



SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTEMNT OF HISTORY

A HISTORY OF GONCHA SISO ENASE WÄRÄDA, EAST GOJJAM,
1941-1991

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ADDIS ABABA

2016

A HISTORY GONCHA SISO ENASE WÄRÄDA, EAST GOJJAM,

1941-1991

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTERS OF ARTS IN HISTORY

BY

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ADDIS ABABA

2016

Addis Ababa University
Graduate Programs Office

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Alganeh Ayalew, entitled: “*A History of Goncha Siso Enese Wereda, East Gojam, 1941-1991*” and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts in History complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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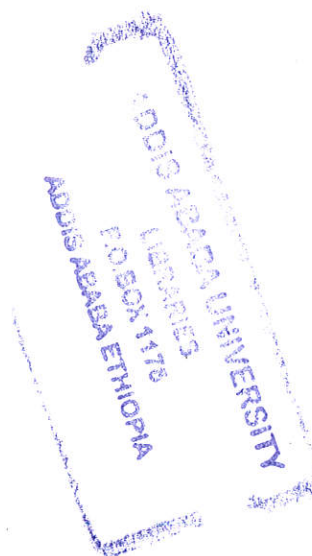
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my profound gratitude and deep regard to my advisor Dr. Wudu Tafete for his exemplary guidance, monitoring and constant encouragement throughout the course of this thesis. In spite of his work load in the summer program, he sacrificed much of his time in reading and correcting the draft of this thesis. The blessing, help and guidance given by him from time to time encouraged me to accomplish my work effectively.

I also take this opportunity to express a deep sense of gratitude to Professor Tessema Ta'a, Dr. Belete Bizuneh, Dr. Tekelehaymanot G/ Sellasie, and Mr. David Chapple for their professional assistance in my MA program.

I am obliged to indicate my sincere thanks to my staff members of Bahre Gyorgis Preparatory School teachers Tewodros Tessfaye and Tenaw Enyew, who helped me in teaching so that I could have enough time for data collection and writing the thesis. My friends, Aemero Mesfin, Getachew Workneh, and others deserve thanks for their cooperation and encouragement.

Lastly, I am very indebted to my wife Teje Dagnaw, who encouraged me to write my thesis with moral and interest. I thank my parents, brothers, sisters and friends for their constant care and encouragement, without which this thesis would not have been successful.

PREFACE

The *wäräda* of Goncha Siso Enasé has played its own part in the social, economic and political developments of the country. However, it is one of the regions whose socio-economic and political history are least studied. For this reason, I was interested to choose as a topic of my thesis research. The study hopes to do something to fill the historiographical gap of part of Goncha Siso Enasé in Ethiopian studies for the period 1941-1991. The year 1941 is chosen since it was the restoration of Emperor Haile Selassie I to power and the beginning of the process of invigorated centralization in the country. The year 1991 has also been chosen because it marked the end of the socialist military rule and its subsequent replacement by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF).

A range of sources have been used to reconstruct the history of Goncha Siso Enase. First intensive library research was made at the Kennedy and Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) libraries at the Addis Ababa University. Valuable information has been drawn from here that enabled me to establish a general framework of the thesis.

Second careful investigation of archival sources at the Goncha Siso Enasé district Tourism, Information and Communication offices was made. I have consulted published primary sources like chronicles, and traveler accounts. Of the other archival sources involved in the study, those of which I have gathered from the rich repositories of archives at the National Archives and Library

Agency, Däbra Marqos University Archives and Research Center, and Wälda Mäsqäl Tariku Memorial Research Center (IES) are most vital. Letters and study reports which I have collected from *wäräda* offices were also the other valuable assets of the thesis.

I have also systematically interviewed informants living in Goncha Siso Enasé and elsewhere on the main themes of the study. This eased my field research and enabled me to concentrate deeply on the post liberation period for which again I could get eye witnesses. It also enabled me to appreciate the variations of oral information from one generation to another.

The data collected from secondary, archival and oral sources have been carefully selected, cross checked and examined for its authenticity. Then, the information drawn from authentic and credible sources were interpreted and analyzed so as to reconstruct the history of Goncha Siso Enase in the period under study.

The main problems I faced in the course of gathering and analyzing information and writing the thesis were lack of archival materials in the *wäräda* municipality office of the study area, and financial deficiency. I have tried my best to resolve at least the first problem by traveling to Däbra Marqos and Addis Ababa so as to get archival sources.

The thesis consists of four main chapters. The first chapter of the study is describing Geographical setting and historical background of Goncha Siso Enasé district. The second chapter of the thesis deals with the history of the

district of Goncha Siso Enasé during the post-liberation period in which change and continuity in administration, taxation and land tenure system has been analyzed. The third chapter of the thesis assesses the major political and socio economic issues of Goncha Siso Enasé during the military *Därg* period. The social services development in the *wäräda* was also studied in the last chapter. The conclusion section of the thesis consolidates the discussions of the main themes of the thesis and gives some concluding remarks.

The history of Goncha Siso Enasé is too vast to be fully reconstructed. The thesis does not claim to have exhaustively covered all the issues during the period from 1941-1991. Hence it is far from being complete. But, I hope that it will be helpful to other researchers who want to conduct further research on the *wäräda*.

ABSTRACT

Goncha Siso Enasé is one of the districts of East Gojjam Administrative Zone of Amhara National Regional State. The existing literature reveals that in the past the territory of Goncha Siso Enasé was an important center of economy, administration and religious activities in Gojjam at least from the beginning of the 20th century.

During the Italian occupation (1936-41), Goncha Siso Enasé was one of the centers of patriotic resistance in Gojjam. Despite the strong resistance there, the Italians successively made Goncha Siso Enasé a center of settlement and Commissionership, 1939-41.

The post liberation period also saw increasing changes in the traditional form of administration, taxation, and land Tenure in Goncha Siso Enasé despite the resistance by the local population. The attempted resistance against the military junta in the district and the process by which the government imposed its rule was another important issue discussed in the thesis. The Därg subsequently introduced several socio-economic and political reforms and programs. The thesis looks at the nature of those reforms, how far they succeeded and brought tangible results in the district. The thesis also focuses on the establishment of different social facility centers, during the two regimes. The main thrust of my thesis is to show how a poor, neglected largely peasant areas has experienced changes some positive, others negative under the two different regimes from 1941-1991.

Key to the Transliteration Systems

I. The seven sounds (vowels) of Ethiopic alphabet are represented as follows:

<u>Vowel</u>		<u>Symbol</u>		<u>Example</u>
1 st	ä	በ - Bă	በላይ	Bălay
2 nd	u	ቡ - Bu	ቡዛ	Buza
3 rd	i	ቢ - Bi	ቢትወደድ	<i>Bitwăddăd</i>
4 th	a	ባ - Ba	ባላባት	Balabbat
5 ^t	é	ቤ - Bé	ቤት	<i>Bét</i>
6 th	e	ብ - Be	ዘርዘር	<i>Zerzer</i>
7 th	o	ቦ - Bo	አቦ	Abbo

II. Consonants are represented as follows:

<u>Consonant</u>		<u>Symbols</u>		<u>Example</u>
ሻ		Š	ሻለቃ	Šalāqa
ቸ		č	ቸና	Bečāna
ገ		ž	ገሻ	Găž
ጆ		j	ደጃቸ	Dăjjach
ቀ		q	ቀበሌ	qăbăle
ጫ		chă	ጫሞ	chămo
ጠ		Ṭ	ጠና	Ṭana
ሻ / ፀ		Ş	ሻሐዩ	Şăhayu

ACRENOMES

AAU	Addis Ababa University
DMUAC	Däbrä Marqos University Archive and Research Center
EDDC	Ethiopian Domestic Distribution Corporation
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
GWOA	Goncha <i>Warada</i> Office Archive
IDR	Institute of Developmental Research
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
MTMOA	Mota Town Municipality Office Archive
NALA	National Archive and Library Agency
PA	Peasant Associations
PAMC	Provisional Military Administrative Council
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
WMTMARC	Wäldä Mäsqäl Tariku Memorial Archive and Research Center

GLOSSRY

- Abba* ----- 'father'; a high ecclesiastical official, also a Monk
- Abägaz*-----Administrative unit above a district in Gojjam during the
period of *Ras Emeru*
- Afämämeher* -----spokesperson of the *Mämeher* (head) of the church
- Aläqa*-----head of the church; a highly learned religious man
- Amsa Aläqa*-----a traditional military title equivalent to commander of the
fifty
- Asrat* -----tithe
- Aṭbiya Dañña* ----- local judge since 1947
- Ato*----- a civil title equivalent to Mr
- Awrajja*----- district
- Azaž*----- commander; a traditional title given to chief of imperial
court or governor of district
- Azmach*----- a medieval period title given to military commanders.
- Balabbat*----- owner of ancestral land
- Balambaras* ----- a traditional military title literally means commander
of the fortress
- Banda*-----collaborator
- Béte Kihnet*-----office of priests
- Bitwäddäd*-----a high politico military title
- Çheqa Šum*----- village chief empowered to collect tax during the

imperial regime

Däga ----- a cold agro-climatic zone in high land areas

Däjjazmač ----- commander of the gate; a politico military title given to a
military general or governor of a district

Endärasé ----- local representative of a higher authority and the
Emperor

Ewes (Afärsata) ----- traditional method of detecting thieves

Fitawrari ----- commander of the vanguard; a traditional military title
below *Däjjazmač*

Gaša ----- a unit of officially measured land equivalent to 40
hectares

Grazmač ----- commander of the left flank; a politico military title below
Qäññazmač

Gult ----- non hereditary right to collect tribute from the rest of
land owners

Gultä gaž ----- *Gult* governor

Läm ----- fertile land

Läm-täf ----- semi fertile land

Lij ----- child; title reserved for sons of the royal family and
nobility

Mämeher ----- *Abba* (head) of a church

Märigéta ----- a religious title given to clergy who educate the liturgy

Miketel ----- an administrative unit next to *mesläné / wäräda*

- Meslāné* -----sub-district or sub-district governor prior to 1946
- Nāçh Lābaš* -----militia
- Qāññazmač* -----commander of the right flank; a politico military
title below *Fitawrari*
- Qolla* -----a hot agro-climatic zone in lowland areas
- Quntal* -----a unit or measurement equivalent to 100 kg
- Ras* -----head; a traditional title of a highest noble; governor
second only to the *Negus* (king)
- Ras bitwäddäd* ----- a rare title combining the *Ras* and the imperial
favor of *Bitwäddäd* equivalent to prime minister
- Rest* -----hereditary usufruct right over communal land
- Restä gult* -----hereditary *gult*
- Sämon, Qefäf* -----the different names of church *gult* lands
- Šalläqa* -----commander of the thousand; a politico military title
given to local representatives of a higher authority
- šefta* -----bandit, rebel
- Täf* -----infertile land
- Ṭäqelay -Gezat* -----province between 1946-1974
- Wäräda* -----district or an administrative unit below *awrajja*
- Wäyna Däga* -----moderate agro-climatic zone
- Yä gobäz Aläqa* ----- village chief elected by the local people to maintain
peace

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Geographical Setting

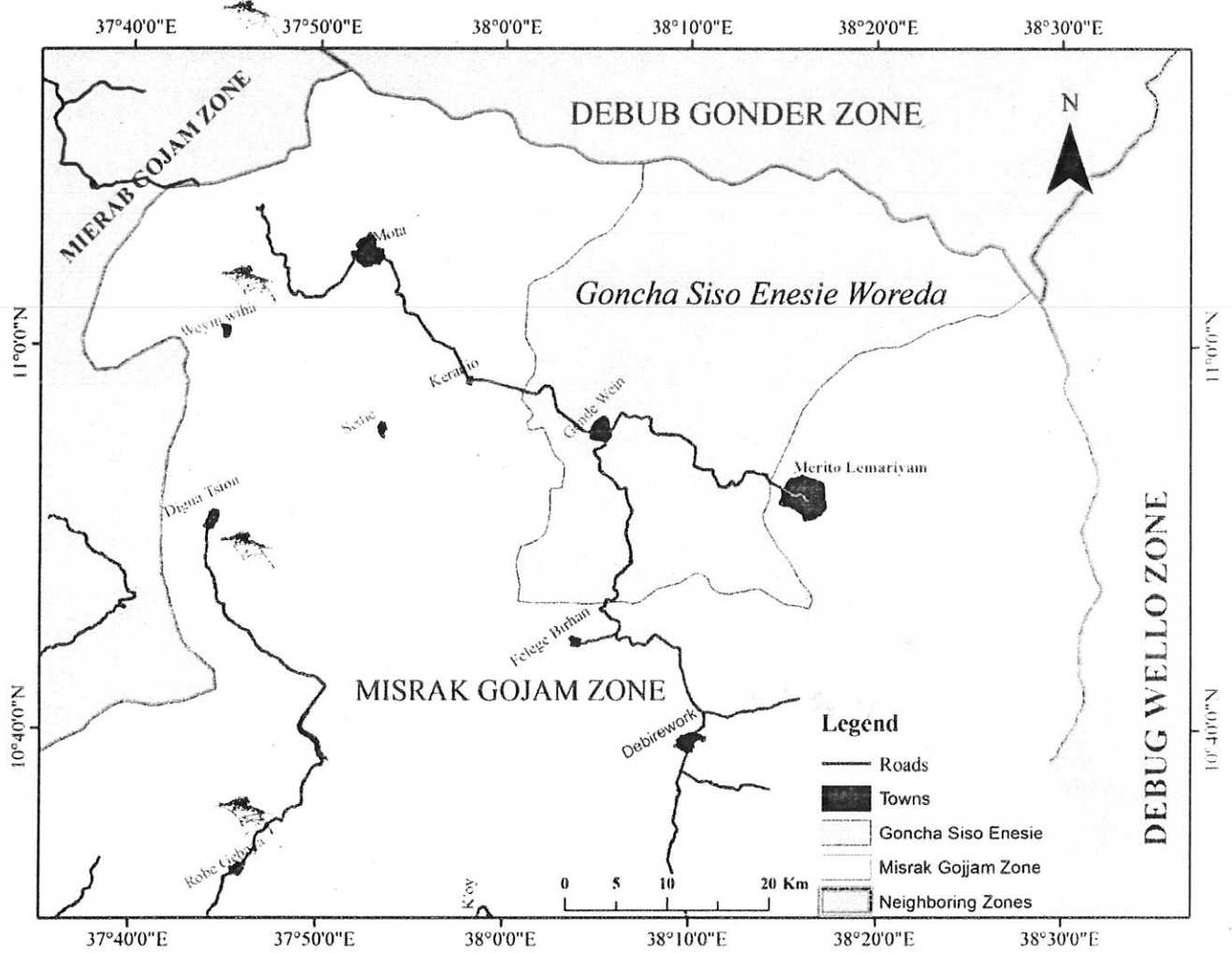
Goncha Siso Enasé *Wäräda* is found in the Amhara regional state, in east Gojjam administrative Zone. It is astronomically located between the grid coordinates of 11°10'N' and 38°00'E' latitude, and 11.167°44'N and 38°00'E' longitude. It is bordered in the north with south Gonder zone, in the south with Enarje Enawga *Wäräda*, in the east with Enabse Sare Meder *Wäräda* and in the west with Hulet *Iju Enase Wäräda*.¹

Gunda Woyne, which is the administrative center of the *wäräda*, is 150 kilometers far away from south east of Bahir Dar and 156 kilometers far away north Dabra Marqos, which are regional and Zonal administrative centers of Amhara Regional State respectively. It is also 336 kilometers far from west of Addis Ababa. The total area of geographical area of Goncha Siso Enasé *Wäräda* is about 1018.18 square kilometers.²

¹Goncha Siso Enase *Wäräda Bahilna Tourism Mastebaberya Tshefat Bet*, "Yä Goncha Siso Enase *Wäräda* Tarikawena Yä Meshib Botawoch Qenget, Quter Ande," (Gonda Woyne, *Yäkätti* 2000 E.C), p. 2; Goncha Siso Enase Business and Economics Development Office, "Yearly Statistical Magazine" (Gunda Wayne, 2004), p.1; and Wubliker Chane, "Community Based Iddirs in Poverty Reduction: The Case of Gunda Woyne" (Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Bahir Dar University, 2014), pp. 1-3; Gebyaw Abebe, "Environmental History of Goncha Siso Enase *Wäräda*" (MA Thesis, Department of History, Bahir Dar University, 2013), pp. 1-3.

² Wubliker pp. 2-3; Gebyaw p. 3.

Map1. Location of the study area



Source: Etho-GIS 1999

Goncha Siso Enase *wäräda* has 37 rural *qäbäles* namely Abar Wuha Eyesus, Barjano Akababi, Addis Hiwot Anegote, Dequat Goshra, Akabiet, Derit Mariam

Betekiristian, Embawoch Selassie, Gomt, Bahare Gyorgis, Enbuayoch, Buza Yemerat, Enegesh, Chemo Ygagra, Nebeazela, Enezeba, Debereyako, Segena Guchba, Debete Han, Selamegie Debre Birhan, Serat Yerawoch, Debre Hayl, Wendiye Kuch, Enegodie, Yewa Agezen Meda, Eneva Eneger, Eneva Gundib, Gete Semani, Gunda Woyn Zuria, Lay Michael, Merhagif, Sekela Genbore, Tach Michal, Tigdar Begdo, Yebuchir Yeweya, Yekura Arasma including its administrative center Gunde Woyne two *qābāles*.

The total population of the *wārāda* was estimated to be 155,011 of which 147,289 were rural and 8722 were urban. From 147,289 people of the rural area of the *wārāda* 73,152 were male and 74,137 were female. From the urban population of 8722, about 4343 were male and 4379 were female. Religiously the entire communities of Goncha Siso Enasé people were the followers of Christianity except few individuals who were Muslims and Protestants who came to the area as civil servants.³

According to a survey study of Ethiopian Road Authority cited in Gebeyaw Abebe the dominant land feature of Goncha Siso Enasé is mainly plain (54%), mountainous hills (38.4%), and 16.2% broken gorges. There are three mountainous areas; *Abba* Miniyos Mountain (3664 meters high), *Laygnaw* Muaretagne (3000 meters), and *Tachgnaw* Muratagne (2679 meters

³Goncha Siso Enase Business and Development Office, p. 2; and Goncha Siso Enase *Wārāda Bahilna Tourism Mastebaberya Tshefat Bet*, p. 2.

high) Mountain, and all the mountainous areas get an annual rainfall of 11000-1500mm.⁴

In his environmental history Gebeyaw also narrated the soil types that Goncha Siso Enase *Wäräda* possessed. Accordingly the soil type of the *Wäräda* is black, red and brown. Crops which are cultivated in such soil types of the *wäräda* include teff, wheat, beans, maize, barely, sorghum, and pulse.⁵

The *wäräda* is also endowed by big rivers which enabled it to be secure in water supply throughout the year. The permanent rivers stream from the Choqe Mountain and they are the tributaries of the Abay River. For instance, River Qachane streamed through both Gete Semani and Wandya Kuche, on the other hand River Tigdar covers Sakala Ganbore, Chamo Yegager, Marahe Gafane, Eka Bet Tigadr Bagedo, Buza Enava Enager, Barjano, and Enagode, *qäbäles*.⁶

Another water resource and tourist attraction site of the *wäräda* is Lake Bahera Gyorgis, which is located 12 kilometers away from the center of the *wäräda*'s administrative town in north east, It covers 112 hectares, which enabled it to be the fourth largest lake in the Amhara Regional State. Caves named as Quter And, Quter Hulat, and Quter Sost Bahire Nagashe caves which

⁴Gebyaw Abebe, p. 3; and Ethiopian Road Authority, "Consultancy Service for the *Wäräda* Integrated Development Study Lot-2 Draft Data Collection and Analysis Report for Goncha Siso Enase in Association with Afri Geo-information Engineering PIC: Data Analysis Report", (Addis Ababa, 2009), pp. 34-37.

⁵*Ibid*; and Gebyaw Abebe, p. 3.

