants : Ambayä Agazä , Alāmayāhu Fānta , Yānésāw Ejegu and Mulunāh.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

## Chapter IV

<sup>1</sup> John Markakis, “The Military State and Ethiopia's Path to 'Socialism'”, (Review of African Political Economy, No. 21, Taylor & Francis Publishers, 1981), p.11. Andargachew Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1987: A Transformation from an Aristocratic to a Totalitarian Autocracy*, ( Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 43, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Getachew Yerom, *Yalawutu Remet Yatarik Mastawosha, 1966 – 1968*, 1982.pp.19,20.

<sup>3</sup> Edmond J. Keller, “The Revolutionary Transformation of Ethiopia’s Twentieth Century Bureaucratic Empire”, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 19 No.2 June 1981, pp.196,197. Andargachew, p.79.

<sup>4</sup> NALA, Qola enna Däga-Damot Awraja Gezat Astädadär , Folder No.152, File No.54/13.

<sup>5</sup>Informants: Addis Kassa , Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>6</sup> NALA, Qola enna Däga Damot Awraja Gezat Astädadär , Folder No.152, File No. 54/13.

<sup>7</sup> Informants: Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*;See Appendix -21

<sup>9</sup> See Note No. 4 and 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> NALA, from Mäharäna Minda to Fitawurari Hailu Bera, Folder No.152, File No. 54, Reference No. 12049/45/54/13, ፲፯ 2, 1967; N.A.L.A, From Fitawurari Hailu Bera to Colonel Belachew Jamanah, Folder 152, File No. 54, Reference No. 41/፳/6/6, Tahesas , 1967.

<sup>12</sup> Informants: Addis Kassa,Ambayä Agazä , Alämayähu Fenta , Yänésaw Ejegu and Mulunäh Kassa.

<sup>13</sup> N.A.L.A, From Haila Giorgis Gutama to Yagar Gezat Minster, Folder No.152, File No. 54, Reference No. 00 10/16/48, Miyazeya, 1967.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*;See Apendix - 21

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, Informants: Däräsässä Yäné-Aläm and Ytayäw Banté.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup>See Note No.11, 14

<sup>18</sup> N.A.L.A, from Zemana Kassa to Yahager Astedader Minister , Folder No. 152, File No. 54, Reference No. 00 1/4805, Hidar 14, 1968.

<sup>19</sup> See Note No.6.

<sup>20</sup> Informants: Banté Mulunäh and Däräsässä Yäné-Aläm.

<sup>21</sup> N.A.L.A, from Fitawurari Hailu Bera to Colonel Belachew Jamanah, Folder 152, File No. 54, Reference No. 41/፳/6/6, Tahesas , 1967; N.A.L.A, Qola enna

Daga Damot Awraja Gezat Astadader , Folder,152, File No.54/13; Informant: Mehari Bizunah and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* ;Hana Kebede, "Gender Relations in Mobilizing Human Resources," Siegfried. Pausewang (ed.), *Ethiopia: Options for Rural Development*, ( London: Zed Books, 1986), p. 59. ; "Yäzämäčaw Zegejet Băyărădefu," *Addis Zămän*, Hedar 29, 1967 E.C., pp. 1,2; See Appendix -22

<sup>25</sup> Dessalegn Rahmato, *Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia*, (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1984), pp. 3,37,39.; see also Dessalegn Rahmato, "Cooperatives, State Farms and Smallholder Production," Pausewang (ed.),*Ethiopia: Options for Rural Development*, ( London: Zed Books, 1986), p.30-39.; see also Dessalegn Rahmato, "Cooperatives, State Farms and Smallholder Production," Pausewang (ed.),*Ethiopia: Options for Rural Development*, ( London: Zed Books, 1986), ,pp.148,149; Dawit Wolde Giorgis, *Red Tears: War, Famine and Revolution in Ethiopia*, (Trenton: The Red Sea Press, 1986), pp. 27 and 31-32.; Siegfried Pausewang, *Peasants, Land and Society*, pp. 102-103.

