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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

A HISTORY OF ENÄMAY *WÄRÄDA* (1941-1991), EAST GOJJAM

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A History of Enämay *Wäräda*, 1941-1991

By

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**A Thesis submitted to Graduate Programs of Addis
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Key to the Transliteration Systems

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

Vowel		Symbol		Example	
1 st	ä	ቤ _ Bā	Bäläy	ቤላይ	
2 nd	u	ቡ _ Bu	Burabure	ቡራቡር	
3 rd	i	ቢ _ Bi	Biçäna	ቢቸና	
4 th	a	ባ _ Ba	Balabat	ባላባት	
5 th	è	ቤ _ Bè	Bèçò	ቤቻ	
6 th	e	ብ _ Be	Geber	ግብር	
7 th	o	ቦ _ Bo	Bora	ቦራ	

II. Consonants are represented as follows:

Constant	Symbol		Example	
ሸ	Šä	Šäbešängo	ሸብሸንጎ	
ቸ	Cä	Cäru	ቸሩ	
ጃ	Jä	Jänbäre	ጃንበር	
ቀ	Qä	Qäbälle	ቀበሌ	
ጮ	Čä	Čäläma	ጮለማ	
ጠ	Tä	Täjä	ጠጅ	

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Acronyms

APC	Agricultural Producers Cooperatives
CSA	Central Statistical Agency
DMUAC	Däbrä Marqos University Archival Centre
EDDC	Ethiopian Domestic Distribution Corporation
ENALA	Ethiopia National Archival and Library Agency
EPRP	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
LCCC	Literacy Campaign Coordinating Committee
PA	Peasants Association
PAMC	Provisional Military Administrative Council
PVCC	Provincial Villagization Coordinating Committee
QJT	<i>Qäbälle</i> Judicial Tribunal
QPA	<i>Qäbäle</i> Peasant Associations
RDC	Rural Development Committee
SC	Service Cooperative
UDA	Urban Dweller Associations
WJT	<i>Wäräda</i> Judicial Tribunal
WPE	Workers Party of Ethiopia
WRC	<i>Wäräda</i> Regular Court
WVCC	<i>Wäräda</i> Villagization Coordinating Committee

Glossary

- Abba*_ common name for religious father, social notable and elders
- Abun*_ bishop
- Afānegus*_ “mouth of a king”, head of justice under the king and/or queens, as principal
Courtier
- Amba*_ a flat topped hill
- Aqñi*_ pioneer *gult* owner granted by the state and they are ancestors of *balabats*
- Arbāḡoče*_ *patriots*
- Asrat*_ a tithe tax or one tenth tax
- Aṭebiya Daña*_ unpaid local official with little judicial authority in a locality
- Ato*_ a male title equivalent to ‘Mr.’
- Awraja*_ an administrative unit equivalent to sub-province
- Balabat*_ a person with the hereditary ownership right over land
- Balambaras*_ a low level administrative title or head of an *amba*
- Bands*_ Ethiopians who stood on the side of Italians during their occupation of Ethiopia
- Bitwädäd*_ a high politico military title, entrusted to put the authority of kings and/or queens
- Čeca Šume*_ a local chief granted to collect tax during the imperial regime
- Čera Geber*_ a kind of tax paid in the form of cattle
- Däga*_ a highland zone with cold climate condition
- Däjjazmač*_ a politico-military title below *Ras*
- Emahoy*_ honorary title for a nun in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church
- Fitawrari*_ a high-ranking state official and a military title for the military commanders
- Gäbbar*_ tribute paying peasant
- Geber*_ a tribute or tax paid in kind or cash
- Grazmač*_ a military title for the commander of the left, a title above *balambaras*

*Gult*_ non-hereditary right to collect tribute

*Keremt*_ a rainy season between June and September

*Komose*_ a religious honorary title above priest for monks in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church

*Märigeta*_ a religious title given to church choir leader and/or chant leader in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church

*Mäto aläqa*_ Lieutenant

*Meketel Wäradä*_ administrative unit below *Wäradä* or sub- district

*Mesläné*_ a governor of a sub-district

*Näçe -läbaš*_ a local militiamen

*Qäbälle*_ an administrative unit equivalent to a district

*Qägnazmač*_ a politico- military title next to *Girazmač* and commander of right flank force

*Qolla*_ lowland zone with hot climatic condition

Ras‘head’_ a greatest politico-military title under *Negus*

*Ras Bitwädäd*_ a title combining the authority of *Ras* and the imperial favored of the *bitwädäd*

*Rest*_ a hereditary right to hold and use land

*Šemeq*_ local militiamen during the *Därg* period

*Siso*_ one third

Ṭäqlay Gezat ‘province’_ an administrative unit containing of several *awrajas*

*Wäradä*_ an administrative unit below *Awraja*

*Wäyena däga*_ moderate climatic zone

*Wäyzäro*_ a married woman

*Yägobäz aläqa*_ chief of local militiamen

*Zämäča*_ campaign

Abstract

Enämay is a wäräda located in the East Gojjam Zone of the Amhara Region. The existing evidences indicate that in the past the district of Enämay was an important center of administration and economic activities in Gojjam since from Ras Hailu Yosadaqe founded Bečäna as the political center of Gojjam province in the last quarter of the 18th c. Following the Italians invasion the significance of the Wäräda was increased for both the patriots and the collaborators. The main objective of this thesis is investigating and reconstructing the administrative and socio –economic history of Enämay Wäräda from the withdrawal of Italians from the soil of Ethiopia in 1941 to the end of Military government in 1991. The study covers the period from 1941 to 1991, in which the community of Enämay wäräda like the other residents of Gojjam Province performed significant political and socio-economic developments.

The district was well incorporated into the Christian Highland Kingdom in the 14th century and passed through major social, political and economic developments, it was following the withdrawal of Fascist Italians that these economic, social and political developments showed important developments. Thus, thesis seeks to outline how the local people in Enämay wäräda reacted to the rule of the Italians. Besides, the thesis attempts to analyze how the inhabitants of the wäräda reacted to the various political and socio-economic activities from 1941 to 1991.

This thesis is analyzed and reconstructed based on using archival documents collected in ENALA, IES, DMUAC and FBAC, Enämay wäräda and oral information mostly gathered from testimony of oral informants who were participants and observers of events in Enämay wäräda

Preface

This thesis is a *Wäräda* history of Enämay which deals with a thorough investigation of the administrative, social and economic themes that cover the period 1941 to 1991. The year 1941 is taken as the commencement year for this thesis because it was in that year that Emperor Haile Selassie I who was in exile since 1936 was restored to his throne and began to introduce various administrative and economic reforms. The year 1991, on the other hand, is the cut-off date for this thesis because of the downfall of the *Därg* regime. The study has four chapters. The first chapter is the beginning section which deals with the general physical and historical background of the *Wäräda*. This chapter also attempts to assess the peopling of the *Wäräda* as well as the political and socio-economic situations of Enämay prior to the liberation period.

The the second chapter concentrates on discussing about administration, taxation, maladministration and insecurity between 1941 and 1974. The third chapter of the thesis outlines the major political and administrative issues of Enämay *Wäräda* during the *Därg* period. The last chapter also attempts to describe the socio-economic development Enämay *Wäräda* from 1941 to 1991.

In doing this research, written materials as well as oral sources were used in the study. In fact, the majority of archival materials had been demolished in the *wäräda* due to the chaos of 1991-1992 during the transitional government. Even, the available archives of the former Biçäna *Awraja* administration found in old and unsafe building of Enämay *wäräda* police office are dumped improperly and most of them are perished. Therefore, the research depended mainly on oral sources which were gathered from the *wäräda* and elsewhere from February 2021 to March 2022.

Archival sources which I have collected from the Ethiopian National Archives and Library Agency (NALA), Däbrä Marqos University Archives and Research Center, and Institute of Ethiopian Study were essential for the study. Letters, bulletins and reports which I have collected from the Biçäna Municipality and Enämay *Wäräda* offices were also the other valuable assets of the thesis. To write this thesis; I have also systematically interviewed informants living in the Enämay *Wäräda* and elsewhere on the main themes of the research.

Lack of archival materials in the *Wäräda* Municipality Office of the area and financial problems were some of the problems I have faced in the course of investigating and analyzing information and writing the thesis.

The history of Enämay is too vast and this thesis does not assert to have exhaustively covered all the themes during the period from 1941 to 1991. Therefore, the objective of this thesis is to make attempts to fill the prevailing gap by reconstructing the history of the *wäräda*. In spite of this fact, the study is far from being complete but, I hope that it can motivate and be helpful to other researchers who want to conduct further study on the *wäräda*.

CHAPTER ONE

General Background

Geographical Setting and Historical Background of Enämay *Wäräda*

1.1. Geographical Setting

Enämay *wäräda* is found in the Amhara regional state. The Amhara National Regional State is founded in the north western and north central part of Ethiopia approximately between 36° 20' to 40 ° 20' E longitudes and 9° 21' and 14° 0' N latitude. The region covers about 170,152 kms of land within an altitudinal zone ranging from 600 to 4620 meters above sea-level.¹ As part of Amhara region, we find Gojjam which is one of the provinces of the region. Gojjam, situated in northwestern Ethiopia, is nearly a river island as the Nile River surrounds it. Historically, the region was divided into three administrative units. These were Gojjam proper, Damot and Agäw Meder. Gojjam proper includes Mota, Bičäna and Däbre Märqos. The partition was made just for administrative purposes.²

As a part of Gojjam, we find east Gojjam which is one of the zones of the Amhara region. This zone is bordered by south Wollo in the east, west Gojjam in the west, south Gondar in the north, north Šäwa in the south east, and east Wollägä in the south west.³ In this part of Gojjam, we find my focus of study area, named Enämay.