⁶Gebyaw Abebe, p.2; and "Bä Gojjam Täqlay Gezat Yämigāññu Wänzoč", Folder Number, Gojjam *Täqlay Gezat*, File No., 2153/13, Wäldä Mäsqäl Tariku Memorial Archive and Research Center (W.M.T.M.A.R.C)

were located near the Lake are also natural recourses of the *wäräda*. In other parts of the *wäräda*, there are also different caves like Cere Cave and Gete Semani Cave in Gete Semani, Gojjam Cave in Enegode, and Abba Miniyos Cave in Goshara Diquate.⁷

Climatically the *wäräda* experiences *Däga*, *Waynna Däga* and *Qolla* climatic conditions. The majority of the *qäbäles* located in the central, west and south west manifest *Waynna Däga* climatic condition. This area experiences maximum rainfall in the months of June, July, August and September. Agriculturally, it is the most productive part of the *wäräda*. The fact that it has many plains and marshes with rich and inexhaustible pasture has made it suitable for animal husbandry. The fertile soils of the *Wayna Däga* areas of the district produce *teff* (*Eragrostis teff*), *nug* (*Guizotia abyssinica*), *dağussa* (*Eleusine coracana*), wheat (*Triticum*), and maize (*Zea mays*) for which the area is known. The northern part of the *wäräda* is *Qolla* area; whereas the remaining part of the *wäräda* including Gunda Woyne *qäbäles* is *Däga* areas. There is also dense forest resource in the area which enabled to be green and attractive.⁸

Historical Background of the People and Socio- Cultural Setting

Some written sources reveal, that the Agäw people dominated the region south of Lake Ṭana including present day Goncha Siso Enasé district between the

⁷Yä Goncha Siso Enasé *Wäräda Bahilna Masehebe Tebaqa Tshefat Bet, "Tamragnaw Hayqe"* Gunda Wayne: 2004 E.C), pp.1-3; and Gebyaw Abebe, p. 2.

⁸Gebyaw Abebe, pp. 2-3; Informants: Getacew Ketteema and Tesfaw Ayele.

before 17th centuries.⁹ But it is not to mean that, the Agäw people were not the earliest inhabitants of Gojjam. For instance, Tākla Eyäsus, Fantahun Birhane, Habtamu Mengestie and Abebaw Ayalew, argue that the Gafat were one of the earliest inhabitants of Gojjam living on both sides of the Abay (Blue Nile) River.¹⁰ They argue that among the descendants of ancient Gafats, Malalo occupied present day Bibun, Seltanhaile, Sar Medere and Goncha long before the coming of the Agäw.¹¹ On the other hand based up on both the traditions of Agäw and Gumuz, the Gumuz were displaced by the Agäw from the region of East Gojjam including the present day district of Goncha Siso Enasé.¹² Therefore, it seems possible that the Agäw of Gojjam dominated the Gafat as well. In this case, Agäw traditions explain that “*La Neta Awiya*” /the Seven Houses of Agäw/ came to Gojjam from Lasta as hunters during the Zagwé period.¹³ The Agäws of Gojjam seem to have eventually established a kingdom of their own in Gojjam Even though, there is no clear cut information when and how the establishment of the Agäw kingdom of Gojjam did was realized.¹⁴

⁹Habtamu Mengestie, *Lord, Zéga and Peasant: A Study of Agrarian Relations in Rural Eastern Gojjam*. Addis Ababa: Forum for Social Studies, Special Monograph Series, No. 1, 2004. p. 7; Asrat Araya, “A History of Buré Damot Wārāda, 1936-1974” (MA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2010), pp. 7-8.

¹⁰Täkelä Eyäsus Waqejera (*Aläqa*), *Yä Gojjam Teweled Bämulu Kä Abbay Eskä Abay*, ed., Germa Gétahun (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2003 E.C.), pp. 42-46; Fantahun Birhane, “Gojjam: 1800-1855,” (BA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1973), p. 26;

¹¹Täkelä Eyäsus, p. 45; Taddesse, “*Ethiopia in Miniature...*”, p. 956.

¹²Taddesse Tamrat, “Nilo- Saharan Interactions with Neighboring Highlanders: The Case of the Gumuz Resettlement in Ethiopia” (Addis Ababa University, Institute of Developmental Research (IDR), 1988), pp. 1-9; Tsega Endalew, *Inter-Ethnic Relations on a Frontier: Mätäkkäl (Ethiopia), 1898 -1991* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), pp.10-27.

¹³Taddesse Tamrat, “Process of Ethnic Interaction Integration in Ethiopian History: The Case of Agäw” *Journal of African History*, XXIX, 1, (1988), p. 11.

¹⁴G. W. Huntingford, *The Historical Geography of Ethiopia: From the First Century AD to 1704* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp.75-90.

But from the 13th century onwards, both Zagwé and later the Solomonic emperors tried to extend their rule over the Agäw kingdom of Gojjam by expanding the frontiers of Christianity into the region south of Lake Ṭana including the present day Goncha Siso Enasé. For instance, as described by Professor Taddesse Tamrat, Emperor Lalibäla sent an army led by Nä`akuto-Lä`Ab to control a rebellion of an Agäw ruler of Gojjam and Nä`akuto-Lä`Ab was successful in controlling the rebellion.¹⁵ There are also additional information's about the settlement of the supporters of Lalibäla in Gojjam during the political conflicts between Lalibäla (r. c. 1160-c.1185) and Emperor Harbé.¹⁶ Existing Sources confirmed that under the new Solomonic rulers of the 14th century, Zagwé attempts to extend their rule in the region south of Lake Ṭana including the present day Goncha Siso Enasé were intensified. In this case, the year 1316/17 was a turning point in the history of Gojjam in which the district of Goncha Siso Enasé shares its history ¹⁷ Based up on first written data of the chronicler, Emperor Amdä Şeyon (1314-1344) reached to the areas where Agäw kings exercised political power. From the beginning of the 14th century and onwards, Gojjam, in which Goncha Siso Enasé is its integral part, became a tributary province of the medieval Christian kingdom.¹⁸

¹⁵Taddesse, *Church and State*, p. 63.

¹⁶Täklä Eyäsu, pp. 161-165.

¹⁷Taddesse, *Church and State*, pp. 189-191.

¹⁸Nebeyu Eyasu, "Administrative History of Gojjam: 1941-1974" (MA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2004), pp. 6-10.

However, the resistance to the spread of Christianity and expansion of churches in the region south of east Gojjam and Goncha Siso Enasé was still fundamental. For this matter, it was during the time of Amdä Şeyon`s reign, that monk Yafqränä Igzi of Gugban was not able to propagate Christianity outside of his domain.¹⁹ Still, in the early 1340s, another attempt by a Christian monk *Abba Zä Yohannes* was not able to teach and spread Christianity in area.²⁰

Hence, it was that because of the continuous and strong challenge of the Agäw of Gojjam, the expansion and impact of Christianity in the region of the study area in particular and south of Lake Tanna in general was not significant before the beginning of the 17th century.²¹ But Amdä Şeyon`s conquest of Gojjam was accompanied by deep evangelical activities and settlement of Christians in eastern Gojjam. It was evident particularly during the reigns of Emperors Dawit (r.1382-1412) and Yeshaq (r.1414-1428). As a result, famous monasteries like Däbrä Wärq Maryam, Dima Gioreges and Märṭola Maryam were founded during the 14th and early 15th centuries. These monasteries and Christian settlements around them seem to have then served as point of further evangelical activities in the interior of eastern Gojjam²² in which

¹⁹Habtamu Mengiste, "Lord, Zega and Peasant in Eastern Gojjam, p. 11; Tadesse, *Church and State*, p. 191.

²⁰Tadesse, *Church and State*, pp. 195-196.

²¹Tadesse Tamrat, "A Short Note on the Tradition of Pagan Resistance to the Ethiopian Church in the 14th and 15th Centuries," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. X, No. 1 (1972), pp. 145-146.

²²Abebaw Ayalew, "A History of Painting in East Gojjam in the 18th and 19th centuries: A Study of the Second Gonderian Style of Painting" (MA Thesis, Department of History, Addis

Goncha Siso Enasé was an integral part and neighbor for the monasteries. It also seems that the Agäw of Gojjam were continuously pushed further west to their present settlement area in Gojjam.²³ There was a saying in eastern Gojjam including Goncha Siso Enasé as regards to this which reads as:

አገጣ ሲሰረድ
አግራ ሲለምድ²⁴

As the Agäw migrated,
The Amhara settled.

Even there are place names which bear the word Agäw in the study area, which confirms the idea of Agäw inhabitation in the area in the past. Names like Agäw Barat, Agäw Serash Kab, Agäw Badema, and Yä Agäw Meret.²⁵ But it seems that as a result of the gradual pressure from the Christian state from the east, during the period before the beginning of the 16th century, eastern Gojjam including Goncha Siso Enasé had already become a region of Christian and Amharic speaking peoples. As a result, the rulers of the Agäw kingdom of Gojjam during the 15th and 16th centuries assumed Christian names.²⁶

During the time *Imam* I Ahmad Ibn Ibrahim al- Gazi, nicknamed *Graññ* (the left handed), invasion of the Christian kingdom from 1527-1543, the Agäw

Ababa University, 2002), p. 6; Tadesse, *Church and State*, pp. 202-203; and Jean-Doresse, *Ethiopia: Ancient Sites and Temples (Trans.)* (London: Elek Books, 1969), pp. 100-124;

²³Tadesse, *Church and State*, p. 27; and Tadesse Tamrat, "Nilo-Saharan Interactions with Neighboring Highlanders", pp. 5-6.

²⁴Abebaw Ayalew, p. 7.

²⁵Ayele Tariku, "A History of Hulet Iju Enase Wäräda 1941-1991" (MA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2008), p. 5; Abewaw Ayalew, pp. 11-12; Täklä Eyäsus, p. 163; Goncha Siso Enase Wäräda *Bahilna Tourism Mastebaberya Tshefat Bet*, "Ya Goncha Siso Enase Wäräda *Tarikawena Ya Meshib Botawoch Qenget, Quter Ande*" (Gonda Woyne, *Yekatit* 2000E.C), p. 7; Informants: Kabe Yetayew, Manaye Yetayew, and Menalu Terefe.

²⁶*Ibid*, p. 202; and Tadesse, "Ethiopia in Miniature," p. 957.

of Gojjam rebelled and collaborated with him and looted Christians.²⁷ Further more in this case there was a tradition that the famous monasteries of Dabre Warq Maryam, Märṭolä Maryam and many others were burnt by the Muslim forces of *Imam Ahmad*.²⁸ Today there are huge pillar of stone in the Church of Märṭolä Maryam which was believed to have been erected there by *Graññ*. The monastery of Dabre Warq Maryam was highly attacked by him.²⁹

During the second half of the 16th and early 17th centuries, after the invasion and huge suffer from *Imam Ahmad* eastern Gojjam in which the study area of my thesis belonged became the settlement area of the Damot and Gafat peoples from south of the Abay.³⁰ As mentioned earlier, however, in the eastern part of Gojjam, including present day Goncha Siso Enasé area, the influence of Christianity remained minimal. However, successive Christian emperors, particularly since the reign of Särşä Dengel (r.1563 - 1597), subjugated and assimilated the Agäw with others or pushed them further into the west part of their present settlement area in Gojjam.³¹ Hence, during the last quarter of the 17th century, the Agäw of Gojjam were completely Christianized.³²

²⁷Tadesse, "A Short Note on the Tradition of Pagan Resistance to the Ethiopian Church," p. 146; and Tadesse, *Church and State*, pp. 297-299.

²⁸Sileshi Mengistie, "A History of Dima *Giyorgis* Monastery from Foundation to 1974" (BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1998), p. 8.

²⁹Habtamu Mengestie, "The History of the Monastery of Mertule Maryam C.1500/-1974," (BA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1998), p. 17; Informants: Assafa Ejigu, Bayeable Sahelu, and Muneye Jamebare.

³⁰Pankhurst, Richard, *The Ethiopian Border Lands: Ancient Times to the End of the 18th Century* (Asmara: The Red Sea Press, Inc., 1997), pp. 340-346.

³¹Asrat, pp. 10-11.

³²Tadesse, pp. 11-13.

Nevertheless, the late comers have left their lasting impression by dividing the area into different parts and giving their names to various regions. Accordingly, the name Goncha comes from local Amharic word *Gawucha*, meaning forest. On the other hand, the adjoining name of the *wäräda*, Siso Enasé, comes from a tradition that the people of the region claim. Informants claim a tradition which says that in the 14th c A.D, Semitic language speakers, the sons of Enasé namely Aletablal, Yawondeal and Arbacha came to the region of East Gojjam across Sarmeder and controlled the area extending from River Caya to the Abaya River. For the purpose of administration, they divided the region into two parts, Siso (one third) of the land was given to Arbacha and hence, it was called Siso Enasé. Whereas two third of the area was given to the two brothers and called Hult Eju Enasé.³³ The language spoken in the *wäräda* is Amharic. Informants asserted that since the time in which the Semitic people of Amhara arrived, it was the Amharic language which was spoken entirely in the *wäräda*.³⁴

Agriculture is still the major source of livelihood for the majority of Ethiopians. The same is true for the district of Goncha Siso Enasé. Handicraft industry and trade are auxiliary economic activities. In order to conduct trade activities, the largest market in Goncha Siso Enasé is held on Saturday. Currently, there are also numerous small local markets in the district like

³³Ayele, p. 4; Ashagrie Getnet, "Goncha Siso Enase Capacity Development Program Baseline Survey Report", Mareto La-Maryam, 2010, P. 16; Informants: Musse Tamrat, Walle Lemaneh, and Sabaye Yerdaw,

³⁴*Yä Goncha Siso Enase Wäräda Bähiln ena Mäsehebe Tebaqa Tshifat Bet, "Achir Yä Goncha Siso Enase Tärik"* (Gunde Woyne: 2008), p. 2; Informant: Getachew Kettema, Walle Lemaneh, and Musse Tamerat.

Friday market at Geti Semani, Wednesday market at Gänbore, and other small local markets. The large number of the *wäräda* population depends on farming agriculture. Farming is dependent mainly on the annual rainfall. The only areas where irrigation is used are Serat Yerawoch, Lay Michael, Tach Michal, Tigdar Begdo, and Angote. Farming in the *wäräda* was practiced for long period of time and it was oxen plow. Such agricultural practice of farming was practiced either individually or in local labor association. The associations were formed for simplifying the work and to raise the moral of farmers during agricultural work. They are called *Däbo* or *Wonfel*. It is a kind of group work in the rural area which depends upon individual interest of members to join or not.³⁵

Moreover, in the *wäräda* there are people who are engaged in handicrafts such as weavers, blacksmiths, tannery, pottery and others. These artisans produced different kinds of products like jars, vessels, stew pots, and plates for a variety of day to day function. However, the predominantly agrarian population of the area holds the artisans of Goncha Siso Enasé in low esteem and there is low social interaction with them.³⁶

The people of Goncha Siso Enasé have strong socio-economic and cultural relation with the neighboring people of South Gonder, Hulet Iju Enase, Enarje Enawga and Enabse *Wärädas*. They celebrate funeral and wedding ceremonies together. The Saturday market of Gunda Woyne has always been

³⁵ *Ibid*

³⁶ Ayele Tariku, p. 7; Informants: Walle Lemaneh, Musse Tamerat, Terefe Asaye, and Tesfa Bizualem.

attended both by the people of Mota, Enabse Sar Medr, and Dabra Warq. The ability to speak similar language (Amharic language) makes marketing easier. However, there were conflicts and bloodshed among the people of Goncha Siso Enasé and the neighboring *wärādas*. The root cause of the conflicts and blood sheds were local social and economic issues like theft, blood feud, and farming land border disputes.³⁷

Religiously the people of Goncha Siso Enasé *Wärāda* are followers of Ethiopian Orthodox Church. But, in the area there was some religious controversy among the community. According to my informants and existing literature, the majority of the *wärāda* communities were adherents of *Qebat* sect. Even it is largely believed that, the expansion and advent of *Qebat* sect into eastern Gojjam was associated with the teaching of a monk named Ewestatewos at Qoga Kidane Miheret monastery which is found in the study area in the 17th century. Because of this reason, informants argue that Goncha Siso Enasé *Wärāda* was the main center of *Qebat* sect.³⁸ The district has several man-made and natural heritages. Among these are the well known monasteries of Qoga Kidane Mihert, Gunda Woyne Maryam and Lake Bahire Giyorgis, Mount Abbaminyos, Jeret water fall and caves.³⁹

³⁷ Informants: Walle Lemaneh, Musse Tamerat, Terefe Asaye, and Tesfa Bizualem.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Goncha Siso Enase *Wärāda Bahilna Tourism Mastebabrya Tshefat Bet*, p. 2.

Goncha Siso Enase Wārāda During Italian Occupation, 1936-1941

At the time of Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, the people of Gojjam, in which the district of Goncha Siso Enasé is an integral part, took part in the fighting against them. According to my informants, people of Gojjam including Goncha Siso Enasé area marched to the north to take part in the Shire front which was commanded by *Ras Imiru*.⁴⁰

But the Ethiopian resistance army was defeated and subsequently the Italians reached Goncha Siso Enasé and Mota areas via Dabra Marqos, Bahir Dar and Begameder in 1936. Particularly Buce Tilinty Kudayan led the Italian force and reached first to the areas of Mota crossing Goncha Siso Enasé and Dabra Warq areas from Dabra Marqos.⁴¹

After their arrival and suppressing local resistance for the time being, the Italians established their forts in different areas of east Gojjam including Goncha Siso Enasé. Among the forts that the Italians built in Goncha Siso Enasé were located in the localities of Tora Meda and Atalal.⁴²

On 4, 1936 the Italians established a military administration in Ethiopia. Accordingly General Alessandro Pirzio Biroli became the first governor of Amhara region. According to their administration plan, Gojjam was also made a commissionership and put under the military administration of

⁴⁰Ayele Tariku, pp. 15-16; Informant: Tesfaw Ayele, Walla Tessema, and Tefaw Gete.

⁴¹Ayele Tariku, p. 17; and Seletane Seyoum, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam 1936-1941," (Ph.D Dissertation, Department of History: Addis Ababa university, 1999), pp. 117-122.

⁴²Informants: Tesfaw Ayele, Walla Tessema, and Tefaw Gete.

General Achille Starace on 20 May, 1936. Soon, the commissionership of Gojjam was divided into five centers of administration known as Residence. Accordingly, the district of Goncha Siso Enasé was made center of Vice Residence with its main Residence at Mota.⁴³

However, because of the intensity of patriotic resistance, the structure and centers of Italian administration in Gojjam varied from time to time. The Italians could not establish effective rule in the area of Goncha Siso Enasé. In 1937, Ras Hailu Balew organized the patriots and appointed them in their respective regions. It was based on such arrangement that both *Fitawrari* Habasha Wojale and *Lij Terfe Retta* were appointed as local leaders and war commanders for Goncha Siso Enase.⁴⁴

Goncha Siso Enasé in particular was one of the areas in Gojjam where patriotic resistance was most intensified. Because of this, Goncha Siso Enasé became one of the important Italian centers where military operations were conducted. The first popular reaction against Italian rule in Goncha Siso Enasé took place on August 15, 1937 at a place called Atalal near Chamo River⁴⁵. On the same month, 1937 the people of Goncha Siso Enasé under the leadership of *Fitawrari* Terfe Retta ruthlessly attacked and killed some Italians at a locality

⁴³Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 95, 98; and Informants: Walle Tessema, Yaregal Adugna, and Sabaye Yeredaw.

⁴⁴Abebe Dires, "The Life and Careers of *Fitawrari* Terfe Retta", (BA Thesis, Department of History. Bahir Dar University, 2003), p. 18; Seltene Seyum, pp. 356-358; and Goncha Siso Enase *Wäräda Bähil ena Tourism Tshefat Bet*, "Achir Yä Goncha Siso Enase Tärieq" (Gunde Woyne: 2008), pp. 2-3.