<sup>26</sup> John Markakis and Nega Ayele, *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia*, (Trenton: The Red Sea Press, 1986), pp. 132,133; Desaleng Rehmeto ,pp.148,149.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*;See Appendix-22

<sup>28</sup> Desalegn, pp.150,151; Informants: Addis Kassa, Bălay Măkonnăn, Addis Eneyăw, Senešaw Băqăllă and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Desalegn, p.153.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, pp.150,151.

<sup>34</sup>Informant: Banté Mulunăh and Dărăsăssă Yăné-Alăm.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup>Informant: Senešaw Băqăllă and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> Informants: Banté Mulunäh and Däräsässä Yäné-Aläm.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Informants: Mäkuriyaw Däjäné and Antänähä Alemu.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Andargachew, p.101.

<sup>47</sup> Informants: Däjäné Yäné-Aläm and Amarä Kassa, Märed Alämé and Amarä Antänäh.

<sup>48</sup> Andargachew, p.100.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*; Informant: Amarä Antänäh and Däjäné Mola.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup>Stahl, pp.28,29; Christopher Clapham, p.7,8; Rene Lefort, Ethiopia the Heretical Revolution...,pp.100,101.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid* ; Informant: Banté Mulunäh and Däräsä Yäné-Aläm.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> Clapham, pp.7,8.

<sup>59</sup> Informants : Amarä Antänäh and Däjäné Mola ; See also the declaration.

<sup>60</sup> Clapham,pp.7,8.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, Informants: Banté Mulunäh and Däräsä Yäné-Aläm.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup>Informants: Däsalaw Yeffa, Banté Mulunäh and Däräsä Yäné-Aläm.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Informants: Amarä Antänäh and Däjäné Molla.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> See Appendix-22

<sup>69</sup> Stahl, p.32,33 ;See also the 1979 declarations on Cooperatives.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> See Appendix-22

<sup>73</sup> See Note No.64.

<sup>74</sup> See Appendix-22

<sup>75</sup> See Appendix-22

<sup>76</sup> Informant: Däsaläw Yeffa , Banté Mulunäh and Däräsä Yäné-Aläm.

<sup>77</sup> See the declaration of 10<sup>th</sup> October. 1978, No. 77/1978, Sub Art.1 and 2.

<sup>78</sup> Stahl, p.31.

<sup>79</sup> Informant: Banté Mulunäh and Däräsässä Yäné-Aläm.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> See Appendix-22

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> See Appendix-22

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*; Informant: Däsaläw Yeffa and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> Informant: Senešaw Bäqällä.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> See Note Number 83 and 91.

<sup>94</sup> Informants: Informants: Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>95</sup> Stahl, pp. 29,30.

<sup>96</sup> Alemayehu, pp.2,3.

<sup>97</sup> Informants: Addis Kassa, Bälay Mäkonnän, Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> Informants: Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> Informants: Addis Kassa, Bälay Mäkonnän and Senešaw Bäqällä

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> Informant: Addis Kassa and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>110</sup> Informants: Addis Kassa, Bälay Mäkonnän, Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw.

<sup>111</sup> Informant: Addis Kassa.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> Informants: Addis Kassa, Bälay Mäkonnän, Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw, Interviewed on August 10, 2010.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> Informants; Banté Mulunäh and Däräsässä Yäné-Aläm.

<sup>116</sup> Informants: Addis Kassa, Bälay Mäkonnän, Addis Eneyäw, Senešaw Bäqällä and Kassahun Yezängaw, Interviewed on August 10, 2010.

<sup>117</sup>*Ibid.*

Declaration

This thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other University and that all the sources of material used for the thesis have been dully acknowledged.

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Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Place and time of submission: Addis Ababa University, June 2011

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as University advisor.

Name: Dr. Kassaye Begashaw

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IES, WMTMRC, Folder No. 2131, File No. 2075

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NALA. Folder No.152, File No. 54

NALA. No.53, File No. 1104/15.

NALA.h.t File No. 18.10.

NALA.h.t No. 120, File No. 29/2

NALA.Folder No.150, File No. 52.

NALA.Folder No.171, File No. 416/19.

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