¹ Dereje Mulusew, "A survey of the Orthodox Christian Parchment of Manuscripts in Enemay *Woreda*, Amhara Regional State" (MA Thesis, Gondar University, 2018), p.1. The Enämay *Wäräda* Water and Irrigation Office Annual Report, 2012 E.C. P.3.

² Alebachew Abebe, "A History of Agriculture across the Abay Valley of Enäbssä Sär Meder *Woreda* during the Twentieth Century" (MA Thesis, Bahir Dar University, 2018), P.1.

³ *Ibid*, p.2.

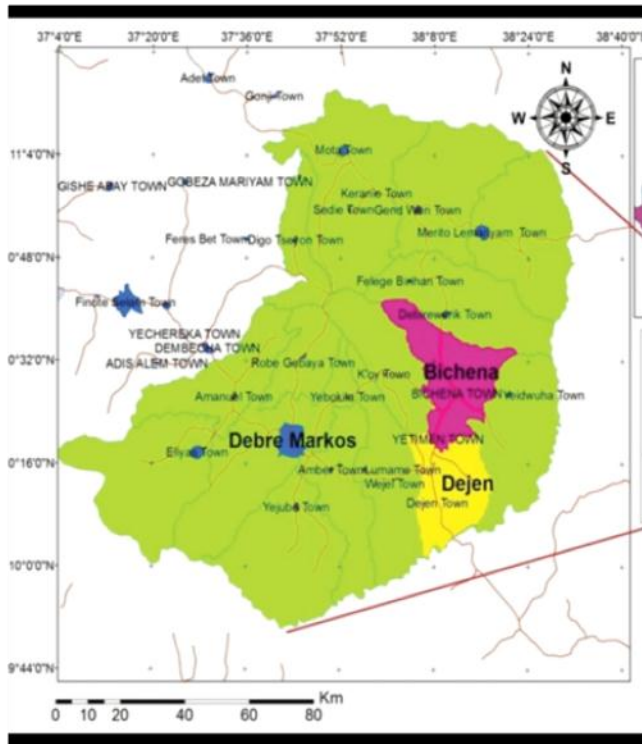


Figure 1: Map of East Gojjam. Source (CSA 2007)

Enämay *Wäräda* is one of the eighteen *wärädas* in East Gojjam Zone. The *wäräda* capital, Bičäna, is located 265 kilometers north-west of Addis Ababa, 222 kilometers from Bahir Dar—the capital of the regional state to the north direction along the Moia Gundewayn, and 96 kilometers from Däbra Marqos, the administrative capital of East Gojjam Zone. With its relative location, Enämay is bounded by Šäbal Bäränta *wäräda* in the east, in the north by Enärge Enäwga *wäräda*, in the south by Däjjan *Wäräda* and in the west Däbay Tilät Gine *wäräda*. Bičäna town is the administrative center of Enämay *Wäräda*.⁴

The territorial extension of the *wäräda* is estimated to be 733.02km² (76265) Hectare. It covers 5.4% of the total area of East Gojjam Zone. As a result it is one of the largest *wäräda* in East Gojjam Zone. The *wäräda* is located between 10° 15'.89' and to 10 ° 40.83' N and 38 °

⁴ Dereje Mulusew, p.1; Enämay *Wäräda* Communication Office 2011 Annual Report, P.1.

00.89' to 38 ° 20.33' E⁵.The altitudes of the *wäräda* ranges from 1600 to 3800 meters above sea level. The highest annual temperature of the *wäräda* is about 21°C.The highest peak in the area is Delë Gädäl which measures 3,800 meter, is located in Yäkäbähäna and the lowest place is Filaw which measures 1600 meters above sea level.⁶

Enämay *wäräda* is one of the most densely inhabited areas in East Gojjam Zone. Its population estimated to be 174,601, of whom 86,375 were men and 88,226 were women. The 1994 population and housing census reported a total population for this *wäräda* of 120,914 in 24,130 households, of whom 60,022 were men and 60,892 were women; 14,160 or 11.7 percent of its population were urban settlers. The largest ethnic group reported in Enämay was the Amhara (99.83%). The majority of the inhabitants practiced Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, with 89.55 percent reporting that as their religion, 10.33 percent were Muslims. The remaining are the followers of Protestant religion.⁷

Based on the 2007 national census conducted by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (CA), Enämay *wäräda* has a total population of 165,228 of whom 82,139 were men and 83,089 were women. As the census notes that about, 18,867 of the total population were living in the urban areas whereas the remaining 146,361 inhabitants were living in rural areas. The majority of the inhabitants practiced Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity with 92.05 percent reporting that as their religion, while 7.78 percent of the populations were Muslims. The remaining are the followers of Protestant religion.⁸

Enämay *wäräda* is well known by peaceful relation between Muslims and Christians. In the *wäräda* there are 96 churches, 31 mosques and 3 protestant churches. The Monastery of

⁵ Yananhe Atalay," A History of Agriculture across the Čoqa Mountain during the Twentieth Century", (Senior Essay, Dila University, 2012), p.5; Dereje, P.1.

⁶ Enämay *Wäräda* Rural and Agriculture office Annual Report, 2020.

⁷The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, Results for Amhara Region, Vol. I, Part I, statistical Report on Population Size and Characteristics, (Addis Ababa.1995), p.13-17.

⁸Report on the 2007 Population and Housing Census, "The Statistical Report on the Amhara Regional State part I: Population Size and Characteristics ", 2007., pp.32-53,

Dima, Ćolemit Maryam and Enäkärkäre Giyorgis are some of the ancient church in the study area.⁹

At present, Enämay *wäräda* is composed of thirty (30) *qäbällés* (Lower-administrative unit) out of which twenty five (25) are rural *qäbällés* whereas; the rest five *qäbällés* (Dima, Yäkäbähana, Mängisto, Werä and Yetmen) are small towns or semi-urban areas.

According to the communication office of the *wäräda*, the rural *qäbällés* in Enämay are: Ykähähana, Däbrä Kidusan, Keśmäs, Mängisto, Däbra Gänät, Masena, Ťälma, DäbraŤmona, Kidesga, Enekärkär, Addes Aläm, Guterä, Mahëbärä Berehane, Edget Bandenet, Sër Iyesus, Debisa, YaŤänbe, Yäräze, Säqälla Däber, Banja Šäräre, Mankorkoya, Mahebärä Sälam, Bićäna Däbar, Yäkgan, Woynema, Endäsñt, Mankorkoya and Kusekuam.¹⁰



Figure 2: Map of Enämay *Wäradä*, Source Google Map.

⁹The *Wäradä* Cultural and Tourism office Bulletin, 2012,p.2; Informants, Hussien Ali and Abba Gäbra Igziabhere Ćäkole

¹⁰The *wäradä* Administration Office of Annual Report, 2012, p.4.

The topography of the area is fifty percent plain, forty percent plateau and ten percent mountainous. This location translates to a variety of weather conditions of the *wäräda*. Based on temperature and elevation, Enämay *wäräda* consists of three climatic regions. These are the highland or cold (*Däga*), the temperate or moderate altitude (*Wäyna- Däga*) and the lowland plains or arid areas (*Kolla*). Each zones account for 7%, 88% and 5% of the total area of the *wäräda* respectively. The *wäräda* is, therefore, to a large extent characterized by suitable climatic situations of the *wäyna däga*.¹¹

According to the Enämay *Wäräda* Cooperative Office most of population makes their daily income from the following sources; agriculture 85%, civil service 5% and the remaining 10% is from trade and daily labor.¹²

In Enämay *wäräda* there are cultural heritages. These heritages are the Monastery of Dima found in Dima *qäbälle*, Bičäna Giorgis, Yeraze Mikael, Weynam Kidane Mhret, monastery of Čolemit Mariam found in Bičäna Däbre *qäbälle*, Monastery of Däbra Sina Mariam found in Sre Eyäsus *qäbälle*, *Yä Bäläy Zälläqä Warka* founded in Kedesge *qäbälle*, *Abba Šenoda Gdam* found in Däbra Temona *qäbälle*, Agew cave or Agew Dure found in Dibessa *qäbälle*.¹³ Frankly speaking, Enämay *wäräda* did not much benefit from the natural and man-made tourist areas. There are no significant infrastructures like; transportation, road, hotels and others which could attract those who tour in the study area. Farmers and other individuals damage these tourist attractions (forest, drainage and other resources) for their own economic intention without protecting these resources. As I can understand from the above discussion and oral testimonies, the tourist area is on the way to lose its attraction, due to less attention of the regulatory of the *wäräda* on preserving and protecting the tourist sites

¹¹ Dereje, P.1; The Rural and Agriculture office Annual Report, 2012, p.2.

¹² Aragaw Alemayehu. "Farmer"s Perception on Climatic Change and its Impact. " A Case Study on Enemay *Wäräda* in East Gojjam. MA in Geography, Addis Ababa University, 2009, p. 17.

¹³ *Ibid*; The *Wäräda* Cultural and Tourism Office Bulletin, 2010.pp.1-2.

of the *wäräda*. I remark that, the concerned bodies should give due attention to protect and advance the tourist attraction for more economic benefits in the district. They should preserve and protect these resources for the next generation. All the concerned bodies should also introduce these tourist areas for those who need to tour it.