⁴⁵Abebe Dires, pp. 37-42; and Yä Goncha Siso Enase *Wäräda Bahil ena Tourism Tesfhat Bet Yä Kires Tebeqana Tourism Lemat Wäna Yesira Hedet*, "Goncha Ena Tärekawie Botäwochwa" (Gunde Woyne: 2006), p. 2; and Informants: Asfaw Terfe, Walle Tessema, and Yaregal Adugna.

called Tora Meda Abbo. The following couplet clearly sums up the victory of the patriots:

ገዳይ ከቶራ ሜዳ አበ
የፈረንጅ ፊት እስኪመስል ዳበ ⁴⁶
The gallant warrior from Tora Meda Abbo
Roasted the flash of his foe!

The patriots also captured a lot of fire arms including machine guns from the Italian. In fact the patriots also suffered wounds and several others died (see appendix 1).⁴⁷

In September, 1938 the people of Mota area including Goncha Siso Enasé rose in arms against the Italians who came from Bahir Dar. In this campaign, patriot of Goncha Siso Enasé namely *Fitawrari Habesha Wojale* led the patriots to suppress the Italians. But because of poor coordination and lack of supplies the patriots did not totally annihilate the Italians from the area.⁴⁸

The battle changed the nature of resistance and the campaign center of the patriots. Occupying strategic areas of Abay Gorge and mount Abba Minyos continued their struggle. On their part the Italians took harsh measures against the patriots supported by collaborates. But the patriots who were fortified in a secure area of the neighboring mountainous area of Abba Minyos and Abay Gorge put heroic resistance against the Italians and intensified the

⁴⁶Yä Goncha Siso Enase *Wäräda Bähil ena Tourism Tesfhat Bet Yä qires Tebeqāna Tourism Lemat Wānna Yesera Hedat*, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁷List of patriots who were died at different war fronts fighting with the invading force of Italians, Mota Municipality Office Archive, no Folder No. no File No.

⁴⁸Ayele Tariku, p. 18.

country's liberation movement.⁴⁹ The 1940 and 1941 the British campaign against the fascist forces in east Africa finally helped the patriots of Gojjam including Goncha Siso Enase district to drive out the Italians. The presence of continued effective resistance in Gojjam secured the attention of the British officer in the Sudan, Colonel Arthur Sandford, to cross the borders of Ethiopia in that direction. Sandford entered Gojjam as the head of a small force called Mission 101 consisting of a small Sudanese force known as Frontier Battalion and a fifty-manned squad of Ethiopians led by Azaž Kabada Tassama representing the Emperor. On September 18, 1940, accompanied by Azaž Kabada Tassama, Sandford reached Gojjam in which the district of Goncha Siso Enasé was an integral part, and travelled widely among the patriots of Gojjam and distributed arms among the patriots.⁵⁰

The fascist rulers in Addis Ababa were very much anxious about the activities of Mission 101 and intensification of the resistance supported by this international reinforcement. The Duke of Aosta (Amadeo Umberto) assigned his Deputy, General Guglielmo Nasi, to take command in Gojjam to reverse the situation. On December 8, 1940, General Nasi brought Ras Haylu to Däbrä Marqos as the Ras of Gojjam. But, it seems that fascist authorities were too late to reverse the situation.⁵¹

⁴⁹Yä Goncha Siso Enase *Wäräda Bähil ena Tourism Tshefät Bet Yä Qires Tebeqa ena Tourism Lemat Wäna Yesira Hedet*, p. 6; and Informants: Kabe Yetayew Tarafe Asaye, Walle Tassema, and Manaye Yetayew.

⁵⁰Tädla Zä Yohannes, *Yä Ethiopia Tarik: Italia Bä Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Mankusa Publishing Enterprise PLC, 2004 E.C. p. 239.

⁵¹Shirreff, A.D. "The Ethiopian Patriotic Contribution to the 1941 Campaign Against the Italians in Gojjam" *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*,

On January 3, 1941, the Gideon Force of two Battalions, the Commonwealth, and the 2nd Ethiopian Battalions led by another British officer, Major Orde Charles Wingate, and accompanied by Emperor Haylä Sellasé, crossed the Ethiopian frontier at Omedla.⁵² By the late February 1941, the Gédiwon Force reached around Buré in Gojjam. By early March 1941, patriot leaders of Gojjam went to Buré to meet and greet the emperor. The Emperor rewarded them with pistols, guns, and ammunition. Among others, according to my informants, *Lij Tēffe Reta*, *Fitawrari Délnsa Rata*, and *Fitawrari Habesha Wojale* of Goncha Siso Enasé, each of them received hand guns from the Emperor.⁵³

Unlike initial British expectation for a very strong resistance from Italian garrisons in Gojjam, in which Goncha Siso Enasé is its integral part, on February 16, 1941, General Nasi ordered the withdrawal of the Mota, garrison.⁵⁴ Here, sources explain that patriotic forces severely attacked the retreating enemy, although they suffered a lot from Italian air bombardment.⁵⁵ On February 23, 1941, the Italian officer at Bahr Dar, Colonel Torelli, ordered the withdrawal from the Goncha Siso Enasé, Enabse, Mota garrisons to Dabra

Bahru Zewde, Taddese Beyene, eds., Vol. I, Addis Ababa (1994), pp. 849-859; and Tädla, p. 238.

⁵²Shirreff, p. 853; and Informants: Abebaw Abebe, Assfaw Gasesse, and Aychew Gelaye.

⁵³Täklä Şadiq, *Yä Ethiopia Tarik Kā Aşé Téwodros Eské Qédamawi Haylé Sellasé*, Second Edition, (Addis Ababa: Berehan Ena Salam Printing Press, 2000 E.C) p. 329; Alula, p. 63; and Informants: Abebaw Abebe, Assfaw Gasesse, and Aychew Gelaye.

⁵⁴Shirreff, pp. 853-855.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

Marqos. This marked the end of the five years Italian occupation of Goncha Siso Enasé district.⁵⁶

CHAPTER II

GONCHA SISO ENASE WĀRĀDA FROM LIBERATION TO REVOLUTION, 1941- 1974

Administration

Italian forces withdrew from the Gunde Woyne and Moja military garrisons in 1941. Thus, this chapter will assess the major administrative, social and economic developments of Goncha Siso Enasé *Wārāda* from 1941 to the period of the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution.

In the following few months after the withdrawal of the Italians, the emperor passed various decrees on socio-economic and political aspects. In order to strengthen his power, the emperor worked hard to restructure the administrative step of the country. To realize the administrative restructuring of the country, the emperor issued consecutive decrees and proclamations in the three decades of the post liberation period.⁵⁷

⁵⁶Seltene, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam," pp. 350-355; and Informants: Kabe Yetayew, Tarafe Asaye, Walle Tassema, and Manaye Yetayew.

⁵⁷John Markakis, *Ethiopia Anatomy of Traditional Polity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 119; Donald Crummey, *Land and Society in the Christian Highland Kingdom of Ethiopia from the 13th to 20th Centuries* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), pp. 234-235; Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern...*, p. 178; and Alberto Sabachi, *Ethiopia: Under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience* (London: Zed Books, 1985), pp. 212-213,

The government sought to establish a similar local administration over all territories in the country. The emperor strengthened his centralized administration assigned loyal officials in the peripheries.⁵⁸

Based on the decree entitled "Administrative Regulations", the Ethiopian empire was divided into *awraja* (sub-province), *wäräda* (district), *mesläné* (sub-district) and *mikitiḥ mesläné* (below sub-district). Numerically the country was divided into 12 *awrajjas*, 60 *wärädas*, 339 *meslänés*, and 1176 *mikitiḥ-meslänés*.⁵⁹

It was according to this political reorganization that Goncha and Siso Enasé were made sub district (*mesläné*) with their own separate administrative centers at Angot and Baza Asteryo respectively under Mota *Abegaz* (see appendix 2). The administrative centers were established in the places where great markets, churches and some settlements existed. One of the reasons for the selection of such sites was to enable government decrees and new proclamations to be made known.⁶⁰

The 1942 decree also authorized the emperor or provincial governor to appoint *wäräda mesläné*, *mikitiḥ mesläné* and *mesläné* secretaries. Accordingly governors in Gojjam *awraja* (province) were appointed by the then governor general of the *awraja* (province) Ras Haylu Bäläw (r.1942-1945 and 1950-

⁵⁸Crummey, p.237; and Daniel Gemechu, "A Nation in Perpetual Transition: The Politics of Changes in Administrative Divisions in Ethiopia" *Proceedings of 12th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, (1994), pp. 96-97.

⁵⁹"Administrative Regulations," *Nagarit Gazeta*, Decree No 1 of 1942, August 27, 1942; Crummey, *Land and Society...*, pp. 234-237; and Markakis, pp. 348-349

⁶⁰Informants: Getachew Ketema, Sabaye Yeredaw, and Walle Lemaneh.

1957), under the approval of Emperor Haylä Sellasé. Known patriot leaders became *mesläné* and *mikitil mesläné* governors or took other offices regardless of their level of education.⁶¹

Fitawrari Habesha Wojale, known patriot during the time of Italian invasion, was appointed as *mesläné* of Goncha. *Fitawrari* Habesha briefly ruled Goncha from 1942-1945 with his administrative center at Angot. *Ato* Mengestu Reta, on the other hand, was appointed as secretary of Goncha *mesläné*. *Balambaras* Belay Bezabeh and *Grazmač* Ayalew Temche were appointed as *Mikitil mesläné* of Goncha. On the other hand *Fitawrari* Akelew Baleh and *Ato* Terfe Getahuan were appointed as *mesläné* and secretary of Siso Enasé. Similarly *Ato* Alemayehu Zeru and *Ato* Assefa Hunegnaw were also appointed as *Mikitil mesläné* Siso Enasé (see appendix 3).⁶² Regarding salary, the *mesläné* governor, and *mikitil mesläné* were paid 60 and 40 Ethiopian *birr* per month respectively. The Secretary of *mesläné*, and *mikitil mesläné* were paid 40 and 30 *birr* respectively per month (see appendix 4).⁶³

The initial steps of administrative revitalization were made in the district of Goncha and Siso Enasé. However, there was acute shortage of trained personnel at all levels. For some time, the *mesläné*, and *mikitil mesläné*

⁶¹ Nebeyu, p. 51; Informants: Muneye Jamebare, Ayalesew Getnet, and Bayeable Sahelu.

⁶² *Yä Šumament ena Sāratāññoč Zerzer Māzegeb, Gojjam Tāqlay Gezat*, National Archive and Library Agency (N A L A), h†. Folder No. 24, File No. 09.

⁶³ *Yä Šumament ena Sāratāññoč Zerzer Māzegeb, Gojjam Tāqlay Gezat*, N A L A, h†. Folder No, 24, File number 09; Informants: Alemu Wassie, Bayeable Sahelu, and Muneye Jamebare.

governors also acted as heads of justice.⁶⁴ In this case, my informants asserted that, it was only since 1944/45 that *mesläné*, and *mikitil mesläné* offices of justice, treasury and police were formally established at Goncha and Siso Enasé. Other known patriots like *Fitawrari* Delnesa Retta, *Lij Terfe Retta* and others became security workers of Goncha and its people until the police was formally established in the town by 1946.⁶⁵

On June 28, 1946, the imperial government came up with an amended administrative regulation which was an amendment of the 1942 administrative regulations. Accordingly, *awrajja gezates* (like Gojjam) were elevated to the status of *Taqelay gezate*, *Wäräda gezates* were elevated in to *awrajja gezates*, and *mesläné* territories became *wäräda gezat*.⁶⁶

Accordingly, the formerly *mesläné* territories (sub districts) of Goncha and Siso Enasé, as a single administrative unit, was elevated to *wäräda gezat* under Mota *Awrajja* with its center at Gunde Woyne.⁶⁷ Goncha and Siso Enase were arranged as its *mikitil wärädas*. The 1946 administrative regulation gave power to the emperor to appoint the *wäräda* governors on the basis of the recommendation of the Minister of Interior. In the appointment of *awrajja*, *wäräda*, and *mikitil wäräda* governors and its secretaries were not appointed

⁶⁴ Informants: Ayalesew Getnet, Bayeable Sahelu, and Muneye Jamebare.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*; A letter written from Goncha *Wäräda* governor, Ato Terfe Retta to Mota *Awrajja* Administration Office, *Hedar 2*, 1950 E.C, no file No. no folder No.

⁶⁶ Daniel Gemechu, "A Nation in Perpetual Transition: The Politics of Changes in Administrative Divisions in Ethiopia" *Proceedings of 12th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, 1994, pp. 96-98; "Administrative Regulations (Amendments)," *Negarit Gazeta*, Decree No 6 of 1946, June 28, 1946; and Teshale Tebebu, *The Making of Modern Ethiopia, 1986-1997* (Lawrenceville: The Red Sea Press, 1995), pp. 115-116.

⁶⁷ "Administrative Regulations (Amendments)," *Negarit Gazeta* Decree No. 6 of 1946; Informants: Aschalew Melese, Alemu Tadesse, and Getachew Ketema.

alone by the Minister of Interior. The relation between *awrajja* governors or *Abegāzes* and Minister of Interior had a decisive role during the appointment of some official or its dismissal. In the bureaucratic channels established, the *awrajja* governors appointed or promoted individuals whom they wanted to give a favor. The same is true for *wārāda* administrators. This situation opened ways for the prevalence of nepotism. Hence, central government appointed the former patriot and security of Siso Enasé *mislenie*, Ato Terfe Retta in 1946, as the first governor of Goncha Siso Enasé *Wārāda*. Ato Belay Gusesse was also appointed as secretary of the *wārāda*. Similarly, on the other hand, Ato Assefaw Hungnaw was appointed as the governor of Siso Enasé *mikitil wārāda* and *Grazmach* Ayalew Temche became governor of Goncha *mikitil wārāda* with Ato Getta Ayene as his secretary (see appendix 5).⁶⁸ But, both archival and oral sources could not indicate for how many years Ato Terfe Retta and all other governors ruled the district of Goncha Siso Enasé *Wārāda*.

After such political and territorial rearrangements which were made during the period, a total of five district governors ruled the district of Goncha Siso Enasé from 1946 to 1974. They were Ato Terfe Retta, *Fitawrari* Delnesa Retta, *Fitawrari* Melese Bezabeh, *Qāññazmač* Ezikel Alemayehu, *Fitawrari* Terfe Retta, and again *Grazmač* Workneh Melese.⁶⁹ *Fitawrari* Delnesa Retta is said to have governed the *wārāda* mainly through negotiation and compromise. His administrative policy is said to have been tolerant. One major development in

⁶⁸ *Gojjam Tāqlay Gezat Yā Šumament enna Sāratāññoč Zerzer Māzegeb*, N. A. L. A. Folder Number, 10, File Number, 14; *Yā Goncha Siso Enase Bāhil enna Tourism Tsefhat Bet, Achir Yā Goncha Siso Enase Tarik* (Gunda Woyne, 2008), pp. 1-3.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

the *wārāda* in his period was the assignment of territories of Wondye Kuch, Dabre Birhan and Enagesh to Goncha Siso Enase from the Hulet Eju and Inabse Sar Meder *Wārādas*. The main reason for the restoration of these territories was the demand and petitions by local inhabitants to be part of Goncha Siso Enasé *Wārāda*.⁷⁰

The major responsibilities of governors of the district included the maintenance of peace and security, controlling the tasks and duties of the entire officials of the district and hearing public complaints. They were also required to nominate important patriots, who were legible for rewards and promotion, and file monthly reports about all governmental activities in the district.⁷¹ The post liberation period administrative system of the restored regime required district and sub district governors to reside in the capital of the territory under their jurisdiction.⁷² Hence, all the above district governors of Goncha Siso Enasé constructed their residential houses at Gunde Woyne. Below these, lower officials of Goncha Siso Enasé there were local *gultä gāzes* or *gultāññas* (*gult* and governors), each of whom recognized his or her *cheqa šums* (village or parish chiefs).⁷³ The police and other government officials were also appointed by the *awrajja gezat* (provincial government) at Mota.⁷⁴ Furthermore, in accordance with Proclamation number 14 of 1947 a local judge called *atbiya dañña* was appointed for each locality in the district of

⁷⁰*Ibid*; Informants: Biyadege Reta, Alemu Tadesse, and Getachew Ketema.

⁷¹Dawit, p. 57; Informants: Biyadege Reta, Alemu Tadesse, and Getachew Ketema

⁷²Dawit, p. 57.

⁷³Nebeyu, pp. 92-95; Ayele, p. 28; Informants: Alemu Wassie, Alemenew Workie, and Getachew Yenasu.

⁷⁴Informants: Dassaw Tamene, Munye Jambere, and Mesfiene Jambere.

Goncha Siso Enasé which had the effect of reducing the political power of the *gultä gäz*. The *atbiya dañña* was accountable to the district governor.⁷⁵

Lower officials such as the *cheqa šum*, *gultä gäz* and *atbiya dañña* were equally responsible for the *seäteta* (maintenance of peace and security) and administration of justice at the local level in the district. The *gultä gäz* and the *cheqa šum* were responsible for the collection of taxes.⁷⁶ The religious counter part of secular *gultännas* was the *gult* land owning monasteries of like Qoga Kidane Miheret and Gunde Woyne Maryam.⁷⁷

A municipality office was set up at Goncha Siso Enasé in 1963 (see appendix 6)⁷⁸ and it collected the market dues from market held on Saturdays. The secular *gäbäz* of Goncha Siso Enasé had also to act practically as a separate *atbiya dañña* which considerably reduced his judiciary power.⁷⁹ Moreover, the military role of the *gultä gäz* was prohibited by law during the post liberation period.⁸⁰ Nonetheless, the *gäbäz* of Goncha Siso Enasé was still free from direct government interference in his activities except in case of the collection of the tithe. Indeed, appeals were heard at the district administrative

⁷⁵"A Proclamation to Provide for The Establishment of Local Judges" *Negarit Gazeta*. Proclamation 14 of 1947, 1947; Informants: Walle Lemanah, Yalew Munye and Yayahe Yerade.

⁷⁶Nebeyu, pp. 85, 90; Eshetu Chole, "Towards a History of Fiscal Policy of the Pre Revolutionary Ethiopian State, 1941- 1974" *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, XVII (November 1984), pp. 94 -95; Informants: Misefne Taddesse, Muneye Delnesa and Yayahe Yerade.

⁷⁷ Informants: Misefne Taddesse, Muneye Delnesa and Yayahe Yerade.

⁷⁸A letter written from *Däjjazmač* Dires Shefraw, *Mikitel Endärasé* of Gojjam Province to Mota *Awrajja* Administrative Secretary Office, Däbrä Marqos University Archive Center (D. M. U. A. C), Date, 9, 3, 62 E.C, Folder No 84, File No 2768.

⁷⁹Informants: Menalu Terefe, Yalew Melese, Walle Lemanah, and Abebaw Gelaw

⁸⁰Nebeyu, p. 48; and Crummey, p. 24.

level when justice given by the secular *gäbāz* of Qoga Kedane-Mihert was treated unfairly by the local people.⁸¹

However, compared to the other district governors mentioned above, *Fitawrari* Delnesa Retta and *Grazmač* Workneh Melese (r.1968-74) did more to the development of Goncha Siso Enasé district. *Fitawrari* Delnesa Retta is remembered by my informants for his role in which I mentioned in the earlier pages.

Lack of adequate modern education was perhaps the main cause for the administrative inefficiency of most of the patriots who filled the administrative posts of the district of Goncha Siso Enasé during the post liberation period. For instance, *Fitawrari* Melese Bezabeh and *Qāññazmač* Ezikel Alemayehu were illiterates who could not even read and write. Consequently, their main duties became the maintenance of peace and security. Thus, they did not introduce modern innovations to the district. In addition to that, corruption was common among post liberation period governors at all levels.⁸²

Regarding the security condition of Goncha Siso Enasé, the police, *atbiya dañña*, the local *gultä gäž* and *cheqa šum* (village chief) worked together to maintain peace and security in each locality in the district. Like other parts of Gojjam, cattle theft and banditry were some of the post-liberation period

⁸¹Informants: Misefne Taddesse, Muneye Delnesa and Yayahe Yerade.

⁸²A letter from Gojjam *Ṭäqlay Gezat* Inspection Office to the *Ṭäqlay Gezat* Administration Office, 22/11/1946 E.C. Dabra Marqos University Archival Center (D. M. U. A. C); Folder Number, 003450, File Number, 53; Informants: Abebaw Gelaw, Mesefene Mekonen, Teqele Menga, and Getachew Ketteema.

security problems of the district.⁸³ In the mid 1950s in Goncha Siso Enasé *Wārāda*, burning of houses, plunder, homicide and harassment prevailed in the localities of Chaqema Gyiorgis, Abar Wuha Gabriel, Salamge Gyiorgis, Sefi Wonz and other villages. For such crimes, government officials were blamed for their negligence regardless of their responsibilities to maintain law and order. *Šftas* (outlaws) were known to have created acute problems up on merchants, market attendants and rural inhabitants of the district both at night and day time. One of those *Šftas* who have created acute problems on the community was Yeshiwas Ayalew (see appendix 7). At times, the main cause of *Šftenāt* was the need to escape punishment after committing crimes in public disputes for instance, homicide (blood feud).⁸⁴

As a result, sometimes in about 1955, a system known as *Léba Edem* (catch the thief) was introduced in the district. In 1963, during the governorship of *Däjjazmač-Sāhayu Enqwo Sellasé* (r.1960-1968), governor of Gojjam, the *Nāçh Lābaš* (local security force) was also introduced to the province of Gojjam in general and the district of Goncha Siso Enasé in particular with the aim of eradicating *šeftas*(plural) and cattle thieves. This was primarily because of the prevalence of cattle thieves in the province. The *Nāçh Lābaš* were members of the peasantry and at the same time assigned as security worker accountable to the sub district and district governors. However, in most cases,

⁸³ Informants: Getachew Ketteema, Yayahe Yerade, and Teqele Menga

⁸⁴A letter written from *Shaleqa* Getachew Habte-Wolde, Commander of Gojjam Province Police force to *Fitawrari Zewdu Yerdaw*, governor of Mota *Awrajja.Hamle*.10.1956 E.C. D. M. U. A. R .C. Folder No. 1, File No. 274; Informants: Abebaw Gelaw, Mesefene Mekonen, Teqele Menga, and Getachew Ketteema.

they used the traditional method of detecting thieves popularly known as *ewus* or *afärsata*.⁸⁵

Afärsata was customary method of detecting criminals. The people of the area where a crime (e.g. theft of money or cattle) had taken place were summoned to a meeting. Attendance was compulsory, enforced by fines for absence. Judges heard witnesses of different people (including hearsay and speculation). No one could go until the criminal was discovered and the meeting might take even days. The *afärsata* system was unpopular because it wasted time. The local people had to provide food, drinks and accommodation to the judges and soldiers enforcing the system. In some cases innocent people were condemned (see appendix 8&9).⁸⁶

Taxation in Goncha Siso Enase, 1941-1974

Immediately after restoration, Emperor Haylä Sellasé began to make reforms in the system of taxation as well. The great objective of the central government was to consolidate and regularize taxes. It was also to take responsibility for collecting taxes out of the hands of provincial governors and to put it into the hands of officials of the Ministry of Finance.⁸⁷

⁸⁵Informants: Abebaw Gelaw, Misefene Tadesse, Teqele Menga, and Getachew Ketteema.

⁸⁶An appeal from Peasant and farmers of Gunda Woyne Mariyam to governor of Gojjam Province, Dabra Marqos, 23/10/1962 E. C. D. M. U. A. C; Folder Number, 8492, File Number, 14444; Tamrat Wasyihun, "A History of the Modern Ethiopian Police Force, 1942-1991"(Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2016), pp. 22-29; Informants: Abebaw Gelaw, Mesefene Tadesse, Teqele Menga, and Getachew Ketteema.

⁸⁷M. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*,(London: Oxford University Press,1969) p. 209.

The restored government of Haylā Sellasé issued a number of decrees related to taxation and revenue. The first of these proclamations was issued in 1942. It provided that tax should be levied by collectors appointed by the Ministry of Finance. Its main provision was to levy of the following tax up on each *Gaša* (forty hectares) of land, this being a measurement which varies in different districts between 80 to 100 acres.⁸⁸ It classified the rates of land tax for measured land based on its fertility. For measured lands, the rate for one *Gaša lam* (fertile) it was fixed 15 *birr*, 10 *birr* for *lam taf*, and 5 *birr* for *taf* lands of per *Gaša*. However, in areas like Gojjam in which Goncha Siso Enasé is an integral part, where land was not measured and divided into *Gaša*, the taxes of 1935 were simply those that were enforced in 1935. The estimated tithe was to be paid in money.⁸⁹ Thus in Gojjam, where land was not measured and divided into *Gaša*, immediately after the restoration, *asrat* was paid. Based on the existing secondary sources and informants' idea, land taxes in Gojjam, immediately after the restoration period, were paid in grain. Grain was collected by government officials, mainly by the *mislenie* and it was then sold for cash.⁹⁰

In 1944, the imperial government passed another land tax decree. This was an amendment of the 1942 land tax. The new decree that was issued in November 1944 raised the tax on measured land to 50 Ethiopian *birr* per *Gaša*

⁸⁸"A Proclamation to Provide for A Tax on Land," *Negarit Gazeta*. Decree No 8 of 1942. (3), 1942.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

⁹⁰Informants: Ayalesew Getnet, Shebabaw Gedamu, , and Walle Tessema.

for fertile land, 40 *birr* for semi fertile land and 15 *birr* for poor (*taf*) land. Apart from land tax, the government introduced education and health taxes in 1947 and 1959, respectively, based on land ownership.⁹¹

However, since 1941 a significant proportion of the people of Gojjam in general including Goncha and Siso Enasé *mislénie* refused to accept the new taxation system of the government. For instance, land was not classified and measured based on its quality in Gojjam including Goncha and Siso Enasé. The main reason for this was that the people of Gojjam including Goncha and Siso Enasé often associated the implementation of the new government taxation systems with the loss of their traditional *rest* land right. Therefore, peasants of Gojjam and Goncha Siso Enasé opposed the new taxation system of the government. Thus, the peasants of Goncha and Siso Enasé paid taxes at the 1935 land tax rate in addition to an estimated amount of tithe/*asrat* right up to 1967.⁹²

The general trend of the post liberation period taxation system in Ethiopia was to limit the tax power of both the secular and religious *gultāññas*.⁹³ Earlier, in areas under secular government administration including the district of Goncha Siso Enasé, the *cheqa šum* collected taxes and handed them over to the district treasury. Then, based on the 1950 tax reform

⁹¹Nebeyu, p. 89; Crummey, pp. 237- 238; and Eshetu, pp. 92.

⁹²Gebru, pp. 166-167; Nebeyu, pp. 85-89; and Peter Schwab, "Rebellion in Ethiopia, A Study of Gojjam Province," *East Africa Journal* (New York: Adelphi University, November, 1969), p. 29.

⁹³Nebeyu, p. 91; and Crummey, pp. 238-241.

proclamation, taxes were collected by a local official called *tā'āri* (accountable) from each locality of Goncha Siso Enasé corresponding to the size of land holdings. The *gultä gāž*, *cheqa šum* and *atbiya dañña* were also expected to assist the local tax collector. Taxes were collected arbitrarily based on the approximate size of *rest* lands owned by each farmer.⁹⁴

As indicated above, like other parts of Gojjam, the people of Goncha Siso Enasé district refused to accept the new taxation system and land measurement policies of the restored government. In Goncha Siso Enasé district, the first known opposition occurred in October 1946 when *Ato Teref*, the governor of the district, tried to assess the harvest of the year. *Ato Terfe* summoned all *rest* landowners of Goncha Siso Enasé territories for registration (see appendix 10).⁹⁵ But he failed to register because of the strong opposition from the peasants of Goncha Siso Enasé. The peasants passed a night through pillaging the inhabitants of the nearby area. *Ato Terfe Retta* was unable to pacify the peasants and he could not carry out land registration.⁹⁶

Moreover, some parts of the people of the district of Goncha Siso Enasé took part in the peasant rebellions of the 1950s in Gojjam. In May 1950, the people of Goncha Siso Enasé rebelled under the leadership of *Ato Adbare*

⁹⁴Nebeyu, p. 90; Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p. 217; Informants: Biyable Sahelu, Yalew Kinde, Yaregal Adugna, and Sabaye Yeredaw.

⁹⁵A letter written from Bichana and Mota *Awrajja* administration Secretary Office to *Dājjazmač Kābbāda Tāsāmma*, *Endārasé* of Gojjam *Ṭāqlay Gezat*, *Nehase*, 1954 E.C. D. M. U. A. C. no Folder No. File No. 12.

⁹⁶Informants: Ayalesew Getnet, Yalew Kinde, and Yaregal Adugna.

Darge.⁹⁷ The main cause of this rebellion was the introduction of the new taxation system of 1944 and the land measurement. The government force which comprised local militia and other high ranking officials under the leadership of *Ato Terfe* decided to confront the rebel peasants of *Goncha Siso Enasé* at *Abbaminyos*, in the border area of *Goncha Siso Enasé* and *Sar Meder* districts. But *Ato Terfe* was humiliated and rebel forces were able to capture many fire arms from the defeated government forces. However, the uprising was controlled between 1950 and 1951 by government forces that came from *Däbrä Marqos*, and central government forces commanded by *Ras Abebe Aregay*.⁹⁸ The people of *Bečäna* and other districts were mobilized to assist government troops in July and October 1950 because emperor *Haylä Sellase`*s regime was usually trying to mobilize one section of the people of *Gojjam* against the other. For instance, according to my informants, the people of *Goncha Siso Enasé* had participated in the campaign against the rebellion of *Belay Zeleqe* in 1943.⁹⁹

After the uprising, *Ato Terfe* lost his popularity and fame among his kinship in *Goncha Siso Enasé*. The province and sub province officials also thought that there would be disturbance and another revolt if he continued as governor of *Goncha Siso Enasé*. To avoid such uncertainty in the district of *Goncha Siso Enasé*, *Ato Terfe* was transferred to *Enarje Enawga* district in

⁹⁷Abebe Dires, "Banditry and Insecurity....", pp. 27-29; Temesege, p. 14.

⁹⁸Abebe Dires, "Banditry and Insecurity....", pp. 28-31; Temesege, pp. 14-16.

Nebeyu, pp. 58-60; Informants: Ayalesew Getnet, Manaye Yetayew, and Menalu Terefe.

⁹⁹Abebe Dires, "Banditry and Insecurity....", pp. 29-30; Informants: Kabe Yetayew, Manaye Yetayew, and Menalu Terefe.

1952, with a title of *Qāññazmač*. One of the lasting consequences of the 1950 peasant rebellion in Gojjam in general and Goncha district in particular was that the regime made no new effort of land measurement or tax reform until September 1967.¹⁰⁰

The people of Goncha Siso Enasé took part in the 1968 peasant uprising in Gojjam. The immediate cause of this regional peasant rebellion was the 1967 Agricultural Income Tax Proclamation of Ethiopian birr 1. 50.¹⁰¹ One of my informants, a patriot named *Grazmač* Bayeable, indicated that the rebels from Goncha Siso Enasé, Mota and Bibugn made an oath at a place called Azwari River (the boundary between the districts of Mota and Goncha Siso Enasé) in the beginning of August 1968, and the rebels from Goncha elected *Ato* Mechu Wudneh and *Ato* Yeshiwas Ayalew as their leaders.¹⁰² They briefly controlled the town of Gunde Woyne in February 1968, which forced the then district governor, *Grazmač* Melese Workneh, to commit suicide. The *Täqlqay Gezat* office of Gojjam sent *Fitawrari* Terfe Retta, *Awrajja* governor of Mota into Goncha Siso Enasé to settle the situation in his domain. But, the rebels refused to accept the orders and advices of *Fitawrari* Terfe, the former *wäräda* governor. For the second time, he was humiliated and failed to persuade the rebel force

¹⁰⁰ Abebe Dires, p. 31; Abebe, "The Life Careers of *Fitawrari* Terfe Reta," (B.A Thesis Department of History, Bahir Dar University, 2003), pp. 17-19 Informants: Assafa Ejigu, Bayeable Sahelu, and Balew Ababayehu.

¹⁰¹ "A Proclamation to Provide for the Rural Land use Payment and Agricultural Activities Income Tax," *Negarit Gazeta*. Proclamation No. 77. January 4, 1976; Gebru, pp. 166-177; Abebe Dires, "Banditry and Insecurity....," p. 32; Informants: Haile-Maryam Bitew, Balew Ababayehu, Bayeable Sahelu, and Sabaye Yeredaw.

¹⁰² Temesgen, p. 23; Abebe Dires, "Banditry and Insecurity....," p. 35; Informants: Ayalesew Getnet, and Balew Ababayehu.

to disperse he was at his former residential house at Gunde Woyne.¹⁰³ As mentioned in page 34 of this thesis while, he was the governor of Goncha Siso Enasé district, -suffered a major defeat at Abbamniyos in 1950 by the rebelled peasants.

The government commission which was sent from the central government on 1968, to solve the problem in the area were captured and imprisoned by the rebel forces at the house of a farmer in a place called Seqlla Gombore around 12 kms away from Gunde Woyne located in the main road from Gunde Woyne to Addis Ababa and Dabra Marqos. However, with the intervention of the local clergy and elders, on the request of government, the rebels released the captured commission members and *Fitawrari* Terfe. Moreover, the rebel peasants indicated that they would rebel again unless the new tax proclamation was cancelled.¹⁰⁴

In May 1969, Emperor Haile Selassie visited Gojjam and pardoned all rebel leaders of the province, cancelled tax arrears and distributed medals and gave promotions to renowned patriots. To calm down the revolt, province and sub province governors were transferred to other areas. Accordingly, *Fitawrari* Terfe, the *awrajja* governor was transferred to Nāqamte *awrajja*.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Temesgen, pp. 23-25; Abebe Dires, "Banditry and Insecurity....," p. 36; Informant: Balew Ababayehu, Kushiye Kassie, and Getachew Ketema.

¹⁰⁴ Abebe Dires, "Banditry and Insecurity....," p. 36; Gebru, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest*, pp. 181-184; Informants: Assafa Ejigu, Bayeable Sahelu, and Muneye Jamebare.

¹⁰⁵ Abebe Dires, "Banditry and Insecurity....," p. 40; Informants: Assafa Ejigu, and Bayeable Sahelu.

At the beginning of 1960s, the people of Goncha Siso Enasé strongly demanded the establishment of a municipality to the town Gunda Woyne (see appendix 11). The *balabbats* felt that their appeal was not yet answered. The clergy of Goncha Siso Enase also demanded the restoration of their traditional rights of market dues, and the removal of limitations in their judiciary power. Accordingly, in 1961/62, the *balabbats* and clergy of Goncha Siso Enasé asked the *awrajja* court at Mota.¹⁰⁶

Moreover the representatives of the people also traveled to Däbrä Marqos to appeal the case to the *Täqalay Gezat* (provincial) court in September 1963. The governor general of the province, *Qäññazmač* Assefa Tareqe, decided in favour of the petitioners and gave them a letter that ordered the governor of Goncha Siso Enasé to examine and check the suitability of the topography of Gunda Woyne for further urban settlement, to check the number of Gunda woyne town dwellers, and the existence of permanent water source for urban dwellers (See appendix 12).¹⁰⁷ Then, the governor of the district and the local representatives of Goncha Siso Enasé prepared reports with regard to the questions of the *awrajja* governor. The reports of the *awrajja* governor approved that the topography of Gunda Woyne was suitable for urban

¹⁰⁶The appeal of the Clergy of Goncha Siso Enase people to governor of Mota *Awrajja*, *Nehase 12*, 1961 E.C, D. M. U. A. C; Folder Number, 16, File Number 17849/8492/9; A letter written from *Grazmach* Workneh Melese, governor of Gonchan Siso Enase Warada to Ato Delnesa Retta, governor of Mota *Awrajja*, D. M. U. A. C; Megabet, 16, 1961 E.C, Folder No.2798, File No.260/8/58.

¹⁰⁷A letter written from *Qengazmach* Assefa Tareke, Director of Gojjam Province Municipality Office to *Fitawrari* Delnesa Reta, governor of Moat *Awrajja*, Date *Nehase 12*, 1961 E.C, D. M. U. A. C. Folder Number, 16, File Number # 17849/8492/9.

settlements and there was sufficient water source. The intensity of the local demand at Goncha Siso Enasé obliged the then *awraja* governor *Däjjazmač* Dires Šefraw to decide on the establishment of a municipality of Goncha Siso Enasé in 1963(See appendix 13).¹⁰⁸

Land Tenure in Goncha Siso Enase, 1941-1974

The post liberation period saw structural transformations in many aspects. One of the most important of these changes was in land tenure. The question of land tenure is complex and has a vast scope. It constitutes wide ranging issues of the land ownership right, taxation, rules and divisional patterns of the land. In countries like Ethiopia where agriculture has been the bulwark of the economy, the system of land ownership was of fundamental significance in the socio-economic and political life of the society. Land remained the most vital economic resource basis of administration, taxation and military service.¹⁰⁹

Like other parts of northern Ethiopia, in Goncha Siso Enase, there were three forms of land ownership. The prevalent tenure system in Goncha Siso Enase was *rest* (communal) tenure. *Rest* lands were heritable property of community members who could count descent to their respective *aqeñ abbats* (founding fathers).¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸A letter written from *Fitawrari* Delnesa Reta, governor of Moat *Awraja*, to Gojjam *Täqalay Gezat* Municipality Office, Date, Hedar 6, 1962 E. C. D M. U. A. C, Folder Number. 8492, File Number. 2968.

¹⁰⁹Abebe Bēzie, p. 27; Informants: Tesfaw Ayele, Walla Tessema, Tefaw Gete, Biyadege Yesale, and Biyadegelgn Ayenew.

¹¹⁰Gebyaw Abebe, p. 87; Informants: Tesfaw Ayele, Walla Tessema, Tefaw Gete, , nd Biyadegelgn Reta..

However, it was possible for the powerful and the rich to amass as large land as possible by fabricating false genealogies. In the traditional land tenure system of Gojjam, in addition to *rest* rights, there were state granted rights over land. These rights were called *gult*. The *gult* right over land was given as a reward for people who served their lords loyally and to religious institutions as endowment. An individual who was granted *gult* right would be a governor of a small section of a district. For that reason, the area was called *gult*, hence its governor was called *gulta gazhi*. The *gult gazhi* was appointed by the provincial governor or directly by the emperor.¹¹¹

The other form of land tenure in Goncha Siso Enase during the post liberation period was church tenure known in the literature as *sämon*, or *qefäf*. *Sämon* lands were owned and worked by the clergy, and parishioners.¹¹² In this case, among others, oral sources asserted that Gunde Woyne Maryam and Qoga Mädhane Aläm had *qefäfs* until the 1974 Revolution.¹¹³

Rest landowners had tax or tribute obligations to pay to the state. They also had their own *rest* lands which they rented to the landless.¹¹⁴ The *gultä gäz* and *cheqa šum* also enforced the collection of taxes and submit to the district treasury.¹¹⁵ The June 9, 1944 regulation for *gult* administration in

¹¹¹Shiferaw Bekele, *An Economic History of Ethiopia, Vol. I: The imperial Era 1941-1974* (Dakar: Codesira, 1995), p. 73.

¹¹²Desalegn, pp. 19-20; Nebeyu, pp. 99- 100; Informants: Walla Tessema, Tefaw Gete, Biyadege Yesale, and Biyadegelgn Ayenew.

¹¹³Informants: Abebaw Walle, Getachew Ketema, and Ayalesew Getnet.

¹¹⁴Nebeyu, pp. 85, 93, 95; Hoben, *Land Tenure Among the Amhara*, pp. 75- 77; Informants: Abebaw Walle, Getachew Ketema, and Bayable Sahelu.