Enämay *wäräda* has 64 primary and five secondary schools, of which four primary schools are owned by individuals. There is also one vocational and seven academic and seven non-academic governmental collages in Enämay.¹⁴

Until the beginning of the 21th c there was only one bank (Commercial Bank of Ethiopia) and no insurance organization. However, in 2004 Buna International Bank has opened its branch in the study area. Then after, a number of private banks and micro finance institutions have opened their branches in the *wäräda*.¹⁵ The *wäräda* had also one primary hospital, 17 health centers, 35 rural health centers and 14 private medium clinics.¹⁶

¹⁴ The Enämay *Wäräda* Education Office Bulletin, 2012, p.3.

¹⁵ Informants, Habäśä Abäbä and Bälay Asheber.

¹⁶ The *Wäräda* Health Office Bulletin, 2013, p.1.

1.2. Historical Background

1.2.1. Early History of the People of Enämay *Wäräda*

When we look at the people of the study area, according to oral traditions, chronicles, recorded church documents as well as some historian, by the then different clergymen of the region of Gojjam which is Enämay part of it, it traces back the immigration of the sons of Noah to the rest of the world after the collapse of the world with flooding.¹⁷ According to my sources, the son of Noah (Iteyopis) was the first settlers on the land of Ethiopia after the world had the deluge with a forty days lasting rainfall with reaction to the sin of humans on earth.¹⁸

In fact, ancient writers and the society used the Bible as evidence to draw the origin and the identity of different groups of Ethiopia. To this end, most of the writers associated the origin of the people of Gojjam with the biblical statement of “...after the flood all the nations of the earth ascended from Noah”.¹⁹

According to this legend, the name Gojjam is directly related with the sons of Iteyopis. Gozè is one of the direct descendants of settlers of the Noah sons in the area. Written Sources clearly indicates that Gozè was the founding father and the earliest settler in the place what we call currently Gojjam. Gozè “the founding father of Gojjam” came from Wollo and settled in a place called Mängesto, the place founded in Enämay *wäräda*. The tradition argues that the term Gozè eventually evolved into Gojjam.²⁰

¹⁷ Alebachew Abebe, p.5; Alula Yohannes, A History of Dämbächa *Wärädä* (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, 2011), Pp.12-13; Informants *Märgeta* Habete Biazen and *Märgeta* Meseret Biabile

¹⁸ Fekede Bekele, “Administrative History of Gozamen *Wäräda* From 1941-1991,” (M.A Thesis, Addis Ababa University, 2011), p.5; *Märgeta* Habete and *Märgeta* Meseret

¹⁹ Alebachew, pp.5; Takla Iyasus Waqqira “Ya Gojjam Tarike”, p.61; Informants, *Märgeta* Habete and *Märgeta* Meseret.

²⁰ Tadesse Tamirat, “Ethiopia in Miniature: The Peopling of Gojjam” in Harold G. Marcus (ed.), New Trends in Ethiopian Studies, Papers of the 12th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Michigan State

According to scholars and the tradition, the descendents of Gozè, namely, Säläläo, Mälälö, Särbäe and Däräbe were said to have settled in the Çoqè Mountain and divided the resourceful areas of the district. Mälälö and Säläläo were occupied the areas around Çay River (23 kilometers far from the study area) and Abay River.²¹ Since 1991 Çay River has served as a border line between Enäbessé and Enarge Enawega in the *qolla* part. Çay River rises from the Çoqè and flows into Abay River.²² Däräbé and Särbäé were settled in the areas to the East, Southwest of the Çoqè and the area between east of Çay River and southwest of Zingni.²³

Therefore, based on the above explanation the original settler of Enämay and its surrounding, who currently live in the eastern part of Gojjam might have direct hereditary relation with the children of Mälälö and Sälälö. Here, it is also significant to bear in mind that due to the shortage of concrete sources and the complexity of studying the genealogy of the society, it is difficult to take the study as granted. It rather serves as an important input for further probing for scholars who want to study with the issue of the origin and identity of the earlier people that settled in the study area. However, these sources are far from being complete to show exactly the overall settlement pattern of these people, specifically in the study area. As a result, the exact period when the penetration of these people into the area started has become a source of scholarly debate.

Historical and linguistic researches indicate that the Agew were inhabitants of north and north-central Ethiopian plateau even before the rise of the Aksumite state. The Agews had worked as the state's commercial agents during the Aksumite period. Thus, Aksumite

University, 5-10 September 1994, Vol. I (Lawrenceville, NJ: The Red Sea Press, 1994, pp.954-955; and Fekede Bekele, p.5.

²¹Alula, pp.13-14

²²Alebachew, p.16.

²³Alula, p.14.

governors sent Agew rulers as their favored agents to bargain for gold in the area called Sassu.²⁴

In the 13th and early 14th century the dominant population groups of East Gojjam were the Agew. In addition, sources clearly show that there was a strong Agew presence in Enämay. The informants also added that there are sufficient remains of materials evidences which were used by the Agews that shows the settlements of the Agaw in the study area. These were found in the *wärada*. In Enämay we found አገው ዋሻ (Agaw Cave), አገው አምባ (Agew plateau) and አገው ዱር (Agew Forest). The informants also added the places like Jänje and Banja are Agew terms, which means ቀንድ (horn) and ተይ እንጅ (let it go) respectively.²⁵

The shift of authority from the descendants of Mära Täklä Haymanot to “the Solomonic” one in general and the reign of Emperor Amdä Şeyon in particular were brought important events in the history of Christianity in East Gojjam. As a result, the study area which had been in the periphery of the Ethiopian state in the Aksumite times became more exposed to the influence of the new regime. Much of the expansion was managed by King Amdä-Seyon (r.1314-1344) who captured the region of Gojjam in the 14th c.²⁶

As a result, Christian evangelization, generally in Gojjam and particularly in Enämay underwent significant cultural transformation. This region had been predominantly inhabited by various groups of Agew people.²⁷

In the case of Enämay, rapid evangelizations occurred and churches established at the end of 14th centuries. Christians influence for the first time introduced to Gojjam through the direction of Lake Tana, where separated Christian monks seemed to have settled as early as the later period of the Zagwe dynasty. But, until the reign of Emperor Zera Yacob the attempt

²⁴ Ayenew Fenta “Society and Environmental in Mätäkäl, Nortwestern Ethiopia, 1880s to 1990s,” (Addis Ababa University, 2019), p.61; Abebaw, “A History of Painting p.3.

²⁵ Informants *Märgeta Wälälaw Getnet* and *Märgeta Habtie*

²⁶ Habtamu Mengist, “Land Tenure and Agrarian Social Structure in Ethiopia, 1636-1900” (PhD Dissertation in History, Illinois: Urbana, 2011), pp. 53-54; Abebaw, A History of Painting.....p, 4.

²⁷ Habtamu, Land Tenure..... p.55.

of these monks to Christianize the mainland to the south of the lake was failed because of stiff resistance from the community. Even after the establishment of strong Christian administration over the district, Christianity and Christian evangelization did not spread deep into the central highlands of Gojjam; rather it was restricted to the remote areas immediately to the south of the lake.²⁸

Evangelization was supported by the settlement of religious men, and troops into the district of Gojjam from Shäwa and Amhara²⁹. The districts of Angot and Lasta which is now southwestern Wollo is considered as the historic homeland of the Amhara. These new groups entered with the Amharic language and new culture to the old provinces. Gradually, they completely Christianized the Agew, the dominant population in Gojjam and who still live in Agew Medir in the western part of Gojjam.³⁰ All this transformed Gojjam into the Christian heartland of Ethiopia, which proved vital to the survival of church and state when they met new challenges in later centuries.³¹ Although, most of the Gojjamie people believe that their area was populated completely by the Amhara but, Gojjam is the home of various minority groups such as the Agews, Wayto, Gumz, Shinasha and Qimant.³²

The first evangelical activity in the Enämay *wäräda* seems to have been that of *Abba* Bäkimos who later came to be known as Täkästä Berhan. He was the first religious man who preached Christianity in the study area. His evangelical activities in the study area seem to have preceded the expedition of Emperor Zera Yacob to the area in 1316/17. Täkästä Berhan was successful in baptizing the people of the Enämay area and established a church there, the Church of Dima Giyorgis, after an initial strong resistance. His religious activities in East Gojjam and those of Zä-Yohannes in the area to the south of Lake Ṭana which also faced a

²⁸ Abebaw, A History of Painting....., pp.5-6.

²⁹ Habtamu, Land Tenure..... p.55.

³⁰ AbduSamad H. Ahmed, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam, 1901-1935", (PhD Dissertation, Addis Ababa, 1986 University Illinoisan: Urbana, 1986), pp.58-59.

³¹ Hbtamu, "Land Tenure.....p, 55.

³² AbduSamad "Trade and Politics in Gojjam, 1901-1935"pp.59-60.

stiff resistance from the local communities were some of the factors that led to the expedition to the area by Emperor Amdä Şeyon.³³

The integration of east Gojjam in general and Enämay in particular into the Christian Kingdom was followed by the establishment of a large number of churches in the area. Some of these churches such as Däbrä Wärq, Dima Giyorgis and Märtulä Maryam developed into important monasteries and educational centers. These churches played significant role to the spread of Christianity further into the western parts of the region. There are several churches in Gozamen, Mačakäl, Erbab and Senan areas, which have traditions that their ark of covenants (*tabot*) were brought from Dima, Märtulä Maryam and Däbrä Wärq.³⁴ Dima Monastery is one of the oldest Monasteries in East Gojjam and has not been taxed for many years. The following Saying expresses this:

በሰማይ የለ-ዱር

በዲማ የለ ግብር³⁵

There is no forest in the sky,

No tax in Dima.