¹¹⁵Nebeyu, pp. 93-94; and Hoben, *Land Tenure Among the Amhara*, p. 34.

Gojjam province allowed *gult* holders to retain a third of the land tax collected from his *gult*. However, it required the *gult* holder to receive his share of the tax from the district treasury, and not directly from the peasants. Similarly, Article VII of the 1947 proclamation for the setting up of *atbiya dañña* decreed that an *atbiya dañña* had to be a *restä gult* holder, which seemed to have forced the *gultä gäž* to change post.¹¹⁶

Likewise, *gult* land holding monasteries of Goncha district administered their areas under their jurisdiction in the same manner as the secular *gultä gäž*. Particularly, the monasteries of Qoga Kidane Mihert and Gunde Woyne Maryam acted as *miketel* (sub district) governors with considerable power and autonomy from the secular state control.¹¹⁷ The tax from church land was collected through the office of *Bété-kihnet*. But the responsible bodies came to embezzle collected money. This forced the establishment of a new administrative body known as *Mägeberia* Board about 1957. After it collected the tax, the Board submitted the revenue to the *wäräda* treasury. It was then passed to the *Mägabarya* Board of *awrajja* treasury and at last to the Provincial office of church. The state could interfere in the affairs of monastic *gult* administration only when invited and to collect the *asrat*/tithe. Thus,

¹¹⁶Nebeyu, pp. 93-95; Ayele, p. 30; "A Proclamation to Provide for The Establishment of Local Judges," *Negarit Gazeta*. Proclamation 14 of 1947(VII), 1947.

¹¹⁷Informants: Ayalesew Getnet, Musse Tamerat, Tamerat Tessfaye, and Tesfaye Kitaw.

peasants living on church lands had better freedom than those on state lands.¹¹⁸

CHAPTER III

GONCHA SISO ENASE' WĀRĀDA UNDER THE DARG REGIME

Goncha Siso Enase during the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974

Because of maladministration, there was serious opposition from different sections of the society against the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie. The army, teachers, students, taxi drivers, trade unions, and civil servants and peasants were against the old regime with their own respective demands. Gradually, the scope and demand of the revolutionary class increased and included the people. The mass opposition finally ended up with a successful overtakes of power by what later came to be military administration.¹¹⁹

But, the struggle against the imperial regime lacked strong leadership of organized political party. As a result, the military monopolized power in its hands rather than transferring to a civilian leadership. On June 28, 1974, a group of army officers formed a military Junta called the *Därg*, which deposed

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹¹⁹Andargachew Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Revolution, 1974-1987: A Transformation from Aristocracy to Totalitarian Autocracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 34-35; Tefera H/ Sellase, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1994: From Monarchical Autocracy to a Military Oligarchy* (London: Kepan Paul International, 1997), pp. 87-89; and Christopher Clapham, *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 38.

the emperor from power on September 12, 1974, and established a Provisional Military Government.¹²⁰

In Goncha Siso Enase, the establishment of the Provisional Military Government and the demise of the oppressive regime of Emperor Haile Selassie created a sense of pleasure and hope among the oppressed peasants. Because the oppressed people in the *wäräda* expected distribution of land, equality and liberty from the revolution.¹²¹ The *Därg* began arresting district officials of the imperial regime in Goncha Siso Enasé. It announced that the higher officials of the old regime surrender to the newly appointed government officials. In response to this notice, some officials of Goncha Siso Enasé *Wäräda* surrendered voluntarily and were thrown into prison.¹²²

But some few other higher officials did not volunteer to surrender. One such high official of the old regime, who was wanted by the *Därg* in Goncha Siso Enasé was, *Fitawrari* Terfe Reta, who was a patriot, and *wäräda* and *awrajja* governor during the imperial regime (see appendix 14).¹²³ When the *Därg* began to imprison ex-officials, *Fitawrari* Terfe was in *Näqamte*. He came back to his birth place Goncha Siso Enasé, and began to protest against the *Därg*. By agitating and organizing peasants almost in all parts of Goncha Siso Enasé and nearby districts (see appendix 15), *Fitawrari* Terfe, was able to gain

¹²⁰Ottawa Marina and David Ottawa, *Ethiopia: Empire in Revolution* (New York: Africana, 1978), p. 1; Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, p. 226; Clapham, p. 40; and Andargachew Tiruneh, pp. 34,67.

¹²¹Informants: Abebaw Walle, Getachew Ketema, and Bayable Sahelu.

¹²²Informants: Walle Lemaneh, Musse Tamerat, Terefe Asaye, and Tesfa Bizualem.

¹²³A letter written from Public Security Protection Committee Chair-man, to National Administration Minister, N. A. L. A, Nehase, 7, 1967E.C, no Folder No. File No. 46494; Informants Abebaw Walle, Getachew Ketema, and Bayable Sahelu.

followers and initially scored victory over his opponents. The rebel groups under the leadership of *Fitawrari* Terfe Rata and other local land lords (*balabates*) planned to attack the *wäräda* administrative center and to arrest officials of the government.¹²⁴ The district of Goncha Siso Enasé under the leadership of *Fitawrari* Terfe attacked the *wäräda* administrative center, the town of Gunda Woyne.

The rebel groups were able to control the town of Gunda Woyne. The *wäräda* governor *Grazmač* Workneh Melese, including the commander of the *wäräda* police force and other prominent officials of *wäräda* surrendered without fighting against the rebel groups. According to my informants, the reason behind the surrender of the *wäräda* governor, *Grazmač* Workneh Melese and other officials without fighting was the popularity and fighting ability of *Fitawrari* Terfe in war. He was admired as strong and fierce patriot during the Italian invasion, 1937-1941.¹²⁵

The rebel forces' success in Goncha Siso Enasé and in controlling the *wäräda* administrative center, the town of Gunda Woyne, caused a great shock and frustration on the government force at the *awrajja* capital at *Moja* and on the neighboring *wärädas* of Hult Iju, Enabse Sar Meder and others.¹²⁶ On August 20, 1975, the rebel groups from Goncha Siso Enasé, after controlling

¹²⁴A letter written from Lieutenant Colonel Legesse Wolde-Maryam to *Ato Mengesha* Workneh, Tir 6, 1968 E.C, N. A. L. A, Folder No. 7, File No. 16222; Temesgen, p. 17; Informants: Abebaw Walle, Getachew Ketema, and Bayable Sahelu,

¹²⁵Temesgen, p. 17; Abebe Dires, p. 47; Informants: Abebaw Walle, Getachew Ketema, and Bayable Sahelu.

¹²⁶Ayele Tariku, p. 70.

the town of Gunde Woyne, got the support of the people of Hulet Iju *wäräda* and marched to the town of Moጳa, the town of *awrajja* administrative center. But the governor of Mota *Awrajja*, Captain (*Shamble*) Semeratu Bajaba, who knew the destructive action of the rebel groups on the town of Gunde Woyne, tried to mediate with them. Accordingly he selected some local elders for mediation and sent them to the rebel groups before they began to attack the *awrajja* administrative center, town of Moጳa. But, the rebel groups were not voluntary to be mediated. They were ready to get similar victory what they achieved at the town of Gunda Woyne in Goncha Siso Enasé *Wäräda*.¹²⁷

On their travel to attack the *awrajja* administrative center, Moጳa town, the rebel forces of Goncha Siso Enasé under the leadership of *Fitawrari* Tefe Reta, devastated government institutions at Qaranyo.¹²⁸ The rebel forces also attacked the Muslims of Hulet Iju, who live on the way from Goncha to Moጳa in areas of Afaf Giyorgis, Qaranyo, Ayetafazar, and other villages. They burnt their houses, and looted their property. Thus, the Muslims left their villages and settled at Moጳa town. These Muslims of Hulet Iju *wäräda*, who were forced out of their villages by the rebel forces and who were settled in Moጳa town were called *Yä-Terfe Islamoch* (named after the rebel of *Fitawrari* Terfe). The ultimate goal of the rebel groups was to oppose the military rule of *Därg* and its subsequent measurements.¹²⁹

¹²⁷*Ibid*, p.71; Informants: Abebaw Walle, Getachew Ketema, and Bayable Sahelu.

¹²⁸Ayele Tariku, p. 70.

¹²⁹Temesgen, P.27; Informant: Tesfaw Ayele, Walla Tessema, and Tefaw Gete.

When the *awraja* governor Capitan Semeratu Bajaba, understood the impossibility of negotiation for peace, he passed a telegram message to the provincial governor at Dabra Marqos. He indicated that more than 100,000 rebel forces had encircled the town of Moja at near distance (see appendix 16).¹³⁰ When the rebel forces encircled the town of Moja, the residents began to leave the town. Some *awraja* government civil servants went to Dabra Marqos. Merchants closed their homes, shops, business centers and went to rural areas where the influence of rebel forces was minimal.¹³¹

On August 22, 1975, the rebel groups from Goncha Siso Enasé under the leadership of *Fitawrari* Terfe, in collaboration with peasants from Hulet Iju district began to attack the town of Moja. The rebel forces destroyed the *awraja* administrative offices like the municipality, police station, clinic, schools and other institutions like what they had done in Goncha Siso Enasé *Wäräda* center, Gunda Woyne town. Because of exchange of fire between the rebel groups and government forces, the Mayor of Mota town, Mekonen Darsah, committed suicide.¹³²

The central government warned the rebel people of Goncha Siso Enasé and neighboring *wäräda*'s led by *Fitawrari* Terfe Rata, by distributing byres of various villages. Unless the rebel groups stopped their illegal action, the

¹³⁰A letter written from Lieutenant Colonel Asefa Mesele, Administrator Office to Colonel Haile Chane commander of Gojjam Province Police force, Meskerem 19, 1968 E.C, D.M.U.A.C, file No.12, folder No. 706; Temesgen, p. 27; and Ayele Tariku, p. 71.

¹³¹Ayele Tariku, p. 71.

¹³²Temesgen, pp, 27-28; Ayele Tariku, p. 71; Informants: Tesfaw Ayele, Walla Tessema, and Tesfaw Gete.

government would bombard the town. Accordingly the central government began to bombard the surrounding areas of Moja town in August 1975. But the aerial bombardment did not cause a serious damage against the rebel forces of Goncha Siso Enasé who fortified at Demat Gadal, near Moja town. According to my informants, Demat Gadal was a vast, broken mountainous area which was located near Moja town. It was suitable for rebel groups to hide themselves from an open aerial attack of the government force.¹³³

On August 26, 1975, the provincial governor Menegsha Workneh sent a committee led by Colonel Assefa Melese to investigate the general situation in Moja *awrajja* (see appendix 16). The committee arrived at Moja on September 26, 1975 by Helicopter and called an urgent meeting of the *awrajja* officials to investigate the situation. The *awrajja* officials explained the situation. In the meeting, the *awrajja* governor indicated the size of government forces who were engaged in fighting against the rebel forces to defend the town of Moja from the rebel forces. Accordingly, the *awrajja* governor Captain Semertu Bajaba indicated that 51 regular policemen, 10 policemen from *awrajja* prison, 22 sergeant policemen and 13 soldiers were fighting against the rebel forces that were fortified at Demat Gadal. He also cited that the rebel forces were attacking the town at night (see appendix 16).¹³⁴

¹³³ Temesgen, "Peasant Resistance to Ethiopian Revolution"....., pp. 27-28; Ayele Tariku, pp. 71-72; Informant, Getacew Ketteema, Tesfaw Ayele, Walla Tessema, and Tefaw Gete.

¹³⁴ A Report written from Lieutenant Colonel Asefa Mesele to Colonel Hailu Canie, commander of Gojjam Province Police Office, *Sane* 4, 1979 E.C .D. M. U. A. C, file No.76, folder No.oo.oo.46; Informant: Ayalesew Getnet, Biyadegelgn Ayenew, and Esubalew Tame.

Captain Semretu Bajaba requested the committee members, on behalf of *awrajja* and *wäräda* officials to stay in Moja. The *awrajja* and *wäräda* governors demanded that the committee members should take part in the fighting against the rebel forces. They demanded that the committee members should be assigned as front leaders. But after series of negotiations, the committee members were allowed to return and present to higher officials the problem of insecurity posed against Moja *awrajja*.¹³⁵

Then when the committee members returned to Dabra Marqos, they reported what they observed at Moja town and the demands of *awrajja* and *wäräda* officials. They strongly indicated that, the *awrajja* governor should be removed from his position because of unacceptable demand to the committee members to fight against the rebel forces (see appendix 16). It seems that it was based on this report that the *awrajja* governor Captain Semratau Bajaba was replaced by Major (*Shalaqa*) Wondyiferaw Balaw. An additional Territorial Army force was sent to Moja *Awrajja* to suppress the rebellion led by *Fitawrari* Terfe and his rebel forces.¹³⁶

After their attack of the town of Moja, the rebel groups travelled to attack Bibugn *Wäräda*. The rebel forces had discontent against the people of Bibugn for not cooperating with them against the military government, who violated the *rest* land right, and attacked their age old religion. The rebel forces wrote a

¹³⁵*Ibid*

¹³⁶A Report written from Lieutenant Colonel Asefa Mesele to Colonel Hailu Canie, Commander of Gojjam Province Police Office, Sane 4, 1979 E.C.D. M. U. A. C, file No.76, folder No.^{op.op}.77; Informants: Muneye Jamebare, Ayalesew Getnet, and Bayeable Sahelu.

letter and strongly argued people of Bibugn *Wārāda* to cooperate with them against the military government. A letter written by the rebel forces from Goncha Siso Enasé *Wārāda*, Hulet Iju Enase *Wārāda*, and from Enabse Sar Meder *wārāda* strongly invited them to participate in a meeting which would be held in October 1975 at a place called Gonbasit, at the border area of Senan and Hult Iju *Wārāda*'s (see appendix 17).¹³⁷

But at the meeting of October 1975, the people of Bibugn *Wārāda* did not participate. Thus, the rebel people of Goncha Siso Enasé and Moḥa began to consider them as pro-government. The rebel forces from Goncha Siso Enasé under the leadership of *Fitawrari* Terfe Reta, *Fitawrari* Delnesa Reta, and rebel forces from Hult Iju and Enabse Sar Meder jointly attacked Bibugn *Wārāda* government administrative offices. The rebel forces devastated a school, clinic, police station, and other government institutions at Bibugn *Wārāda*. As sources indicate, the people of Bibugn did not even try to resist the attack of rebel forces. They simply surrendered without fighting rebel forces (see appendix 18).¹³⁸

After scoring such victory over Bibugn, the rebel forces of Goncha Siso Enasé under the leadership of *Fitawrari* Terfe Reta and other rebel leaders

¹³⁷A letter written from *Fitawrari* Terfe Reta, Commander of Goncha Siso Enase *Wārāda* Peasant rebellion to all *Balabates* and *Mekuanents* of Bibugn *Wārāda*, Meskerem 18, 1968 E.C. N. A. L. A, no folder No. no file; Informants: Ayalesew Getnet, and Bayeable Sahelu.

¹³⁸Temesgen, pp. 30-32; Informants: Ayalesew Getnet, Bayeable Sahelu, and Muneye Jamebare.

rest system, throughout northern Ethiopia including Goncha Siso Enasé. However, the implementation of the land reform was delayed in Goncha Siso Enasé until 1980/81. This was partly because of unrest and local rebellions in most parts of the province.¹⁵⁰ In Goncha Siso Enasé *Wäräda*, the distribution of land to peasants started in 1980/81 and was done in several stages. The first step was to abolish *Mofär zämäch*, which was common farming method that involved the cultivation of land by peasants in areas outside of their localities.¹⁵¹ However, in 1980/81, the end of *Mofar zämäch* was declared in the region.

Moreover, the demarcation of a boundary of each *qäbäle* peasant association was the first step in the abolition of *Mofar zämäch* and the distribution of land. The regulation stated that the demarcation was to be done by taking into consideration the number of people, and size and fertility of land in each peasant associations. The process began in various areas of Gojjam, including Goncha Siso Enasé in 1978. However, due to the emergence of disputes and conflicts in various peasant associations, demarcation was undertaken in the 1980s.¹⁵² After *mofar zämäch* was made illegal farmers were only authorized to cultivate lands in their respective peasant associations.¹⁵³

One of the outcomes of the 1975 land reform was the establishment of Peasant Associations. A Peasant Association was to be formed in an area not

Performance and Issue (1974-1998)", Siegfried Pause Wang and etals (eds.) *Ethiopia: Options for Rural Development* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1990), pp. 19-20.

¹⁵⁰ Temesgen Gebeyhu, p. 13.

¹⁵¹ Informants: Teqele Menga, Walle Lemaneh, and Abebaw Gelaw.

¹⁵² Informants: Abebaw Gelaw, Mesefene Mekonen, and Getachew Ketteema.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

less than 800 hectares (20 *gasha*). Membership to a Peasant Association was open to everyone except those who had more than 10 hectares of land until fair land distribution was done. The officials of a Peasant Association were to support the work of the government, administer public resources, set up judicial tribunals, and solve local disputes in their respective areas.¹⁵⁴ According to my informants, in Goncha Siso Enasé district, more than 50 Peasant Associations were established.¹⁵⁵ But their number decreased and also increased in subsequent years. This was because of the merging of small villages into another, and due to villagization program and some Peasant Associations joining the nearby *wäräda*.¹⁵⁶

The authority of Peasant Associations was further broadened by Decree No. 71 of 1975, the decree for the organization and consolidation of Peasant Associations. This Decree gave legal right to Peasant Associations and broadened their authority and duties. Peasant Associations were given authority to set up cooperative societies, peasant defense squads and other associations to satisfy their needs and safeguard their interests. One of the main bodies of a Peasant Association was the judicial tribunals, whose members were between three and five elected by the assembly of local Peasant

¹⁵⁴A Proclamation to Provide for Public Ownership of Rural Lands," *Nägarit Gazeta*, Proclamation No 31 of 1975, April 26, 1975; Mickael Stahl, "Capturing the Peasants through Cooperatives; The case of Ethiopia", In *Review of African Political Economy*. No 44, Ethiopia: 15 years on, 1989. pp. 27-30.

¹⁵⁵Informants: Desta Atnafu, Menalu Terefe, Dessalgne Kinde, Walle Lemaneh, and Abebaw Gelaw.

¹⁵⁶A letter written from Goncha Siso Enase *Wäräda* Administrator Office to Goncha Siso Enase *Wäräda* Peasant Associations Office, Sane 4, 1979 E.C. A. G. W. O, file No.108, folder No.46.

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¹⁵⁵Informants: Desta Atnafu, Menalu Terefe, Dessalgne Kinde, Walle Lemaneh, and Abebaw Gelaw.

¹⁵⁶A letter written from Goncha Siso Enase *Wäräda* Administrator Office to Goncha Siso Enase *Wäräda* Peasant Associations Office, Sane 4, 1979 E.C. A. G. W. O, file No.108, folder No.46.

Association. The *wārāda* judicial tribunal members served for one year. Local Peasant Association judicial tribunals were also authorized to solve disputes of about *birr* 100 and violation of regulations. By doing this, the government was able to eliminate the old institutions of *Cheqa sum* and other officials.¹⁵⁷ Peasant Associations had their own administrative organs. These were the General Assembly, the Executive Committee, Judicial Tribunal and Defense Squad. Each local Peasant Association was under the jurisdiction of *wārāda* Peasant Association.¹⁵⁸

The General Assembly of PAs consisted of all peasants. It was headed by chairman, and he was the most important decision maker. The executive committee had four sub-organs such as the treasury, chairman, vice-chairman, and the secretary. The power and function of the executive committee was to implement decisions of the General Assembly and follow the overall tasks of the Peasant Associations.¹⁵⁹

The Judicial Tribunal consisted of five committee members and resolved different local conflicts and disagreements. They were selected by the General Assembly of the Peasant Association. But tribunals were not free from the influence of the chairman during decision making.¹⁶⁰ Defense squad

¹⁵⁷"A Proclamation to Provide for Peasant Associations Organization and Consolidation," *Negarit Gazeta*. Proclamation No. 71 of 1975; Informants: Mesefine Jambere, Yigereme Jambere, and Yayahe Yerade.

¹⁵⁸Informants: Mesefine Jambere, Yigereme Jambere, and Yayahe Yerade.

¹⁵⁹Pausewang, *Peasant, Land and Societ*, pp. 108-109; Desalegn Rahamato, *Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia*, pp. 38-39; Informants: Yigereme Jambere, and Yayahe Yerade.

¹⁶⁰A letter written from Mota Awrajja Wohene Bét Astedadér to Goncha Siso Enae Wārāda Gābārēwoč Mahebār Ferdé-Šango, Genbot 3, 1979 E.C, Mota Town Municipality Office

committee members were assigned to maintain peace and security in the locality. They were also responsible to implement decisions of the executive committee.¹⁶¹ Peasant Associations were implementing villagization program, mobilized peasants for labor service in state farms. But military recruitment was a bitter task for members of Peasant Associations.¹⁶²

For each Peasant Associations, a quota was assigned. The unmarried and physically fit youth became victims of military services. To avoid forced military conscription, youngsters used to hide themselves in forests. Expecting their return, Peasant Association members searched their home during public holiday ceremonies such as *Mäsqel* (The founding of the True Cross celebrated on September 27), *Gänna* (Christmas), and *Fäsika* (Easter). Some disgruntled youths attacked or killed members of Peasant Associations. Some others inflicted physical damage to themselves, cut their own front teeth or their finger. Parents bribed Peasant Association officials to free their sons. Thus, the poor were forced to go to training station. Recruitment lacked fairness because Peasant Associations targeted the poor and those who could not provide bribes.¹⁶³

After the demarcation of the boundaries of each peasant associations, the next measure was land adjustment. First, land was reserved for forest, grazing, elders, and families of campaigners of war, cooperatives, institutions,

Archive (M. T. M. O. A) file No.38, folder No. 10/13; and Dessalegn Rahamato, *Agrarian Reform in...*, pp. 38-39.

¹⁶¹Informants: Yalew Kinde, Manaye Yetayew, and Menalu Terefe.

¹⁶²Informants: Yalew Kinde, Alemenew Workie, and Getachew Yenasu.

¹⁶³Informants: Dassaw Tamene, Munye Jambere, and Mesiene Jambere.

and foot paths. Every household was required to report the size of their family number to the Peasant Association executive committee. This was to establish that they are permanent residents of the Peasant Association and to allocate to them farmland based on their family size. Every one above the age of 18 had the right to be registered in the Peasant Association, and own land.¹⁶⁴

The reason for the delay in the implementation of land distribution was opposition by land lords and *rest* holders. The land lords (*balabates*) of Goncha Siso Enasé and nearby districts of Gojjam fiercely resisted the land reform since February 1975 because it deprived them of their *rest* land. We have seen above the rebellion of *Fitawrari Terfe Reta*.¹⁶⁵ Finally the rebellion was put under the control and ended with the victory of military government as described in the preceding pages. Consequently the land reform began to be implemented in the districts in the 1980s.¹⁶⁶

In addition to the opposition against land redistribution there were also problems associated with its implementation.¹⁶⁷ The major challenge of these was corruption. In Goncha Siso Enasé, the distribution of land to individuals was not fair. The Peasant Association committees gave more land to rich individuals who can give bribes to them. The committee members also reserved fertile and productive land to themselves. According to my informants, Peasant Association committee members favored their friends, kinsmen and for

¹⁶⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ Temesgen, "Peasant Resistance against the Ethiopian Revolution, The Case of Gojjam, 1975-1978," p. 40; Informants: Abebaw Gelaw, Abebaw Walle, and Yalew Kinde.

¹⁶⁶ Ayele Tariku, p. 70; and Gebeyaw Abebe, p. 274.

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*

those who gave them bribes (*gubbo*). Peasants who did not offer these were assigned on an infertile land. Therefore peasants of Goncha Siso Enasé composed the following couplet to express their disappointment:

ከሰባቱ ኮሚቴ፣ ከአንዱ ሊቀመንበር አንድ ሰው አጥኜ
ከባድማው መሬት ቀረሁ ተለይኜ¹⁶⁸

The rough English translation of the couplet is;

I have no one among the seven committee members and the chairman
Thus, I was alone assigned on the infertile land!

Finally, the distribution and adjustment of land was completed in 1981. Several peasants in the *wäräda* who did not own land previously, were able to get land. The marginalized social classes like, potters, weavers, blacksmiths, tanners and other handcrafts men got land.¹⁶⁹

On July 26, 1975, the government announced the nationalization of urban lands and extra houses. The proclamation forbade renting extra houses. The proclamation was implemented in Gunda Woyne town and a number of extra houses and lands were nationalized and labeled as *Qäbälé Bét*.¹⁷⁰

At the beginning, Peasant Associations were established with the objective of accomplishing land distribution programs. Later, however, a number of other tasks became the responsibility of Peasant Associations. Some of these were implementing villagization program, recruiting the youth for military service, and mobilizing peasants for labor service in state farms. All

¹⁶⁸ Gebeyaw Abebe, pp.83-85; Informants: Walle Lemanah, and Abewaw Gelaw.

¹⁶⁹ Gebeyaw Abebe, p. 84; Informants: Asfaw Terfe, and Haile Maryam Bitew.

¹⁷⁰ "A Proclamation to Provide for Government Ownership of Urban Lands and Extra Urban Houses," *Negarit Gazeta*. Proclamation No. 7 of 1975, July 26, 1975; Informants: Asefaw Terfe, and Haile Maryam Bitew.

these were a burden on the work of Peasant Associations. Above all, military recruitment became bitter responsibility of Peasant Associations.¹⁷¹ Recruitment lacked fairness because officials targeted individuals on whom they had grievance and on those who failed to attend meetings of Ethiopian Youth Association-at *qābälé* level.¹⁷²

Literacy campaign

A major reform that the military government implemented in Goncha Siso Enasé was associated with the literacy campaign. Earlier than this, the military government had the "*Idegat Bähebrat Yä Iwuqat ena Yä Sera zämächa*" (Development through cooperation, Enlightenment and Work campaign proclamation). The campaign was to disseminate the philosophy of Ethiopian Socialism (Ethiopia *Teqedam*), to establish peasant associations, to teach peasants to write and read, and to educate peasants in other social aspects of rural life. The main participants who were assigned to implement this were secondary, college and university students and teachers.¹⁷³ To Moja and Bečäna *awrajjas* of the town of Bečäna was made to be the center of the *zämächa* activity. In the district of Goncha Siso Enase, the center was at Gunde Woyne. In February 1975, more than 800 campaigners travelled through Dabra Marqos, to their *awrajja*, and *wäräda zämächa* centers. But,

¹⁷¹Informants: Walle Lemaneh, and Abebaw Gelaw.

¹⁷²Informants: Hailemaryam Bitew, Balew Ababayehu, and Sabaye Yeredaw.

¹⁷³Christopher Clapham, pp. 47-49; "A Proclamation to Provide for Development Through Cooperation, Enlightenment and Work Campaign" *Negarit Gazeta*. Proclamation No.11 of 1974; A letter written from *Shalqa* Wubshet Mamo, Coordinator of Motta *Awrajja* Campaign Center to Gojjam Province administration Office, 1967 E.C, M. T. M. O. A, no file No, no folder No.

because of rebellions against the military government the campaigners to Goncha Siso Enasé and other neighboring *wārādas* such as Hulet Eju Enasé, and Enabse Sar Meder stayed for few months at Dabra Marqos, *zāmācha* center.¹⁷⁴ The problem that hindered the campaigners from getting into the district of Goncha Siso Enasé *zāmācha* center was lack of telecommunication service, lack of clean water, and transportation difficulties because of the summer season (see appendix 21). It was only in Moja town that telecommunication service was available at the time.¹⁷⁵ Finally, the students began to complain about their stay at the province of *zāmācha* center. They reported to Ato Zamana Kassa, the Vice administrator of Gojjam at Dabra Marqos. The provincial administrator decided that the students who were assigned to Mota *Awrajja* should return to their home until the security problem was resolved.¹⁷⁶

Later, the campaigners arrived in Goncha *wārāda* in early 1976 and started their mission by traveling to different *qābāles* of the district¹⁷⁷. They invited the local people to enroll in the basic literacy program. They taught Amharic alphabet, and simple mathematical operations i.e., addition and subtraction under the shade of big trees or by constructing small huts of grass

¹⁷⁴A letter written from *Shalqa* Wubshet Mamo, Coordinator of Mota *Awrajja* Campaign Center to Gojjam Province administration Office, 1967E.C, M. T. M. O. A, no file No, no folder No.

¹⁷⁵Ayele Tariku, pp. 65-66; Informants: Hailmaryam Bitew, Tekele Menga, Desta Atnafu, Menalu Terefe, and Yalew Kinde.

¹⁷⁶Ayele Tariku, p. 66.

¹⁷⁷ Informants: Hailmaryam Bitew, Tekele Menga, Desta Atnafu, Menalu Terefe, and Yalew Baltie.

roofed, locally known as *Das*.¹⁷⁸ The most important achievement of the campaigners was literacy education to local people. In July 1979, the *Därg* embarked the national literacy campaign. The slogan of program was known as:

ማይምነት የጨለማ ጉዞ ነጩ
የማይጽፉ እጆች አይኖሩም 179

Illiteracy is walking in the darkness
There shall be no hands that could not write!

Thus the *Därg* contributed for the expansion of basic educational training for adults in the area. Individuals between the ages of 7 and 40 were forced to attend basic education.¹⁸⁰ Through literacy campaign and by opening formal modern school in various areas of Goncha Siso Enasé, the *Därg* contributed a lot for the expansion of modern education.¹⁸¹

Agricultural Producer Cooperatives in Goncha Siso Enasé

The Peasant Association was authorized to set up Agricultural Producer Cooperative societies. Agricultural producer cooperatives were organized on a voluntarily basis by Peasant Associations. Some of their main tasks were to “control and manage the means of production under the mass,

¹⁷⁸Ayele, p. 67; Informants: H/Maryam Bitew, Desta Atnafu, and Yalew Baltie.

¹⁷⁹Clapham, *Transformation and Continuities...*, pp.152-153; Informants: H/Maryam Bitew, Desta Atnafu, and Yalew Baltie.

¹⁸⁰“Bä Gojjam Keflehäger Temehert Betoch Tshefat Bet Yägolmasoch Mäyman Temhert Kefel” (Dabra Marqos, 1967 E.C), p. 15.

¹⁸¹Yä Mäsärate Temehert Zämächa Hulätägna Geze Seminar Report enna Wusane, (Addis Ababa, Ministry of Education, Maskrem, 1972 E.C), pp. 1-5.

improve the instrument of production and to enhance production and eliminate exploitation and to bring unity in the rural areas and others.”¹⁸²

According to my informants, several Peasant Associations in Goncha Siso Enase were not able to form Agricultural Producer Cooperatives. This was because of the scattered nature of the homesteads and lack of interest among farmers to share outputs with others. It is obvious that in group work, there is a difference in capacity and interest among individuals. Some farmers might work hard while others might not. Some farmers are punctual while others are not. However, regardless of such differences, the Agricultural Producer Cooperatives members share the product equally.¹⁸³

The Peasant Associations that set up Agricultural Producer Cooperatives in Goncha Siso Enase *Wārāda* were Gezamine, Tora Meda, Begedo, Enzeba, Tigdar, Arasema and Yebucher. Among these Agricultural Producer Cooperatives in the *wārāda*, the most popular in terms of its production and fund was Gezamine Agricultural Producer Cooperatives. A farmer named Abate Minale was its chairman. It was established along the Azwari River bank and it was located on fertile plain area. It produced different cereals and vegetables. However, the vegetables like potato and tomato production had no market at

¹⁸²Getachew Sinshaw, “House hold Access to Farmland and Socio-Economic Status: The Case of *Waneqa Qābale*, Gozamin *Warada* (East Gojjam), Amhara Region,” (MA Thesis, Department of Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University: 2003), pp. 50-51.

¹⁸³Informants: Tarafe Asaye, Walle Tassema, and Manaye Yetayew.

local level. They did not also have transportation access to provide their produce to other markets in nearby areas.¹⁸⁴

Agricultural Producer Cooperatives were few in number in Goncha Siso Enasé *Wārāda*. The effort to persuade Peasant Associations to form Agricultural Producer Cooperatives did not bore fruit. Most Agricultural Producer Cooperatives were established during the period of villagization. Thus there might have been lack of interest among the farmers to work together and to share their produce.¹⁸⁵

In March 1990, the *Dārg* government declared a shift in its economic policy from command economic policy to mixed economy. A relatively liberal policy was introduced in the agricultural sector, and members of Agricultural Producer Cooperatives were allowed to dissolve their organizations if they so wished. As a result, many Agricultural Producer Cooperatives were dissolved¹⁸⁶ including Gezamine, Tora Meda, Tigdar, Arasema and Begdo. This shows that the formation of Agricultural Producer Cooperatives in the Peasant Associations was not based on the interest of the peasants rather through government pressure.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴Informants: Kabe Yetayew, Tarafe Asaye, Walle Tassema, and Manaye Yetayew.

¹⁸⁵Informants: Abebaw Wale, Biyable Sahilu, Kabe Yetayew, Tarafe Asaye, and Walle Tassema.

¹⁸⁶Bahiru Zewde and et'als (Eds), *Proceedings of 11th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa, April 1-6, 1991. Vol. 11 (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University/IES, 1994), p. 436; Dassalgn Rahmato, "Agricultural Change," *Proceedings of the 11th international conference of Ethiopian Studies*. Addis Ababa April 1-6, 1991. Vol. II (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University /IES, 1994), p. 474.

¹⁸⁷Informants: Abebaw Gelaw, Tegele Menga, and Getachew Ketema.

The Formation of Service Cooperatives in Goncha Siso Enasé

Peasants were authorized to form Service Cooperatives by proclamation No. 71 of 1975. The law states that Service Cooperatives should be established at least by 3 and at most 10 PAs.¹⁸⁸ Accordingly, in Goncha Siso Enasé Service Cooperatives like Gunde Woyne and Angot were established. In this Service Cooperative shops consumer products such as salt, coffee, matches, sugar, umbrella, blanket, cloth, soap, nail and etc were sold to Service Cooperatives members at prices less than that of private merchants.¹⁸⁹ The Service Cooperatives in Goncha Siso Enasé brought these goods from Dabra Marqos branch of the Ethiopian Domestic Distribution Corporation (EDDC).¹⁹⁰ Following the foundation of Cooperatives, peasants were informed to sell their agricultural produce to Cooperatives, but it was not mandatory. But, after a while the military government began to interfere in grain marketing service of Cooperatives. The Cooperatives became government grain producing centers.¹⁹¹

In the year 1978/79 the government introduced a quota system, in which peasants were required to sell a fixed amount of grain to the Service Cooperatives every year.¹⁹² Thus, in Goncha Siso Enasé district, grain *quota* was introduced and peasants were forced to sell the required grain amount to the Service Cooperatives shops at a price fixed at the capital, which was lower

¹⁸⁸"A Proclamation to Provide for the Establishment of Service Cooperatives," *Negarit Gazeta*. Proclamation No. 71 of 1975; Informants: Abebaw Gelaw, Teqele Menga, and Getachew Ketema.

¹⁸⁹Informants: Getachew Ketema, Teqele Menga, and Sebesebe Tadesse.

¹⁹⁰Informants: Teqele Menga, and Sebesebe Tadesse.

¹⁹¹*Ibid*

¹⁹²Informants: Abebaw Abebe, Assfaw Gasesse, and Aychew Gelaye.

than the price on the market. The amount usually ranged from one to five *quintals* depending on the size of grain that a farmer produced.¹⁹³

In Goncha Siso Enasé peasants were categorized in to three groups for the *quota* system imposition. Accordingly, a first ranked farmer was required to deliver five *quintals*, a second ranked farmer was required to sell three *quintals*, and a third ranked farmer was required to sell one *quintal* of grain. The executive committees of each Peasant Association together with the government agricultural employees set the amount of grain that a farmer was required to sell to the Service Cooperative shops.¹⁹⁴ When the farmers failed to sell their grain *quota* at the specified time, they faced several problems. The local militia men called *Shemeq* could imprison them or detain their oxen. The *Shemeq* also could prevent a peasant from selling their grain in the market by controlling the town gates, and prevent them to get agricultural inputs like fertilizers.¹⁹⁵ Finally because of the introduction of mixed economic policy in 1990, the grain quota was abolished¹⁹⁶ and farmers in Goncha Siso Enasé were allowed to sell their grains at the open market freely, and Service Cooperatives ceased to function (see appendix 22).¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³*Ibid*

¹⁹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶Dassalgn Rahmato, p. 475; Eshetu Chole, "Ethiopian at the Cross Roads: Reflections on The Economics of the Transitional Period," in Proceeding of the 6th Michigan University Conference on North East Africa, April 23-25, 1992(East Lansing: Holiday, 1992), p. 90.

¹⁹⁷Informants: Dessalgne Kinde, Munye Jambere, and Mesiene Jambere.

Villagization in Goncha Siso Enase

One of the programs undertaken by the military government in Goncha Siso Enasé *Wārāda* in particular and nationwide in general was villagization.¹⁹⁸ It was aimed to organize scattered rural households into more concentrated villages voluntarily. The government took villagization as a mechanism to use national resources efficiently and bring rural development.¹⁹⁹ It was believed that scattered rural villages were hindrance to the development of social services and infrastructure by the state. Thus villagization was taken as a solution to socio- economic and political problems.²⁰⁰

Villagization began in Goncha in 1985.²⁰¹ To implement the program, several committees were established. Most of the committee members were members of the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) and those who were involved actively in the executive committee of Peasant Association. This committee was named by the local people as *Bet Afras* (house dismantling) in Goncha Siso Enasé as elsewhere in the province of Gojjam. They were sent to adult training center to receive short training about the program.²⁰² The people of Goncha Siso Enasé expressed their dissatisfaction and dismay with the following couplet:

¹⁹⁸Clapham, p. 175; Dessalgne Kinde, Munye Jambere , and Mesiene Jambere

¹⁹⁹Alemayehu Lirensu, "Villagization: Polices and Protests," Siegfried Passewang and etals (eds.) In Ethiopia: Options for Rural Development (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1990), pp. 135-136.

²⁰⁰Alemayehu Lirensu, "Villagization and Agricultural Production in Ethiopia: The Case Study of Two Regions," A Research Report Prepared for the Winrock international Institute for Agricultural Development, IDR Research Report No. 37 (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University/ IDR, Oct 1989), pp. 9-11.

²⁰¹Gebeyaw Abebe, p.91.

²⁰²Informants: Menalu Terefe, Biyadege Reta, and Abebaw Gelaw.

ምን እይነት ዘመን ነው ዘመን ፈጣጣ
ቤት ወራሽ ሲሄድ ቤት እፍራሹ መጣ 203

What a period of difficulty it it?
When the nationalization of extra house departed,
The house dismantling committee arrived!

The *Bet Afrse* committees decided the sites where new villages could be constructed and ordered peasants to dismantle and move their house to the new sites. In the process, a militia force called *Shemeq* helped the committee and brought to court those who refused. The punishments included among others imprisonment and paying fees.²⁰⁴ Several individuals, who had large compounds with well built houses, beehives, fruit gardens in their old village opposed the program. But they were forced to dismantle their houses with punishment.²⁰⁵ However in Goncha Siso Enasé, the intended objectives of the program such as introduction of social services did not materialize. Thus, it is possible to say that the program was a failure.²⁰⁶ With the declaration of mixed economy in 1990, the newly formed villages were deserted. With the downfall of the *Darg* in 1991, most farmers returned to the site of their former homes.²⁰⁷

²⁰³*Ibid.*

²⁰⁴Informants: Menalu Terefe, Biyadege Reta, Sabaye Yeredaw, and Walle Lemaneh.

²⁰⁵Informants: Getachew Ketema, Sabaye Yeredaw, and Walle Lemaneh.