The eastern parts Gojjam province in general and Enämay in particular were among the first areas in Gojjam to accept Christianity in the region. The Amhara, who first settled in these areas from the provinces of Amhara Saynet and Šäwa, seem to have increased their number, gradually settled to the western part of the study area such as Senan, Awabäl, Anädäd, Gozamen, Däbay Ṭelatgen, Gozamen, Mačakäl, and Mota.³⁶

Traditions about the foundations of many churches and monasteries as well as the coming of clerical families from Šäwa and Amhara with *tabots* (ark) in the study area indicated by the

³³Abebaw, A History of painting.....pp.28 & 28; Seläši Mängest, “A History of Dima Giorgis Monastery from the Foundation to 1974” (B.A. thesis. Addis Ababa University Department of History, 1998), pp.4-5.

³⁴Abebaw Ayalew, “A Short History of Dabra Eleyas Church 1874-1974”. (B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.1998), pp.4-5.;Seläši, A History of Dima.....pp.1-3

³⁵Seläši, A History DimaGiorgis.....p.1.

³⁶Alebachew, pp.7-8.

following repeated popular saying: “ታቦት በራሱ ቃጭል በጥርሱ”, which literally means the one who came with ark was carried on its head, with a bell on its teeth, is always cited by informants when they discuss the origin of many early Christian settlements and the founding of churches.³⁷

In the sixteenth century, another historical event took place, which added another issue on the genealogical inquiry of the study area. This was directly associated with the movement of the Oromo people. Eastern Gojjam in general, and Enämay *wäräda* in particular expansion had become to all intents and purposes a place of refuge for a variety of people fleeing the Oromo expansion, who had expanded into many parts of what is today southern and central Ethiopia.

One of the most significant movements of population into the study area was followed by the expansion of the Oromo was that of the Gafat. It is not clear if the Gafat moved into the region as conquerors or as refugees seeking shelter.³⁸ However, Taddässa Tamrat, and Fantahun Berhane claim that, the Gafat were the ancient settlers of Gojjam.³⁹ My informant *Résä Däbr* Ngusé Zägäya claims that, the people of Gojjam including the study area have the genealogy of Gafat. In the genealogy from which most of the people of East Gojjam trace their descendants from the name Gafat where the area is literally called የጋፋት አገር (*Yägafat Agär*). Still, some locals use the term to express someone who has his sincerity and generosity say, ጋፋት ነጩ/ ናት (*Gafat Näw (Gafat Nat)*)⁴⁰. For this assurance, Märéras Aman Bälay on his book expresses clearly that, the Queen of Gafat known as Emämulad had been living in the study area. After she died the area was a worship scene of Gafat. But during the

³⁷*Ibid*, p.7; Abebaw, Painting.....pp. 5-6; Informants, *Märgeta* Habtie and Bälay Asheber.

³⁸Taddesse Tamrat, “*Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: The Case of the Gafat*,” (Journal of Ethiopian Studies, vol. 21,1988), pp. 121-154

³⁹ Taddesse Tamrat, “ Ethiopia in Miniature: The Peopling of Gojjam”pp954-955 and Fantahun Birhane, 'Gojjam, 1800 -1855'.(BA Thesis, Department of History, Haile Selassie I University, 1973), p.26.

⁴⁰ Informant, *Résä Däbr* Ngusé Zägäya

reign of *Ašé* Baedä Mariyam, queen Eléni built the church of St.Giorgis at a place of Emämulad, before 1991 the place was under Enämay *Wäräda*. However, the church was destroyed by the Gafat, because it was the worship place of them. Consequently, the mother of Gälawdiwos, Säblä Wongél re-built the church in 1558.⁴¹

The Oromo owed their 16th and 17th century success in Gojjam due to the activity of their increasingly powerful cavalry and infantry forces, which carried their frequent settlement scheme to widely Christian inhabited areas of the region. According to Daniel Dajene, the attempt of the local Gojjam population to resist the Oromo at Sántära Méda and Aṭṭamét, in what is now Gozamen, was failed, and they expanded and settled in different part of Gojjam during the period of *Ašé* Susenyos. Thus, in the course of their premeditated expansion and repeated settlement into larger parts of Gojjam and they left a legacy that endures in the place names such as Yelmana ena Dénsa, Mécha and Baso Libän named after Oromo settled in there.⁴²

Generally, the study area was the home of a refuge for a variety of people because of the Oromo population movement including the Oromo's.⁴³ As clearly stated above, the people of this *wäräda* could be the results of this long-lasting genealogical history. However, the gap created in its designation and its failure to acquire one of the names of its predecessors does not entail whether these people are peculiar and are hardly associated with the lines of Noah.

Islam was probably introduced to the *wäräda* at the end of 18th c, when *Ras* Hailu Yosèdèq selected Beçäna as his seat. According to my informant, *Ras* Hailu invited Muslims from different part of the country to speed up trade in the area. Besides, in the last quarter of 19th c

⁴¹Däbay Tilat Gin *Wäräda* Culture and tourism Office: Zeleke Tegode, "A History of Modern Education in Bichena *Awraja* From 1941-2004" (M.A.Thesis, Debra Markos University, 2019), pp. 5-6.and *Märéras Aman Bälay, Yä Ithiopia Nägästat Tariké*, (Addis Ababa, Berhanena Selam Printing Press, 1966 E.C), p.309.

⁴²Daniel Dejene,"Tenure Reform and Socio Economic Structure in Debra Markos (Gojjam), Ethiopia", (PhD Dissertation, University of South Africa, 2020), p.2.

⁴³Informants, Bälay ,*Märgeta* Habtie and *Märgeta* Wälälaw

those Muslims who faced persecution in Wollo crossed the Abay River and settled in the western bank of the river in Beçëna and Šäbäl Bäränta. It was from these areas that Muslims gradually expanded and settled in different parts of east Gojjam.⁴⁴

As it is true in most part of Gojjam, the number of Muslims is small because of social pressure from the dominant Christian community in the area. Nevertheless, today besides the town of Beçäna, Muslims live in rural localities such as Endäsñt, Abaro, Sekëla, Mänkorkoyä, Gutërä, Beçëna Däbär, Enëkorka, Densa Enëkora and Kedèsä.⁴⁵

There are different views regarding the etymological development of Enämäy *wäräda*. In order to reconstruct the peopling of the area, it is imperative to state, first the origin of the name Enämäy I begin from this because the tradition of the people of Enämäy *wäräda* has related the name Enämäy to one of the founding mother of the locality in the *wäräda*. Regarding the origin of the name Enämäy, two traditions are widely circulated by the people of the district. The first tradition attributes the name Enämäy to one of the founding mothers of a locality in the *wäräda* whose name was Enämäy. The proponent of this tradition note that the Oromo chieftain Geramene (ጅራመኔ) went to the study area and married a woman called Enämäy. Then they had three children, Sälläle Bäy, Kolläle Bäy and Dagmai Enämäy. Over time, it is said that these children and grand children lived in different parts of what we now call Enämäy. Therefore, Enämäy is considered as “አቅኝ”, which literally means the founder.⁴⁶ As the result, the society used the word to describe the study area.

The second tradition, however, associates the origin of the term Enämäy with the Geez words እነ and ማይ, እነ means እናት (mother) and ማይ meanውሃ (water), hence የእናት ውሃ water of

⁴⁴ Informants, Hassen Ahmed; Hussien Ali and Näbärä.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*

⁴⁶ Informants Näbärä and Märgeta Mesret.

mother⁴⁷. Generally, it has become difficult to find other traditions that could be used as corroborating evidences to show, the study wants to concede that at least for now it is important to take the above narrations as something having a role to play in exposing how the name Enämay came into use. Briefly, the aforementioned scanty historical facts discussed may lead historians to further probing so as to explore more and to understand what could have taken place in Gojjam in general and Enämay *wäräda* in particular.

1.2.2. Economic and Political Significance of Enämay *Wäräda*, from the Last Quarter of 18th Century to 1936

As many scholars rightly noted that, the fourteenth century was considered as a turning point in the history of Gojjam in general and Enämay *wäräda* in particular. It was during this period that written historical accounts about the region began to flourish. This is for the reason that during this period the study area recorded as the part of the Ethiopian Empire, particularly during the reign of Amäde Şyion (r.1314-1344).⁴⁸

Gojjam was well known political unit in the Ethiopian state from its incorporation into the Christian highland kingdom in the early fourteenth century. An indication of its political importance was that the region had its own governor who used the title of Gojjam Nāgaš right up to the reign of Emperor Iyasu I (r.1682-1706). With regard to these sources, scholars agree that it is most likely that these titles referred to the descendants of the former rulers of these areas before their annexation by the Christian Highland Kingdom.⁴⁹

During the reign of King Lebne Dengle, Enämay *wäräda* was virtually became the center of the kingdoms. Particularly Mängsto Säblä Wongel's court (now a day one of Qäbälle's

⁴⁷The *Wäräda* communication office Bulletin, 2012,p.1; informants, *Märgeta* Habtie and Säma Fantie

⁴⁸Mehari Yohannes, "Debre Markos *Awraja*-Gojjam Local Administration: The Role of Traditional Elements" (BA thesis in Political Science, HSIU, 1970), pp.7-8; Abebaw, A History of painting.....p.8.