²⁰⁶*Ibid.*

²⁰⁷Bahiru, pp. 255-264; Informants: Getachew Ketema, and Walle Lemaneh.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL SERVICE DEVELOPMENTS IN GONCHA SISO INASE

WĀRĀDA, 1941-1991

This section will discuss the development of modern social institutions such as modern education, health service, transportation, communication and the role of government in their foundation and expansion. The development of social services and other infrastructural developments in Goncha Siso Enasé *Wārāda* were very slow.

Schools

Before the introduction of modern education in Goncha Siso Enasé district traditional church education was dominant. Ethiopian Orthodox Church was the first to provide traditional church education in the district during the period under study. According to my informants in Gunde Woyne Maryam Monastery, Jeret Madhan-Aalem and Wafa Iyasus, many students attended church education to learn to become deacons and priest.²⁰⁸

The introduction of modern education in Goncha Siso Enasé was a recent phenomenon. The pioneer of modern education in the study area was *Qāññgeta* Sahilu Yeshita. He was one of the earliest traditional elites in Goncha Siso Enasé who went through rigorous church education. He brought positive attitude for modern education among the people of Goncha Siso Enasé district.

²⁰⁸Informant: Haile Maryam Bitew, Balew Ababayehu, and Musse Tamrat.

At a young age, he went to Addis Ababa together with merchants on foot. After his return from Addis Ababa, he worked hard to start modern education in his birth place. In negotiation with wealthy merchants of the area, he was able to persuade them to build some classrooms grass roofed in front of the current Gunde Woyne market center. After the construction of classrooms he himself served as a teacher to provide education for some years. But, since the data was oral, there is no exact and specific indication for how many years he served as a teacher.²⁰⁹

The first modern school, which gave formal education, was Gunda Woyne elementary school. It was established in 1961. The school was built with the aid of Swedish government known as Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA). This school was one block which had four class rooms. Later on the people of the area built additional class rooms in collaboration with the government. Thus, in 1962, Gunda Woyne elementary school began its service officially. Initially, students attended classes from 1-6 grade levels. For the next grade levels, 7-8, students had to get to Mota and Dabre Marqos for secondary schools. It was in 1978 that Gunda Woyne elementary school was able to provide education for its students up to 8th grade level.²¹⁰ In the years between 1971 and 1975, in Goncha Siso Enasé 3 elementary schools namely, Angot, Enegode, Chamo were built. Until the early years of the 2005, there was no

²⁰⁹Informants: Ayele Rata, Menalu Tarafa, Teqle Menga, Musse Tamrat, and Haile-Maryam Bitew.

²¹⁰*Ibid*

wanted to attack Daga Damot *Awrajja*, and the town of Dabra Marqos.¹³⁹ To get the support from the people of Daga Damot, the leader of the rebel force of Goncha Siso Enasé *Wārāda*, *Fitwarari* Terfe Rata wrote a letter. In his letter to the people of *Dāga* Damot, *Fitawrari* Terfe Reta asked their collaboration against the *Dārg*. He explained the opposition in Goncha Siso Enase and neighboring *wārādas*, such as Hult Eju Enase, Enabse, Dabra Worq, Bečāna, Lumamae and other *wārādas* (see appendix 19).¹⁴⁰

Encouraged by *Fitwarari* Terfe's resistance, *Fitawrari* Delnesa Reta also attempted to lead a rebellion against the revolution in Goncha Siso Enasé. Delnesa incited the peasantry of Goncha Siso Enasé to rise against the government and to follow him. But, unlike *Fitawrari* Terfe, he was unable to mobilize and lead a large number of peasants. This partly explains that *Fitawrari* Delnesa was not popular as *Fitawrari* Terfe.¹⁴¹

Government force attacked *Fitawrari* Terfe and his followers at Areb Gebya in January 1975 (see appendix 20). Unable to resist, *Fitawrari* Terfe and his followers escaped and moved from place to place.¹⁴² But later *Fitawrari* Terfe was captured in February 1975 and he was hanged in Gunda Woyne town as anti-revolutionary. My informant, Hailemaryam Bitew told me that,

¹³⁹A letter written from Lieutenant Colonel Mekbebe Gebre Iyassus to PMAC National Administration Minister D. M. U. A. C, 16, 2, 1966 E.C, Folder No. 29/03, File No. 3/Tm10/16/36; Temesgen, pp. 30-32

¹⁴⁰A letter written from Gojjam Province Police Head office to Religious leader and to Brothers of Gojjam Suri Dagga Damot and Qwarit, Nehase 28, 1968 E.C. D. M. U. A. C, file No. 108, folder No. 46; Informants: Dessalgne Kinde, Alemenu Workie, and Getachew Yenasu.

¹⁴¹Informants: Kabe Yetayew, Manaye Yetayew, and Menalu Terefe.

¹⁴²A letter written from Public Security Guard Committee Chairman to National Administration Office, Addis Ababa, Nehase 7, 1967 E.C. N. A. L. A. File No. 12. File No. 01.

he saw the dead body of *Fitawrari Terfe* in Gunde Woyne town in front of the elementary school in 1975.¹⁴³

The military government then introduced a new administrative system in Goncha Siso Enasé *Wäräda*. During the *Darg* period, Goncha Siso Enasé *Wäräda* was successively administered by *Ato Aman Workneh* (1976-1979), Major Demese Feriw (1980-1987), and *Ato Yeneqassa Adamneh* (1987-1991). Among these administrators, the period of Major Demese Feriw is best remembered among the people of Goncha Siso Enasé because the tradition of *Mofar Zamach* (common farming system that involved the occupation and the cultivation of land by peasants in areas outside of their localities) came to an end, and land redistribution began. He suppressed banditry and cattle theft in the district.¹⁴⁴

Wäräda administrators were accountable to the *awrajja* administrator. They were authorized to undertake the following activities in the area; to supervise security of their regime and they presided over government tax collection. They led associations at *wäräda* level and coordinated the activities of the offices of agriculture, education, and health.¹⁴⁵ Although the above main tasks were assigned to the *wäräda* administrator, it was widely known that, most of the administrators of Goncha Siso Enasé spent their time in political

¹⁴³Informants: Haile-Maryam Bitew, Balew Abebayehu, and Sabaye Yeredaw.

¹⁴⁴Informants: Ayalesew Getnet, Alemenew Workie, Getachew Yenasu, and Yaregal Adugna.

¹⁴⁵*Bä Ityopeya Gizeyawi Wätädärwe Mängest Yä Agär Astädädar Minister Derejetäwi Aquam ena Yä Astädädar Amärär, Bä Derget Sera Amärär Technique Committee* (Addis Ababa, Tir 14, 1967E.C), pp. 55- 60.

affairs that the regime introduced such as party formation and the conscription of troops in the *wäräda*.¹⁴⁶

The Programs and Reforms of the *Därg* in Goncha Siso Enase *Wäräda*

The *Därg* made significant socio-economic and political changes in the period from 1974 to 1991. These changes were intended to bring a change in the life of the rural population as well as urban dwellers. The major programs launched were land reform proclamation, *Edget Bähebret Yäewuqet ena Yäsera zämäch* (Development through Cooperation Illiteracy and Work Campaign), the formation of Peasant Associations, the formation of Cooperatives, villagization program.¹⁴⁷

The proclamation of public ownership of rural lands was declared in March 1975. Thus the military government ventured on the task of ensuring the equitable distribution of land to peasants.¹⁴⁸ The proclamation made impossible the transfer of land by sale, and exchange. Tenancy was made illegal and each tenant was given the right to use the land, which he had to cultivate personally. The maximum amount of land that a household could own was ten hectares.¹⁴⁹ The decree abolished the dominant land tenure system, the

¹⁴⁶Informants: Walle Tessema, Yalew Kinde, and Sabaye Yeredaw.

¹⁴⁷R.R. Balsvik, *The Quest for Expression: State and University in Ethiopia Under Three Regimes, 1952-2005* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2007), pp. 52-67; "A Proclamation to Provide for the Establishment of A Provisional Military Government of Ethiopia," *Nagaret Gazeta*, Proclamation No 1 of 1974, September 12, 1974.

¹⁴⁸"A Proclamation to Provide for Public Ownership of Rural Lands," *Nägarit Gazeta* Proclamation No 31 of 1975, April 29, 1975; Marina Ottawa, "Land Reform in Ethiopia 1974-1977," (*African Studies Review*, 20. 3, Dec., 1977), p. 85; Informants: Wande Mekonen, Walle Lemaneh, and Walle Tessema.

¹⁴⁹"A Proclamation to Provide for Public Ownership of Rural Lands," *Nägarit Gazeta*, Proclamation No 31 of 1975, April 26, 1975; Stefan Brune, "The Agricultural Sector: Structure,

senior secondary school in Goncha Siso Enasé.²¹¹ Even though few schools were constructed and modern education was given in the district since the imperial period, the total number of students seasonally varies during each year. Since the importance of education was not known by most of the people, it was difficult to get their children into school.²¹²

With the coming of the *Därg* to power, additional elementary schools were opened in the district. Subsequently, elementary schools have grown in number at the *wäräda*. The table below indicates the total number of schools in Goncha Siso Enasé *wäräda* before 1991.²¹³

No	Name of Schools	Year of Establishment	Grade level
1	Gunda Woyne Elementary School	1969 / 1961 E.C	1-6
2	Angot Elementary School	1979 / 1971 E.C	1-4
3	Enägode Elementary School	1979 / 1971 E.C	1-4
4	Chämo Elementary School	1985 / 1978 E.C	1-6

Table.1 Schools of Goncha Siso Enasé *wäräda* before 1991.

²¹¹Informants: Hailmaryam Bitew, Getachew Ketema, Tesfaw Ayele, and Zerihun Gusesse.

²¹²Informants: Alemu Wassie, Menalu Tarafa, Teqle Menga, and Musse Tamrat.

²¹³Goncha Siso Enase *Wäräda* education office, "Yä Wäradachn Yä Temehirt Tädäräshnat ena Serchet Matshet (Tir, 1996 E.C), p. 2.

Health Service

In Goncha Siso Enasé there was an acute shortage of modern medical service. The awareness of the community for modern medical service was also extremely low. As a result, traditional medication used to have an indispensable role in meeting the health needs of the society. Traditional medication was concerned both with the prevention and cure of diseases. The traditional medical practitioners provide services for a wide range of communicable and non communicable diseases. However, they were not perfect in administering the exact dosage of the medicine they gave to their patients which often had a damaging side effect on the health of the patients.²¹⁴

Gradually, however, with the beginning of modern medical service, the awareness of the community rose and they began to visit health centers. The first health center to be opened in the district of Goncha Siso Enasé was a clinic in Gunda Woyne town in 1978.²¹⁵ However, the clinic was small to provide service for the whole community of the *wäräda*. It was not also constructed properly. On the other hand, the community had repeatedly petitioned for the expansion of the health service. Indeed, the region had various health problems. There were cases of widespread cholera and diarrhea epidemics throughout Goncha Siso Enase district. Especially the arid areas of

²¹⁴Informants: Muneye Jambere, Ayele Rata, Balew Abebayehu, and Musse Tamrat.

²¹⁵Goncha Siso Enase *Wäräda Tenna Tsehfat Bet, Yä Waradachin Tenna Teqwamat Mesfifat ena Yä Tenna Tedarshenet*, (Gunda Woyne, Tir, 2000 E.C), p. 4.

the *wārāda* were repeatedly affected by Malaria epidemics.²¹⁶ For instance, in 1973/74 (1962 E.C) the *wārāda* reported that the people of Goncha Siso Enasé district suffered from epidemic of unknown disease (See appendix 23).²¹⁷ But it is difficult to have statistical evidence about the death tolls experienced in the year indicated above because there was no record of any kind.

The health center of Gunda Woyne clinic remained the only one in the region for a long period of time. As a result, whenever the surrounding villagers faced acute health problems such as labor during delivery, they were faced to carry the patient to Gunda Woyne on foot. Sometimes the health center may refer the case to *awrajja* and province hospitals in Mota or to Dabra Marqos respectively. According to informants due to the long journey made on foot, the death rate was very high.²¹⁸

One of the major health achievements of the imperial regime in the district was the co-ordination and implementation of Leprosy campaign. Since the large part of the *wārāda* was affected by Leprosy to undertake the campaign, three clinics were selected as coordinating centers (see appendix 23). The campaign was started in 1967 and was administered with schedules. But the archives do not indicate the degree of success of campaign (see

²¹⁶Informants: Muneye Jambere, Shefraw Belay, and Walle Lemaneh.

²¹⁷A letter written from Kidane-Mariam Domenico, Assistant provincial Health Office to Gojjam *Teqlay Gezat* Secretary Office, D.M.U.A.C., Megabit 24, 1962. Folder No.9458, File No.1503/319/1/62

²¹⁸Informants: Muneye Jambere, Alemu Wassie, and Walle Lemaneh.

appendix 24).²¹⁹ On the basis of the informants and the documents consulted, the number of health stations was very few in the *wäräda*. Even some of them like Gunda Woyne clinic, Engode Clinic and, Engesh Gabrail clinic were established without sufficient professionals.²²⁰

There was relatively better improvement and expansion after the revolution than during the *Därg* regime. According to informants two clinics were opened and Gunda Woyne Clinic was elevated to a health center. Another achievement of the *Därg* regime in the health affair in the *wäräda* was the coordination and implementation of anti-malaria campaign. Since the some part of the *wäräda* had a *qolla* climate, they were prone to malaria epidemics. To undertake the campaign, Gunda Woyne health center was selected as a coordinating center. The campaign started in the mid of the 1980s. But since I only got oral information the exact year and month when the campaign started is not exactly known.²²¹ But there was no single hospital in the district during the *Därg* period.²²²

Telecommunications, Postal, and Road services

The *wäräda* was also disadvantaged in other infrastructures such as telecommunication, road, postal service and others. It was recently that telecommunication service reached Goncha Sios Enasé *Wäräda*. The main

²¹⁹ A letter written from Ato Admasu Wolde-Maryam, Vice Secretary of Gojjam *Teqlay Gezat* to Four *Warada* Governors', D.M.U.A.C, Yekatit 14, 1959 E.C., Folder No3225. File No.6065; Informants: Muneye Jambere, Ayele Rata, Menalu Tarafa and Alamnew Warkie.

²²⁰Informants: Tesfaw Ayele, Walla Tessema, and Tefaw Gete.

²²¹Informants: Biyadege Yesale, Biyadegelgn Ayenew, and Esubalew Tame.

²²²Informants: Alemu Wassie, Menalu Tarafa, Teqle Menga, and Musse Tamrat.

highway route from Dabra Marqos to Motta was connected by telephone line in 1948.²²³ Goncha Siso Enasé *Wārāda* remained without telecommunication service for a long period of time. But it was in 1986/87 that, the residents of Gunda Woyne town got telephone service.²²⁴ The Ethiopian postal service opened its branch office and began to provide its service in the district in 1989.²²⁵

The first road that connected Goncha with Dabra Marqos was constructed in 1978 with terminal point at Gunda Woyne. The road connected the town of Mota with Dabra Marqos and Addis Ababa via Gunda Woyne. Except this main road, the domestic road network connecting the *wārāda* capital and rural *qābāles* was not constructed. During the *Dārg* regime, some attempts were made to transform and expand the domestic road network. As a result roads connecting Gunda Woyne with Gete Semani, Barjano Akababi, Debereyako, and Yekura Arasma were constructed. On the other hand, the surrounding rural people visited the town of Gunda Woyne on foot and pack animals for administrative, health, marketing and other services. In fact the absence of Vehicle transport in the *wārāda* became one of the major factors that hampered the peasants from getting their produce to nearby markets. ²²⁶

²²³Ayele Tariku, p. 132.

²²⁴Informants: Ayele Rata, Menalu Tarafa and Alamnew Warkie.

²²⁵Ayele Tariku, p. 132; Informants: Menalu Tarafa, and Musse Tamrat.

²²⁶ Informants: Getachew Ketema, Abebaw Walle, and Musse Tamrat.

CONCLUSION

There were some changes in the historical developments of Goncha Siso Enasé *Wäräda* in the twentieth century as there was much continuity from earlier periods. For instance the Italian occupation period was water shade in the history of Ethiopia in general and the Goncha Siso Enasé *Wäräda* in particular. Goncha Siso Enasé *Wäräda* was one of the most renowned centers of patriotic resistance in Gojjam against the Italians. Despite the strong resistance there, the Italians successively made Goncha Siso Enasé *Wäräda* a center of settlements and Commissionership. Like other parts of the country, the Italians upset the existing socio-economic, political and cultural developments of Goncha Siso Enasé until 1941.

Following the liberation from the Italian occupation in 1941 and the subsequent administrative reshuffle in 1946, the areas Goncha and Siso Enasé were put under one administrative unit and elevated to a *wäräda* level named Goncha Siso Enasé with the administrative center at Gunda Woyne.

During the imperial period *rest* was the most popular form of land ownership in the district. In addition several individuals, churches and monasteries owned *gult* lands. The state collected several kinds of taxes and tributes from the people of Goncha and the country at wide. Since 1942 attempts were made to modernize the taxation system of the country. But peasants of the district consider the act of the government as an effort of taking away their traditional rights of *rest* and *gult*. Therefore taxes and tributes remain the source of

problem to the inhabitants mainly in the early 1950s. However, the relation between the peasants and imperial government aggravated in 1967 following the introduction of Agricultural Income tax *birr* 1.50.

Since the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution the *wäräda* witnessed some developments. The *Darg* military rule implemented several political and socio economic reforms in the *wäräda* like the land redistributions, Villagization literacy campaign. The land reform helped some landless communities to become land owners even though there was serious resistance against it.

The inhabitants of Goncha Siso Enasé district did not benefited much from the infrastructural developments during the period under study. Like road, communication services of postal and Tele communication, Electric supply and other social service in the last two regimes at large.

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LIST OF INFORMANTS

No	Name	Age	Date of Interview	Place of Interview	Remarks
1	Abebaw Walle (Ato)	78	20.04.2016	Gunde Woyne, 01 <i>qābāle</i>	He was official during the <i>Darg</i> regime and very knowledgeable especially about the <i>Darg</i> period.
2	Abebaw Abebe (Ato)	50	21.04.2016	Gunde Woyne, 02 <i>qābāle</i>	He was a teacher. He knew a great deal about Goncha Siso Enasé since the time of <i>Darg</i> . He narrated events Chronologically.
3	Alemu Wassie (Ato)	88	27.04.2016	Barjano <i>qābāle</i>	He is a native of Goncha. He was a <i>Nāçh Lābaš</i> and knows a great deal about the imperial and <i>Darg</i> periods.
4	Alemaw Tadie (Ato)	75	27.04.2016	Barjano <i>qābāle</i>	He was a farmer. He has good knowledge on the political and administrative conditions of the district.
5	Assefa Ejigu (<i>Bilatta</i>)	90	01.05.2016	Geti Semani <i>Qābāle</i>	He is knowledgeable cleric. He has a good knowledge on the history of the district.
6	Assefaw Terfe (Ato)	71	3. 05.2016	Gunda Woyne	He is warada cabinet. He was the son of <i>Fitawrari</i> Terfe Ratta and he knows more about his father.
7	Ayalesew Getnet (Ato)	80	29.3.2016	Gunda Woyne 02	He knew more about the socio economic and political developments of the district.
8	Ayalew Geta (Ato)	89	8.3 .2016	Gunda Woyne 02	He knows more about <i>Fitawrari</i> Terfe Rata, the peasant rebellion period and the patriots of Goncha Siso Enasé.