⁴⁹Abebaw, A History of Painting.....pp.8-9.

in Enämay *Wäräda*), became the center of the kingdom. Queen Säblä Wängel, a member of the royalty of the 16th century, she founded Mängsto Kidanä Mhrät, located between the rivers Suḥa and Yäbärt.⁵⁰

It was during this period land grant from Gojjam was issued by King Lebnä-Dengel (r.1508-1540). The grant was declared at the monastery of Dima Giyorgis in Enämay *wäräda*, where the king was spending —the Easter Holy day. The beneficiaries from this land grant were the king's wife Queen Säblä-Wängél and their daughter, Welete-Qedusan, and the king's sister Amete-Giyorgis. Since then, Säblä-Wängél had a firm kinship to the study area. It was in this *wäräda* she founded the church of Mängestä-Sämeyat in the 1550s. Tradition attests that the district of Enämay was owned by the female descendants of kings.⁵¹

Mentewab further toughen her grip on authority through strategic political marriage with the princes of Gojjam. She had three daughters—Aletaše, Astér and Wälätä-Isra'el. For her daughter Wälätä-Isra'el, Mentewab chose a husband from Gojjam, *Däjazmach* Yosédéq, whose descendants ruled Gojjam until the 20th c.⁵²

The political history of Ethiopia, in the first half of the 18th c, was characterized by the decline of the power of the state and the monarchy, and the increasing involvement of the regional lords in palace and state issues. This eventually brought the era of war lords. This political development seems to have given the opportunity for the minor nobility of different provinces to strengthen their power and control large portions of territory under their domain.⁵³

⁵⁰Zeleke Tegode. A History of Modern Education, pp.8-10.

⁵¹Habtamu, Land Tenure..., pp.74-75; Informants, Nbäre Asçale.

⁵²Fantahun Birhane, 'Gojjam 1800 -1855' (BA Thesis in History, Haile Sellassie I University, 1973), pp. 1-2; Danieal; p.3.

⁵³Donald Crummey, *Land and Society in The Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia: From the Thirteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2000), pp.90-91.

During the reign of Emperor Iyasu I, Wäldä Abib of Gojjam used the title of *Yäšäläqa*. Around 1708 he was promoted to the rank of *Däjazmač* and became the governor of Gojjam.⁵⁴ His son and successor Yosédéq was also used the title of *Däjazmač* and appointed as the governor of Gojjam in 1753 by Empress Mentewab and her son Iyasu II. *Däjazmač* Yosédéq had no positive relation with the court at Gondär. To pay and to buy his allegiance he was promoted to the rank of *Däjazmač* from the title of *Abéto*. Besides, he was given in marriage Wälätä Isra'el II, Mentwab's daughter.⁵⁵ This political marriage was stabilizing *Däjazmač* Yosédéq for some times. The political marriage between *Däjazmač* Yosédéq and Wälätä Isra'el II had an adverse outcome on the royal court. This political marriage brought the birth of the local dynasty of Gojjam. *Ras* Hailu I, who was the outcome of this marriage, ruled Gojjam from 1777 to 1795.⁵⁶

In 1777 Hailu Yosédéq was appointed as *Ras* of Gojjam by King Solomon of the *Zämänä Mässafer* (the era of war lords). He also made as the ruler of the whole province of Gojjam. From then he was fully independent.⁵⁷

The reign of *Ras* Hailu Yosédéq was a turning point in the socio-economic and political development of the study area. He made the town of Bičäna (now, *Arogèw* Bičäna) his center of administration and the capital of the whole Gojjam.⁵⁸ The town was one of the networks of the regional trade route across Gojjam.⁵⁹ Hailu founded Bičäna around the 1770s as Gojjam's capital.⁶⁰ The ruler made the *rist* land of *Arogèw* Bičäna. The largest of Hailu's foundation was the church located at his political seat Bičäna in the district of Enämay dedicated to Saint

⁵⁴Fantahun, p.2; Abebaw, A History of Painting.....p.64.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁶Takla Iyasus, Waqjira, "The Chronicle of Gojjam", pp 45-48; Fantahun Birhane, pp.2-4; Abebaw, "A History of Painting..... pp. 10-11.

⁵⁷Habtamu, "Land Tenure...pp.151-152; Abebaw, A History of Painting..., p. 11.

⁵⁸; Abebaw, "A History of Painting...., p. 11.

⁵⁹ AbduSamad "Trade and Politics in Gojjam, 1901-1935", p.195.

⁶⁰Abebaw, "A History of Painting....., pp.16-17.

George. This was given a special status (*mäleltä-adebar*) called *mälekä-sähāyat* the king justified this arrangement by saying it was because the place was the king's seat.⁶¹

For most of his rule *Ras* Hailu Yosédéq made Bičäna his capital where he built a palace. *Ras* Hailu's palace of Bičäna was decorated with paintings. He also made a good house and made the ancient history of David's and Salomon's from the kings, and Samson and Gideon from the nobility painted on it.⁶²

In addition to Bičäna Giyorgis, a relatively large number of churches in the study area were decorated and benefited from the reign of *Ras* Hailu, some of these were Dima Giorgis, Čolämit Mariam, Zebč Iyäsus, Ser Iyäsus, Enäkärker Giyorgis, Wäynam Kidanä Meherät, and Mängesto Kidana Mehret. They received extensive *gult* grants. Their buildings were reconstructed and decorated by architects and painters commissioned by *Ras* Hailu Yosédéq.⁶³

Ras Hailu enjoyed an absolute economic and political autonomy. Compared to his predecessors and successors he ruled Gojjam for a relatively long period of time. His administration in Gojjam was characterized by peace, stability and cultural revival. He died in June 1795 at his second capital, Zewa,⁶⁴ 9 kilo Meters far from Kuy, the center of Däbay Tilat Gine *wäräda*.⁶⁵

Generally, based on the above sources the period played a great role for the socio-economic and political development of Enämay *Wäräda*. During this period, the study area served as the political seat of governors of Gojjam. There are still evidences that show the socio-economic and political significance of the area under discussion. Before and after the

⁶¹ *Ibid*, Habtamu, "Land Tenure...pp.155; Informants, *Märgeta* Hatie. Bälay and Säma.

⁶² Abebaw, "A History of Painting...., p.71.

⁶³ *Ibid*, pp.70-73.

⁶⁴ Abebaw, A History Painting....., p.11; Informants, *Märgeta* Hatie. Bälay and Säma.

⁶⁵ Informant, Täfära Andualälm

historical development discussed above some sources demonstrate that the study area was among the most important places in the region and as a result the study area attracted various prominent individuals. To this end, different sources attested that in the mid 19th century, following the great bend of the Blue Nile River European travelers visited Enämay area. To some extent, travelers who visited the region left their own eyewitness accounts about the region by describing different issues principally about its political, social and economic activities and the overall geographical nature of the study area.⁶⁶

In this regard, at about the 1840s one of the travelers, Charles T Beke wrote about the study area and expressed the nature of the land in the region. The account of Doctor Charles T. Beke contributed a lot in writing the historical, geographical and socio-economic condition of Enämay in the mid 19th century. His account is relatively well organized and comprehensive and serves as an input for such a study. His account puts us that he resided several days in the study area 1842, and he described that Bičäna as follows the town was “surrounded with strong stone walls, and most of the houses having walls of the same material however, all is now fallen into great decay and the walls being broken down”.⁶⁷

Following the death of *Ras* Hailu Yosédéq (also called Talaqu *Ras* Hailu, r. 1777-1795), Gojjam was re-divided into its former independent units. It became a center of power struggle among the successors of *Ras* Hailu Yosédéq until *Ras* Adal Täsäma reunited it in 1873.⁶⁸ Between 1795 and 1799, Gojjam proper was ruled by *Ras* Märed, son and heir to *Ras* Hailu

⁶⁶ Täfära Andualem and Walelign Aschale

⁶⁷ Charles Beke, “Abyssinia-Being a Continuation of Routes in that Country,” (*Journal of the Geographical Society Vol XIV*, 1844), pp.1-3 and 25.

⁶⁸ Alula, pp.20-23.

Yosédéq.⁶⁹ In addition to Bičäna, *Ras* Märed used the town of Dima to his residence. Following this, Dima became politically significant.⁷⁰

In the 1870s *Ras* Adal became the ruler of Gojjam Proper, Agew Medir and Damot. He was a descendant of the Damot and Gojjam Proper house. In 1873, Emperor Yohannes IV recognized Adal's hereditary right over Gojjam and he ruled the province Gojjam upto 1901.

Following the death of *Negus* Täklä Haymanot, Emperor Menelik got the chance to divide Gojjam into three administrative units over which he recognized rulers directly responsible to him and *Däjjazmač* Seyum, the son of Täklä Haymanot was appointed as the governor of Gojjam Proper.⁷¹

As mentioned above, historically, Gojjam province included three major districts Gojjam areas (Moṭa, Bičäna and Däbrä Markos), Damot (Dega Damot and Qolla Damot) and Agäw Midr. Although there is no apparent contradiction between the three zones, Menelik II is said to have contributed to the administrative efficiency in 1909.⁷²

Later in 1911, *Ras* Hailu, son of King Täklä Haymanot, was made *Ras* and appointed to be the governor of Gojjam. Enämay became the centre of source of revenue for *Ras* Hailu. He introduced various types of taxes. Of these the most unpopular was setting out the so-called smoke tax (*Yäčis Geber*) system was seen as a vile act against him⁷³. Consequently, he was hated by the society at large including his own official and soldiers. As the result, conspiracy was planned to assassinate by one of his guards. The *Azmari* (traditional Musician) heard this secret plan and told *Ras* Hailu to protect himself in the following poem

⁶⁹*Ibid*, p.22. Fantahun, 2-4.