9	Aychew Gelaye (Ato)	65	27. 3. 2016	Gunda Woyne 02	He was solidier during the <i>Darg</i> period. He very well narrates the socio economic conditions of the district during the <i>Darg</i> period.
10	Bayable Sahelu (Grazmač)	78	18.1. 2016	Gunda Woyne 01	A native of Goncha and qābāle chairman. He has a good knowledge about the post liberation period history of the district.
11	Biyadege Reta (Ato)	68	14.2.2016	Gunda Woyne	He served the Gunda Woyne Maryam monastery for many years. Highly knowledgeable about a history of the district.
12	Dessalgne Kinde (Ato)	60	16.4.2016	Eqa Bet qābāle	He was a farmer for a long time. He knows more about the local history of Gnocchi.
13	Dassalgn Yiegrmal (Ato)	60	20.4.2016	Enezeba Qābāle	He was a farmer and highly knowledgeable about the history of the district.
14	Esubalew Tame (Ato)	70	6.11.2015	Kossoye qābāle	He was qābāle chairman. He has good knowledge about the history of the district.
15	Getanew Tadesse (Ato)	60	13.5.2015	Buza qābāle	He gives ample evidence about the administration of the <i>Darg</i> regime.
16	Getachew Ketteama (shambele)	77	24.11.2015 12.4.2016	Gunda Woyne 02 qābāle	He was <i>Darg</i> official and knows much about the socio economic conditions of the district particularly during the <i>Darg</i> period.

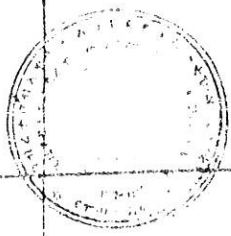
17	Kassew Manaye (QésäGäbäz)	80	24.4.2016	Deber Yaqo qäbäle	He was a highly educated person in church education. Highly knowledgeable about the traditional history of the district.
18	Manaye Yetayew (Ato)	71	10.4.2016	Debryako qäbäle	He Knows more about the traditional as well as modern history of the district.
19	Misefne Taddesse (Ato)	52	4.4.2016	Gezamine qäbäle	He had a good knowledge on the history of the district.
20	Menalu Tefera (Ato)	84	6.1.2016	Genbore qäbäle	He knows a great deal about the socio economic history of the district particularly during the post-liberation period.
21	Muneye Delnesa (Ato)	67	22.3.2016	Eqa Bet qäbäle	He served in government posts after 1974. He had a broad knowledge about Agricultural and service cooperatives in the district
22	Musse Tamerat (Ato)	89	11.1. 2016	Gunda Woyne 02 qäbäle	He has served two regimes as a teacher and knows more about the development of modern education in the district after the liberation.
23	Tafera Gelaye (Ato)	81	5.2. 2016	Gezamine	He was a merchant who had immense knowledge on the socio economic history of the district.
24	Tamerat Tessfaye (Ato)	64	4.11. 2015	Gunda Woyne	He knows about the administration system of post- liberation period. particularly about Därg period
26	Tesfaye Kitaw (Ato)	55	12. 2. 2016	Gunda Woyne	He was qäbäle chairman in the district the Därg period.

27	Tesfaw Abebe (Ato)	88	18.12.2015	Yabucher <i>qābāle</i>	A patriot who served the previous two regimes in various capacities. He has a detailed knowledge on the history of Goncha Siso Enasé
28	Tesfaw Ayele (Ato)	79	16.1.2016	Gunda Woyne 02	He was a native of Goncha Siso Enasé and merchant.
29	Shebabaw Gedamu (Mārigéta)	60	22. 2. 2016	Dabra Marqos	He was the <i>Qéne Māmeher</i> in the monastery of Gunda Woyne Maryam. He has excellent knowledge on the church history of the monastery.
30	Walle Lemeneh (Billata)	80	8.12. 2015	Jibe Seqla <i>Qābāle</i>	He is an interesting informant concerning the occupation period and the post-liberation period history of the district.
31	Walle Tassama (Abba)	75	25.12.2015	Gunda Woyne	He is a priest. He excellently narrates about the traditional history of his area.
32	Wande Makonen (Ato)	76	23.3.2016	Yebucher	He is a farmer. He narrates the cultural, political and economic history of the district comprehensively.
33	Yalew Munye (Agafari)	62	23.3.2016	Yebucher <i>qābāle</i>	He is a farmer. He excellently narrates about the traditional history of his area.
34	Yalew Kinde (Ato)	70	19.12. 2015	Embwach Qusqwam <i>qābāle</i>	He has much hearsay knowledge about the early history of the district. Highly knowledgeable.

35	Yayeh Yerade (Ato)	63	28.4.2016	Gezamene <i>qābāle</i>	Leader of the 1968 peasant rebellion in Goncha Siso <i>Enasé</i> .
36	Yetayale Zerihun (Ato)	75	26.4.2016	Kossoye <i>qābāle</i>	He was a farmer and knows details about the socio economic events of the district well..
37	Haile- Maryam Bitew(Ato)	75	14.4.2016	Gunda Woyne 02 <i>qābāle</i>	He was a teacher for a long time. He knows details about the socio economic events of the district well.
38	Balew Abebayehu (Ato)	60	29.3.2016	Gunda Woyne 01 <i>qābāle</i>	He was a teacher for a long time. He was very knowledgeable on the cultural history of the district.
39	Teqele Menga (Ato)	80	26.4.2016	Gunda Woyne 01 <i>qābāle</i>	He was a teacher then a civil servant. He has a detailed knowledge on the traditional as well as modern history of Goncha Siso <i>Enasé</i>
40	Zerihun Gessese (Ato)	62	17.4.2016	Gunda Woyne 01 <i>qābāle</i>	He was a teacher and then a civil servant. He is knowledgeable on the post liberation period history of Goncha Siso <i>Enasé</i>

Appendix I

1	700.0890.45.002	700.0890.45.002	700.0890.45.002	700.0890.45.002	700.0890.45.002	700.0890.45.002	700.0890.45.002
2	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
3	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
4	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
5	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
6	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
7	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
8	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
9	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
10	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
11	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
12	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
13	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
14	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
15	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
16	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
17	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
18	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
19	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
20	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
21	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
22	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
23	"	"	"	"	"	"	"



2016

2016.04.21
 5:00 PM

የግጥም: ክብር: ግዛት: ዋና: ክብር: ግጥም

ክብር:

ክብር:

ግዛት:

ግጥም: ግዛት:

ክብር: ግዛት:

ግዛት:

ክብር:

ግዛት:

APPENDIX = III

የሥራ ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
1 የሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
2 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
3 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
4 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
5 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
6 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
7 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
8 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
9 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
10 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
11 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
12 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
13 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
14 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
15 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
16 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
17 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
18 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር
19 ከሥራው ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር

Appendix - 18

	የጠራቀው ስም	የሥራው ስም/ጠያቂ ግብር
38	አቶ ወቅቤ ገሰ	የአገልግሎት ሥራ
39	አቶ አቶ አቶ	የሥራ ስም
40	አቶ አቶ አቶ	የሥራ ስም
41	አቶ አቶ አቶ	የሥራ ስም
42		የሥራ ስም
43	አቶ አቶ አቶ	የሥራ ስም
44		የሥራ ስም
45	አቶ አቶ አቶ	የሥራ ስም
46	አቶ አቶ አቶ	የሥራ ስም
47	አቶ አቶ አቶ	የሥራ ስም
48	አቶ አቶ አቶ	የሥራ ስም
49	አቶ አቶ አቶ	የሥራ ስም
50		የሥራ ስም
51	አቶ አቶ አቶ	የሥራ ስም
52		የሥራ ስም

Appendix IV

10-

የገቢዎች ስም	የሥራው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር	የገቢው መጠን	የገቢው ዓይነት	ገቢ
		ሳ.ሪ.	ሳ.ሪ.	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር	350	100	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር	100	120	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር	50	10	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር	10	50	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር	25	10	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር	25	10	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር	10	12	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር	10	12	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር	60	10	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር	30	10	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር		10	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር		30	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር	30	10	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር	25	30	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር	20	60	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር	35	10	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር		10	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር		30	
የገቢው ስም	የገቢው ዓይነት / ወይም ግብር	30	10	

189

19

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प० १०० : म० १०० १००

प० १०० : म० १०० १००

प० १०० : म० १०० १००

प० १०० : म० १०० १००

प० १०० : म० १०० १००

Appendix - V

63 $\phi \tilde{\sigma} \eta \sigma \eta \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$ $\rho \eta \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$ $\rho \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$

64 $\tilde{\sigma} \phi$ $\tilde{\sigma} \rho \sigma \eta \tilde{\sigma}$ $\tilde{\sigma} \sigma \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$

65

65 $\phi \tilde{\sigma} \eta \sigma \eta \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$ $\sigma \sigma \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$ $\tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$

66 $\tilde{\sigma} \phi$ $\tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$ $\tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$

67 $\sigma \tilde{\sigma} \eta \sigma \eta \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$ $\tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$ $\tilde{\sigma} \sigma \eta \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$

68 $\tilde{\sigma} \phi$ $\tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$ $\sigma \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$

$\rho \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$

$\rho \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$ $\sigma \tilde{\sigma} / \sigma \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$ $\sigma \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$

$\sigma \tilde{\sigma} / \sigma \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$ $\tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$

$\rho \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$

$\rho \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$ $\sigma \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$ $\sigma \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$

$\rho \sigma \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$ $\tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$

$\rho \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$ $\rho \tilde{\sigma}$ $\rho \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$

$\rho \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$ $\sigma \tilde{\sigma} / \sigma \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$ $\sigma \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$

$\sigma \tilde{\sigma} / \sigma \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$ $\tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$

$\rho \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma}$

$\rho \tilde{\sigma} \tilde{\sigma}$

2157 3708

Appendix - V

1000. 25.

2. 70000.

25500.

240

9127. 5918. 0008. 9999

900000. 77

95. 2434.

9127. 5918. 99/0000.

99/0000. 77

1001.

Appendix = XIII

ቅ. 276 ደ/ደ/ደ/ደ

11/3/62

ከምግ: ከውራሻ: ግዛት: ል/ቤት:

ምግ::

ገንዘብ ወይን: የተገኘው: ነገረ-ሰው: ማዘጋጀት: ቤት: ነገረ-ሰው ቀ. ቀ. ምግግ:
ገንዘብ: 2: ቀን: 1962: ግ ም: በቀ. ገንዘብ: 729/2772/9957:
ደብዳቤ: ነገረ-ሰው: ደርሶሪክ::

ሰነድ: ገንዘብ: ገንዘብ: ማዘጋጀት: ቤት: ቤት
ቀ. ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ:
ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ:
ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ:
ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ:
ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ: ሰነድ:

~~9/3/62~~

9-3-62

ነገረ-ሰው: ገንዘብ: ገንዘብ: ገንዘብ: ገንዘብ: ገንዘብ: ገንዘብ: ገንዘብ: ገንዘብ: ገንዘብ:

Appendix = XIV



የፌዴራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ
PROVISIONAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT

አድራሻ: አዲስ አበባ ፖ. ሰ. ሰ. ፳፻፲፱

Addis Ababa

19

የፖ. ሰ. ሰ. ፳፻፲፱
P. O. BOX } 6707

አድራሻ: } 11 30 00
TEL

ለአገር አቀፍ ጥቅም

አድራሻ

በደቡብ አገር በገንጠል ጋራ ገንጠል ላይ ለሚኖሩ ግለሰቦች
ፈተኛ ለመስጠት ገንጠል በጥር 7/9652 በ25/10/67 ዓ.ም.
የገንጠል ምዝገባ ይዘት ሲሆን፡-

በደቡብ አገር አገልግሎት ሰጪ ግለሰቦች ላይ
ተጨማሪ ጥቅም ለማድረግ አስፈላጊ ሲሆን፡-



አዲስ አበባ
ፖ. ሰ. ሰ. ፳፻፲፱
፳፻፲፱

ሐ. ለ. ሐ.

የገንጠል ምዝገባ ቅጽ
የተሰጠበት ቀን: _____
የተሰጠበት ቦታ: _____
የተሰጠበት ሰዓት: _____
46194

~~Amendments~~

= 4 =

ይህንን ጥያቄ የሚያረጋግጥ ለገጠናዎች ስለሆነ ከሞላ ገደብም ቢሆን በየዘርፉ የተረጋገጠ ጥያቄ አይተው ከዘፍለ ሀገሩ ጥያቄ አስተዳዳሪ ጋር ተወያይተውት ጠፍቶ ለገጠናዎች ገዛ ሰዓት ያሳይን የተረጋገጠ ጥያቄ ከሻምቦል ስምረትና ይኒባሎች ስጋርፍ ይገጥሙ ይህም ሆነ ከገጠና ጋር ጥያቄ አባሎች ጠቅላይ ጥያቄውን ከማያመጥ በስተቀር ሌላም ጥያቄ ያሳተፈው ጠቅላይ ጥያቄውን በማግለጽ የሚገባበትን ሪፖርት በማዘጋጀት ለገጠናዎች፡፡

አቲ ዳላ ያ ተቀይሮ

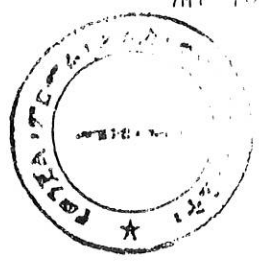
ፊርማ ሱ/ኪ/አባራ ጠሰሰ

በሌ ተክክል ገልባሚ

ጠ/ር በዙአዳም ለንግግር

ፊርማ የተሰጠ

ከሰ ማህተም አለጠ



መስከረም 18 ቀን 1968

ለሁሉም ለባለቤት ለውጤት

ለ በጠቅላይ

አንደኛውን በገብቻቸደላ ልዑል አገዛዥነት ይሰጥን እና ይህን ስነ ምግብ ለተገባሪ ምርጫዎች አንደኛውን የወገን ልማት ለማሳደግ ነው

15. በርብታቸን

25. በግዴታቸን

35. በሰጠታቸን የተደረገውን የአስተዳደር ለውጥ በግዴታቸደላ እና በዚህ

በላይ በተጠቀሱት ክፍል የገብር አድገትን በግብር አገልግሎት አድርገን በክፍል

8 ቀን 67 ዓ.ም. አስከሬም መስከረም 1 ቀን 1968 ዓ.ም. ያደረገውን ተገደሎ

በወረራ ላይ የተከሰቱትን ግዴታቸደላ እና የበረከት የገንዘብ ልማት ክፍል

ን ተደምጦ ለሰጠታቸደላ እና የገብር ልማት ስህተት አረጋግጦ እና በ

ዚህ በላይ የዘረዘርና የግዴታ አስከሬም ለውጫ ለውጫ ግዴታ የሚደርስ

መሆኑን በግንዛቤ ስህተት ለሰጠታቸደላ ልማት የሚደርስ ልማት

እና የተለየ ነው ? ነ

የአገልግሎት ልማት በርብታቸን በሰጠታቸን ተገደሎ አድርጎ ለየተጠቀሱት ስህተት

በዚህ ግዴታ ስለሰጠታቸደላ በግዴታ አገልግሎት ወይም የገብር ልማት የበጎና ለ

ውረዳ የደብረ ግብር አድገት በዚህ ግዴታ ተገደሎ አድርጎ በባለ ስህተት ለውጫ

ንደ ልክ ተገናኝቶ ግዴታ ተወያይቶ ለውጫ ለውጫ መስከረም 23 ቀን 1968

ከባለቤት አገልግሎት ልማት ለውጫ ለውጫ አድርጎ ለገንዘብ ልማት ስህተት

ልክ ለውጫ ለውጫ ወይም ለውጫ ለውጫ መስከረም 20 ቀን 1968 ዓ.ም. ገደብ ለውጫ

ንደ ገብር ለውጫ ለውጫ ክፍል ገብር ለውጫ ለውጫ አገልግሎት ለውጫ ::

ገንዘብ ለውጫ

ገንዘብ ለውጫ

ገንዘብ ለውጫ ለውጫ ለውጫ ገደብ ለውጫ ለውጫ :: //



በላይ ለውጫ = ላ / ተ ..

13

Approved

Handwritten text, possibly a list or notes, oriented vertically. The text is difficult to decipher due to its orientation and cursive style.

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Appendix: VIII

የ 51



የኢትዮጵያ ጊዜያዊ ወታደራዊ መንግሥት
የዕድገት በጎብረት የልውቀትና የሥራ ዘመቻ መምሪያ
ETHIOPIAN PROVISIONAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT
DEVELOPMENT THROUGH COOPERATION

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ፖስታ / 120124 - 120125
ገቢ / 120130

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P. O. Box

አዲስ አበባ ኢትዮጵያ
Addis Ababa - Ethiopia

Ref No

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ጳጳስ 11 ቀን 1967 ዓ.ም.

በኢትዮጵያ ጊዜያዊ ወታደራዊ መንግሥት
የጥገና ዘዋውሳ ሀገር አስተዳደር ሥ/ጠ/የ
ደብረጫር ቀን

በዋጋ አውራጃ አስተዳደር ውጥ ገለጠደቡት የዕድገት ግብረት ዘመቻ ጉዞ
የጥገና ስ/ሀገር ገሊጎ 95 መዳያ በቀጥ 10518/095/12/019/9/07 ለገሊጎ
ሀረግ ጠቀሳይ መዳያ ሲጸፍ የተዘገበውን ተገቢ ሆነው አንዲያውን ገዘዘዘ ገሰ
ባሁን ከሸገው ጋር በቀጥ 17730/14673 በኔ 24 ቀን 67 ዓ.ም. የጸደቀውን ይመ
ለክሳል፡፡

በመሠረት ለዋጋ አውራጃ ያዘጋጃቸው ዘመቻ ጉዞ ለሀገር ያልገኙት ስለዘባቢው
የጎበረው የወቅቷ ሆነው አስተማማኝ ባለመሆኑና ዘዘያም በጊሳ የዘረውት መገናኛ ለገባቸው
የዘመቻ ጉዞ ደርጅት ለጭጭት የመደገፍ ሆኖ በመገኘት በዋጋ አውራጃ የሚገኝ ጉዞ ዘመቻ
ለመዘው መስከረሙ 1968 ዓ.ም. ለመገለጫ አስገደደዋል፡፡ በተጨማሪም በቅጽ ላይ አንድ
ለጠቀሰው ለአውራጃው የሚገኝ ዘመቻ ጉዞ ስለሆነው አዳዲሽ ዘመቻ ዘመቻ ዘመቻ
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መዳያው ይህንን ሃሳብ በሥራ ላይ የሚያውለው ሙሉን በመዘብር አንገልጻለን፡፡

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REPUBLIC OF DOMINICA
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
SCHOOL DISTRICT OFFICE
ROSEAU PROVINCE

1434/379/1/62

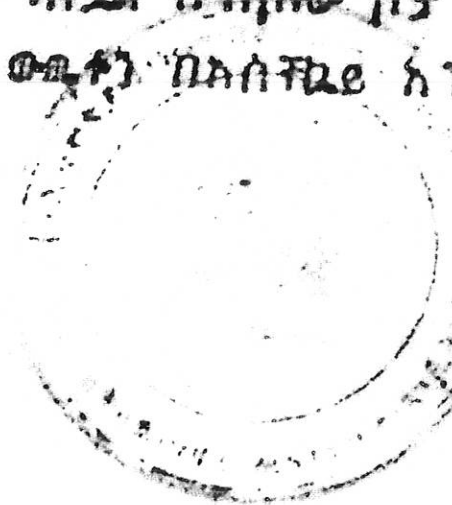
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ፍጻሜ

በገንጾ ሲሆን ለሰው አገልግሎት ገዛት ተሰጥቶ በሽታ ገብቶ በዙ ሰው ጭቶን በጠ ገዛት ስ ሌት ስለተገለጸ ለሽታ ገብቷል ሁከላው ቦታ ሂደት አሰፈላጊውን አርዎ ፀሰው ፀረ-ታን በአሰጥሎ አገልግሎት ስለታደሰ።



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Kidano Mariam Domonico
ASSISTANT P. M. O.

ገለገሎ:

ገንጾ ጭቶን ገዛት ስ ሌት

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Main body of handwritten text, appearing to be a list or a series of entries with various symbols and characters.

A table with multiple rows and columns of handwritten entries, possibly a ledger or record book.

Text block below the table, containing several lines of handwritten notes or descriptions.



Bottom section of the page containing handwritten signatures, dates, and additional notes.

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my work and that all source materials used has been dully acknowledged.

Name: Alganeh Ayalew

Signature

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of a large, stylized letter 'A' followed by a series of loops and a vertical line extending downwards.