⁷⁰Charles Beke, "Route from Ankóber to Díma," (*The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 12 1842), pp. 245-258.

⁷¹AbduSamad "Trade and Politics in Gojjam, 1901-1935", pp.68.

⁷²*Ibid*, 68-69.

⁷³Ayele Tariku "A History of Hulät lju Inäse *Woreda*, East Gojjam 1941-1991" (M.A. Thesis, Addis Ababa University, 2011), p.14.

ከራስህ በላይ የለም ወዳጅ
ራስ ራስ ወንድ ጠብቁ እንጂ⁷⁴

You do not have well partner than yourself,
You (*Ras Hailu*) had better look after yourself.

Following *Ras Hailu* removed from power in 1932, friction began between the people and the emperor nominated *Ras Imriu Haile Selassie* in the province of Gojjam. The appointment *Ras Imiru Haile Selassie* in the place of *Ras Hailu* brought the end of Gojjam's autonomy. After *Ras Imiru* became the governor of Gojjam, he forced the farmer to pay taxes before harvest and the situation was more worsened. Because of this the people voiced their feelings with the sayings howed below:

እንጂራው ከሸዋ ወጡ ከጎንደር
እርጎው ጎጃም ነበር መገፋት ባይኖር⁷⁵
Enjära from Shewa bowl from Gonder
Yoghurt was in Gojjam, if hadn't pushed.

When the Fascist Italians mobilized their force to Ethiopia in 1935/36, *Ras Imiru* led the Gojjam force and at this critical point the army led by the grandson of King Täklä Haymanot, Gäsäsä Bäläw betrayed *Ras Emiru*. But there were a brave ant- Fascist Italian patriotic resistance in the region. In fact, the anti-fascist struggle of the region were not coordinated, however, ultimately the struggle in Gojjam with other parts of Ethiopia would pave the way for the return of the Emperor.⁷⁶

1.3 Italian Occupation and Resistance in Enämay *Wäräda* (1936-1941)

1.3.1 Italians Administration in Enämay *Wäräda*

⁷⁴*Ibid*, Abebe Dirse, "Banditry and insecurity in East Gojjam, 1941-1991," (M.A. Thesis Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2008), p.50.

⁷⁵Informants Näbärä and Bäläy

⁷⁶Zelege Tegodep.13.

For the second time in forty years, a European power, Italy invaded Ethiopia On October 3, 1935. The longstanding ambition of Italy to colonize Ethiopia was reinforced by its desire to erase its defeat at Dogali in 1887 and later at Adwa in 1896.⁷⁷

After a couple of months Ethiopian Minister of war *Ras* Mulugeta Yegezu ordered all military chiefs in the north front to participate in patriotic struggle against the Fascist Italians. By then the overall commander of the northern front was given to *Ras* Kassa Hailu. At that time *Ras* Imiru Haile Selassie, the then governor of Gojjam recruited and mobilized the people and the resource of Gojjam to defend Ethiopia from the Fascist Italian invasion.⁷⁸ The people of Gojjam in general and Enämay in particular gave positive response, and according to my informant *Qèñäzmaê* Yenesu Adamu mobilized a number of peasants from Enämay to resist the Italians.⁷⁹

Soon after the request, well known government officials in the province of Gojjam such as Nägaše Bāzabhe, Hayle Eyasus Felate, Mengesa Jambare and others gathered in Dābrā Marqos from every corner of the province. Like the rest part of the people of Gojjam, the people of Enämay marched to Dābrā Marqos under their leader *Qāñnazmaê* Yenäsu Adamu. These combined forces were commanded by the *Ras* Imiru Haile Sellassie, General Governor of Gojjam. At the beginning, prominent Gojjam commanders including *Däjjazmê* Gassässä decided to defend their country from the fascists at the Šire front. However, at this critical situation, the Italians subversive activity was successful and the major section of combatants

⁷⁷ Alberto Sbacchi, "Ethiopia Under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience", (London, Zed Books, 1985), pp. 7-8.

⁷⁸ Nebeyu Eyasu, "Administrative History of Gojjam, 1941-1974" (MA Thesis in History, AAU, 2004), pp.16-17; Seletene Seyoum, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam (Ethiopia): 1936-1941" (PhD Dissertation in History, AAU, 1999), pp.16-17.

⁷⁹ Informants, Bālay and Säma.

led by Gässässä betrayed *Ras* Imiru before they reached the war front on 3 December 1935 and returned from war front.⁸⁰

Consequently, the fascist forces with the aid of collaborating leaders of Gojjam such as *Däjjac* Gässässä Bäläw and his supporters reached at Däbrä Marqos on May 20 1936.⁸¹ In fact, before the surrender of the region, a few government troops and civilians crossed the Abay River from Šäwa and made attempts to defend the region of Gojjam from Italians and Gässässä's force. These troops fought against Gässässä in the district of Gozamen and Bečäna. For a short period of time, the Šäwan troops protected Däbra Marqos from the troops of Gässässä.⁸² However, the force of Gässässä had gotten assistance from the Italian General known as Achille Starace and then Gässässä's force controlled Däbrä Marqos and other surrounding districts. Then, the Šäwan army moved to the Abay Gorge.⁸³

Finally, on 9 may 1936 Mussolini declared Ethiopia as the part of the Italian Empire. Nevertheless, the Italians controlled only one third of the country.⁸⁴

After the Italian forces controlled the capital of Gojjam Province, notable Gojjam personalities such as *Fitawrari* Zälläqä Liqu, *Däjjazmač* Sebhatu Yegzaw, *Fitawrari* Mängäša Jämbärè and *Däjjazmač* Nägaš Bāzabeh were submitted for a short period of time.⁸⁵

The Fascists tried to rule its northeast Africa colonies including Ethiopia by dividing it into big territorial divisions called Governorates. The Italian East Africa was divided into six governorates. The governorates were also divided into districts and sub- districts. Accordingly, Gojjam became one district or commissar although Däbrä Marqos was the seat

⁸⁰Yohannis Birhanu, "The Patriots in Gojjam 1396-1941:(A Study of Resistance Movement)" (BA Thesis in History, HSIU, 1972), pp.6-9

⁸¹Alula, p.41.

⁸²Fekede, pp.12-14; Yohannis, pp. 6-9.

⁸³*Ibid*, Alula, p.42.

⁸⁴Seletene, pp.61-64

⁸⁵Nebyu, p.25:Yohannis, p.10: Fekede,p.13

of the commissioner. Nevertheless, the Italian rule had very little influence on the administration of the local people including the study area.⁸⁶

In fact, by using important chiefs of Gojjam and fault propaganda, the Italians attempted to get acceptance in the region was relatively successful. The first propaganda was that the Šāwan rulers are not good governors, generally to Ethiopia and particularly to Gojjam. And our [Italians] aim would bring peace and prosperity to the people soon.⁸⁷ In addition, Italians propaganda in Enāmāy was associated with religion. In the study area there are a number of Muslims, and the Italians said that the government of Ethiopia had excluded Muslims from government affairs and had no respect to the followers of Islam. And we [Italians] would bring equality. Initially, the Italians attempt in the study area was successful in some *qābälles* like, Abaro, town of Bečāna and Endäseñt. The Italians also got the loyalty of the majority of the Muslims and some well-known personalities, such as *Balambaras Mängistie Denku*, *Qèñazmač Antānhe Denku*, *Qägazmač Yimānu Negusie*, *Qèñazmač Jāmberu Tädla*, *Fitawrari Ayälä Alāmu*, *Fitawrari Bälachew*, and *Fitawrari Wārku Hassāne*.⁸⁸ However, despite the above success, Italians faced strong and unexpected resistance from the majority of local people and they did not administer by their own legal system or introduce any economic changes.⁸⁹

In the province of Gojjam, including Enāmāy *wārāda*, the Italians were to establish themselves only in the towns. Bičāna was one the Italians military fortresses and camps in the area. However, despite the existence of military fortresses and camps there was strong patriotic resistance under the leadership of *Lej Bälay Zälläqä*.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Seletene, p.94: Informants, *Emahoy Manayāše* and *Abba Berhan Yānanāhe*

⁸⁷ IES MS Folder code, 1970, “*Yä Ĥaleyanoč Peropoganda*”: Yohannis, pp.9-10; Seletene, pp.97-99.

⁸⁸ Informants, Tāddässä Lemānhe, Lāwōy Bayu and Biazen Fānèt

⁸⁹ Yohannis, pp.9-10.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*: ENALA, Folder code 20, File No. 05, Bälay Zälläqä Lā’Kābādä Tässāma, Hedar 10, 1933 E.C.: ENALA, Folder code 20, File No. 05, Kābādä Tässāma *La’ Lij Hailu Bälāw*, Teqemt 16 1933 E.C.

Moreover, unlike Gozamen and Mäčähäkl *wärädas* in which the Italians had strong garrison centres, in the study area there was one garrisons in the town of Bičäna.⁹¹ Generally, as I understand from my informants and a certain written sources, the Italian occupation in the study area was restricted only in the town of Bičäna, and in the Muslim dominated *Qäbällas* (Kämbo) Bečäna town, Endäsnte, Abbaro, Enäkarker, Anslal and Wera) of the study area. The rest was occupied by the patriots and their supporters, particularly by Bälay Zälläqä.

1.3.2 The Role of Bälay Zäläqe in the Patriotic Struggle

Bälay was born in 1912 in Lämčän, from *Basha Zälläqä* Laqäw of Lämčän in Enämay *wäräda*, and *Wäyzäro* Taytu Assene of Čaqata (in Wogdi *wäräda*, South Wollo Zone). The community of Čaqata and Lämčän had close relationships for centuries and shared common socio-cultural, religious and economic aspects. Bälay grew up in Lämčän and Čaqata and spent his banditry life.⁹² Bälay had started his career as a *šefta* before the period of the Facist Italian occupation. Bälay put significant contribution on the history of the patriotic resistance. During the period of resistance (1936-1941), mainly voluntary peasants from different groups formed the nucleus of patriot forces under his leadership.⁹³ On June 17, 1937 he announced a proclamation calling on the people to follow him. Then, the people including notable leaders from Däjjan, Inarge, Enämay, Šabäl, Hulal Iju, Däbay and other surrounding areas followed him. In addition to the eastern part of Gojjam, Bälay extended his influence over the Wollo territories of Čaqata and Boräna In this way he became the principal patriot leader.⁹⁴

In the five years long patriotic resistance against the Italians, peasants were the basic unit of fighting force in different parts of the country. The patriots of Šäwa, Gondar, Gojjam and other regions led by patriotic leaders organized at village and district levels and waged a stiff

⁹¹ Abay Dagn, "A History of Senane *Wäräda*: East Gojjam, 1941-1991" (MA Thesis Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2011) p. 34.

⁹² Belay Zeleke *Semä Tir Arbegna* (Belay Zeleke the Renowned Patriot), Addis Zemen, April 6, 1983, p.2.

⁹³ Nebyu, p. 32: Selten, pp.168-171.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*: Seletene, pp.171-174.

resistance against the Italians.⁹⁵ However, a disagreement between patriots was a common phenomenon in the history of Ethiopian patriotic resistance. The presence of hostile relationship among the patriotic groups affected their strength and coordination. Rivalry and competition among the leaders was the main source of their hostile relationship.⁹⁶

As Yohannis Birhanu explained, the method of fighting in Gojjam was characterized by guerilla warfare that involved hit and run tactics. The patriot leaders like Bälay Zälläqä of Gojjam, Abäbä Arägay of Šewa, and Wubenäh Tässäma of Armaċho were used guerrilla warfare.⁹⁷

From these patriots leaders Bälay Zälläqä, who had banditry background, became successful and prominent in guerilla fighting.⁹⁸ *Dejjač* Bälay Zälläqä started the resistance movement with 13 to 15 followers and most of them were his kinsman. His personal character, quality of leadership and military skills played a great role to recruit thousands of patriots to his side. Bälay was vigorous, ambitious and aggressive.⁹⁹

⁹⁵Seletene, pp.177, 182,185 189.

⁹⁶Adane Kassie, "A History of Däjän *Wäräda* (1941-1991), East Gojjam Zone", (MA Thesis Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2010), p. 18.

⁹⁷Yohannes, pp.13-15

⁹⁸*Ibid*, p.33.

⁹⁹Informants, Täddässä, Läväyä and *Emahoy Mänayeše*.

Table 1. 1: Areas under the influence of Däjjzmač Bälay Zälläq¹⁰⁰

District	Name of patriot Leaders	District	Name of patriot Leaders
Enämay	<i>Däjjac</i> Tadässä Laqäw, later <i>Däjjac</i> Ayälä Tadässä	Siso Inabsie	<i>Däjjac</i> Dilnäsa Yihun
Inarj –Inawga	<i>Bitwädädä</i> Tirunäh Sahilu later <i>Ras</i> Tämäsgeñ Fänta	Däbay Tilatgn	<i>Däjjac</i> Bekele Bogale, later <i>Däjjac</i> Kassa Engidasäw
Šabäl_Bäräntta	<i>Däjjac</i> Ejigu Zälläqä <i>Däjjac</i> Ayälä Adigäh, <i>Däjjac</i> Gädamu Adigäh	Däräbie,(in Awabel <i>Wäräda</i>)	<i>Däjjac</i> Adimassu Alemu
		Nazirath (in Däbay Tilat <i>Wäräda</i>)	<i>Däjjac</i> Ijigu Iwnatu
Dära	<i>Däjjac</i> Wärequ Assäne, later <i>Däjjac</i> Imirru Abäsä and <i>Däjjac</i> Mängistu Tegäne	Gubaya, (in Däjjan <i>Wäräda</i>)	<i>Däjjac</i> Čane Täräfä, later <i>Fit.</i> Asagrie Häylu
Qenbuat	<i>Däjjac</i> Čane Minalu	Siso Inäbsa	<i>Däjjac</i> Dilnäsa Yihun
Arara (in InargeInawga)	<i>Däjjac</i> Abäbä Belew	Anädäd	<i>Däjjac</i> Šifäraw Adigäh
Awabäl	<i>Däjjac</i> Čane Mazängia & Bälay Mazängia	Wudmit (in Däjjan <i>Wäräda</i>)	<i>Däjjac</i> Gässässä Alämu , <i>Däjjac</i> Yihunie Häylu
Čaqata	<i>Däjjac</i> Yilma Nigussie	Boräna	<i>Däjjac</i> Lägässä Assäne

Regarding the economic basis for the struggle, the patriots extracted tribute from the society such as collecting court fees which was regularly paid in cash or in kind, based on the size of

¹⁰⁰ Samson, p.10; and Informants, *Emahoy* Mänayeše, Säma Fäntè, Täddässä and Näbärä.

the market. Furthermore, the leaders of patriots collected tithe or *asrat* and land tax or *geber* from the society in their war domain. In fact, the collection of *geber* as tax was not fixed all over the areas dominated by the patriots. However, in the area under domain of Bälay, collection of tax was similar and he collects different form of tax such as water tax or *Yäambo geber*, tail tax or *yäçera geber* and others. Besides, the patriots had also additional source of income. In the name of contribution various items were collected and stored for the next season such as utensils, and grains in the animals, cattle, goats and sheep.¹⁰¹

Moreover, the plan of looting and plundering the *bandas* was followed by Bälay and his follower. The aims were reducing the *bandas* as well as to collect more firearms. Bälay led significant military expedition and scored victories and collects much booty. As the number of military expeditions increased, the quality and quantity of firearms controlled by the patriots increased.¹⁰²

Besides infantry, the patriots were supported by a cavalry force. During the rest time, Bälay watched the patriots who were a riding horse in the open field of Yinfa. Among the well-known horse riders *Fitawrari* Ayalew Täfärä and Biyazen Niguse from Yädaguat were good examples.¹⁰³

To motivate the patriots and to counteract the Italians attempt to increase the number of the *bandas* by offering honorary titles Bälay granted military titles to the patriots as *Ras*, *Bitwädäde*, *Afängus*, *Fitawrari*, *Däjjazmač*, *Qeñäzmač* and *Grazmač*.¹⁰⁴

After the patriots holding strategic areas, they attacked the enemy and advanced forward or retreated based on the strength and weakness of the enemy. The patriots attacked the Italians and the *bandas* in different parts of the study area particularly in the forest areas and valleys.

¹⁰¹ Adane, p.36.

¹⁰² Informants, Näbärä and Walie Ayälä

¹⁰³ Samson, p.13.

¹⁰⁴ Informants, Säma, *Komos Abba* Gebrie Igziabhre and Awäkä Alämu

The patriots also used mountains and caves as strongholds. The Italians were unable to destroy the patriots' strongholds in Bokāna, Filaw and Somma which were difficult to reach every parcel and demanded more sacrifices.¹⁰⁵

Actions used by the patriots against the Italians and *bandas* were aided by *Qabi* (ጃሮ ጠቢ). Most of the time *qabis* were focused on Bičāna, Dābrā Wārḳ, Dābrā Markos, Dājjan, Wāgdi and Dārra where there were Italian camps, Italians and *bandas*. The *qabi* strategically spread fake information among the *bandas* and the Italians about the patriots. The *qabi* also gave wrong information to the spies of the Fascists and misguided the enemy about the date of the launching of the fighting.¹⁰⁶

In order to create effective communication and to attack the enemy, the patriots used systematic codes (in words) to signify their affiliation to Bālay and other commander/s of the resistance. The code may be changed, so every patriot under Bālay should update himself. For instance, the patriots used this code in a certain campaign:

የሞገን ቡድን ነህ!
የልጅ በላይ !
በላይ ምን አለ?
ጠላትን አረፍረፍ አለ!¹⁰⁷

Meaning; to which category do you belong?

To Bālay Zāllāqā!

What did he say?

Destroy the enemy!

The earliest successful anti-Fascist engagements in the study area was in the gorge of Mālca Dibo where the enemy force under the leader of *Qañazmač* Sāmmaw Nāgawo were attacked by Bālay Zāllāqā and his followers on June. *Qañazmač* Sāmmaw Nāgawo was the former

¹⁰⁵ Samson, p.15; Informants, Nābārā and Walie Ayälā and Biyāzen

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 15-16.

¹⁰⁷ Informants, Nābārā, Bālay and Sāma

commander of troops from Däjjan to the Šera front with *Ras* Imiru Haile Sellassie. However, he did latter defect to the Italians and started his military operation from Bečëna. The attempt of *Qanazmač* Sämmaw Nägawo was failed and he was defeated. Then, he was hanged at the market place in Gubya. During the fighting Bälai's army captured rifle from the *bandas*. Besides, the defeat of collaborators created a chance for the patriots to further strengthen their capacity against the Fascists.¹⁰⁸

On January 1937 Bälai and his followers launched a military campaign on the *bandas* at the battle of Abarro near the town of Bičän which ended by the victory of Bälai. The defeat of Italians in the study area and its surroundings enforced the Italian administration in Däbrä Markos to send repeated letters to the patriots. The aim of the letter was asking Bälai to surrender, disarming the people and to punish the people for giving support to Bälai.¹⁰⁹

From June to August, 1937 frequent operations were under taken, in which a number of villages were burnt down. Nevertheless, Fascist troops failed to capture Bälai because the struggle and resistance in the study area became strong. As the result, the Italians focused their operation and occupation in and around their garrison centers.¹¹⁰

In March, 1938 the people of Enämay headed by Taddässä Laqäw (the uncle of Bälai) fought Fascists at the battle of Wäynat Mäda, a plain between the village of Tiq and the town of Däjjan. At this battle, the force of Taddässä Laqäw were defeated and faced sever casualties. Bälai who was at ŠäbŠängo (a village to the north of the Wäynat Mäda), retreated back to his power base (Lämčän).The victorious Fascist army terrorized the people by burning villages. The battle was very ravaging to the patriots of the study area in general and to Bälai in particular. In fact, it was very important for the Fascists; because besides their victory, they

¹⁰⁸Zelalem Assafa, *Dajzmach* Balay Zalaqa: 1912-1945, A Tentative Biography (BA thesis. Addis Ababa University, 1983) p.14: Seletene, p.119.

¹⁰⁹Informants, Näbärä, Taddässä and Bälai

¹¹⁰Seletene, p. 146: Adane, pp. 16.

were successfully opened the door to central Gojjam from the south which had been closed since August 1937 by the patriots commanded by *Däjjazmač* Bälay. However, despite the Italians victory most of the local people continued their resistance until the withdrawal of Italians from the area.¹¹¹

Generally, as I understand from written sources and informants during the five years of patriotic resistance, most of the people of Enämay stand on the side of Bälay Zälläqä against the Italians. As the result, the Italians were unable to control the study area except the town of Bičäna and somevillages.¹¹²

¹¹¹*Ibid.* pp16-17

¹¹²Näbärä, Bälay, Säma, and Walie

CHAPTER TWO

ENÄMAY WÄRÄDA FROM LIBERATION TO END OF THE HAILE

SELASSIES'S Rule

2.1. ADMINISTRATION

The year 1941 was important in the history of Ethiopia. Because, the Italian attempt to colonize Ethiopia was ended without success and Emperor Haile Sellassie was restored to his power after five years in exile.¹¹³ In April 1941, the British forces led by General Wingate liberated the capital of Gojjam (Däbrä Marqos) from Italian occupation after having defeated the Italian commander Maraventano. On 6 April 1941 Gojjam fell under the control the Ethiopian patriots and the Emperor reached Dabra Mārḳos.¹¹⁴ As he reached at Däbrä Marḳs, the patriots of Gojjam commanded by *Däjjazmaĉ* Mängäša Jänbära, *Lij* Häylu Bälāw, *Däjjazmaĉ* Nägaš Bāzabh and *Lij* Bälāy Zälläqa warmly welcomed. Then, the Emperor designated the above patriot leaders to govern the territories they had already dominated during the war period.¹¹⁵

The green, yellow, and red flag of Ethiopia was re-hoisted in the place of Italian flag. When the Ethiopian flag was raised, some people fired their gun to express their happiness about the situation. The Emperor stayed in Däbra Marḳos for about twenty days and left for Addis Ababa with *Ras* Hailu. There are two suggestions behind the stay of the Emperor in Däbra Marḳos. The first reason was from the emperor's speech, “እኛም አርበኖቻችንን አስከትለን በዚሁ የኢጣሊያ ፋሺስት የጦር ሰራዊት በቱማታና በሁካታ ገብቶበት በነበረው ከሚያዚያ አደባባይ በዚያው ቀን ከአመታት በኋላ

¹¹³ Marakakakis and Nega Ayele, *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia* (Nottingham: The Russel Press, 1978), P. 48; TenaTarekegn, “Administrativeand Socio-Economic History of Sululta *Woreda*, 1941-1974,” (M.A Thesis Department of History: Addis Ababa University, 2020), p.32; Alula, p.65.

¹¹⁴ Fekede p17; Yohannis, pp.63-64.

¹¹⁵ Nebiyu p, 37.

በእልልታ በእርጋታና በጸጥታ ወደ ዋና ከተማችን ገባን።” contextually translated as: “We with our patriots entered to Addis Ababa on May 5, 1941 in peace and felicity whereas the Italians had entered the city in chaos and disturbing conditions five years ago”.¹¹⁶ Secondly, General Cunningham forced the Emperor to stay until he restored peace and stability in Addis Ababa¹¹⁷.

He was accompanied by *Fitāwrāri* Gābäyāhu Wāldä Mariyam (who later became the governor of Däbrä Marqos *Awraja*). *Fitawrari* Gābäyāhu was a collaborator and received pardon from the Emperor. This shows the flexibility of Haile Selassie in such cases. He said, “Anyone who came to me I call him a patriot.”¹¹⁸

The restoration of Emperor Haile Selassie’s government brought the revival of centralization attempts in the country. To achieve this plan, the Emperor introduced a series of proclamations and decrees starting from 1942. Then, new administrative arrangements were made all over the country. The purpose of centralization was aimed at lessening the control of provincial rulers by giving the highest power to the central government.¹¹⁹

The consolidation of state power and centralization of the administration system was one of the major features of the post-1941 imperial government. Besides, administration reforms, military structure of the government and fiscal reforms were also given attention by Haile Sellasie’s government.¹²⁰ As part of centralization attempt, Haile Selassie’s administration was also eager to build similar local administration system all over the country; as a result all General Governors were centrally nominated.¹²¹

¹¹⁶Täsäama Häbtä Mikael, *Yänäsänät Häwelt Semäräqe Yänegusu Negeger*, Addis Zaman, Miyāziyā, 1933.

¹¹⁷ Fekede, p.22.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, p.21.

¹¹⁹ Mengistu Geremew, “A History of Wānbāra Wārāda, 1941-1991,” (MA Thesis Department of History: Addis Ababa University, 2016), p.26: Tena, p.32.

¹²⁰ Setegn Getaneh, “State and Society on Ethiopia’s Northwestern Borderlands: Chilga *Awraja*, 1935 -1991” (PhD Dissertation, Addis Ababa University, 2020), p.109.

¹²¹ Markakais and Nega Ayele, *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia* (Nottingham: the Russell Press, 1978), p.44; Tena, p.32.

The 1942 decree on administrative regulation was important instrument, through which, the imperial government reserved power at the center and restricted the power of the provincial governors. The decree re-organized the administrative system of the country and re-drew provincial boundaries depending on the pre-1936 boundary.¹²² Based on the proclamation entitled "Administrative Regulations", the Ethiopian empire was divided into *awrajas* (sub-province), *waradas* (district), *and meslänes* (sub-district) and *meketle meslänes* (below sub-district). The decree set up twelve *awraja*, sixty *wäräda*, 339 *wäräda meslänes* and 1,176 *mektle- meslänes*. This structure was functional up to 1946.¹²³

Administrative units were mainly arranged on the basis of their historical background. Different minor chiefs in all parts of Ethiopia were designated to be the rulers of their respective region, but denying autonomous status.¹²⁴ The emperor assigned one governor-general, one director and one principal-secretary in each *awraja*. The director was under the governor-general as an assistant. Next to the director-general, principal-secretary was nominated and his task was to serve as a record keeper who restrained the internal and external flow of letters in the province.¹²⁵

Following liberation, reorganizing the administration of Gojjam, which included Enämay, was left to its first post-war governor, *Ras Haylu Bäläw* (*Ras Haylu III*), who ruled Gojjam from 1942-1946 and 1950-1957. The designation of *Ras Haylu Bäläw* as the ruler of the Gojjam showed the reinstatement of the native ruling family after the removal of *Ras Haylu II*

¹²²Adane Kassie, p.48: John M. Cohen and Peter H. Koehn, *Ethiopian Provincial and Municipal Government* (Michigan: Michigan State University, 1980), 19: Setegn, p.109.

¹²³Michale Stahl, *Political Contradiction I Agricultural Development* (Liber Tryck: Stockholm 1974), p, 78: Tena p.33: Mengistu p.26.

¹²⁴Fekede, p. 37; Mehari, p.20

¹²⁵*Negarit Gazeta*, Decree No 1 of 1942, "Administrative Regulations"

who was again captured and kept under prison together with his son *Fitawrari* Admassu by the decision of the Emperor in 1932 at a place called Gara Mulätta.¹²⁶

Gojam Province (*Tekilay Gizat*) was one of the general governorates in the new restructure. Hailu Bäläw reorganized his domain into seven administrative *wärädas*. These were Däbrä Marqos, Bečäna, Moita, Däga Damot, Mätäkäl, Agäw Meder and Baher Dar *wäräda*. Däbrä Marqos became political seat and the capital of the province.¹²⁷

Figure 3: Map of Gojjam Province.



Source: Gabru Tarke, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest, Peasant Protest in the twentieth Century* (Lawrenceville: The Red Sea Press Inc, 1996), p.162.

Based on the 1942 declaration five *wäräda* (*meslänés*) were organized under the Bičäna *awraja* and they were; Enarge Enawga, Šäbel, Däbay Tilat, Däjjan and Enämäy. In this year, *Däjjazmač* Bälay Zälläqä was appointed as the governor of Bečäna. Enämäy *Wäräda* was placed under the Bichena *awraja* and it was newly formed as a *wäräda* immediately after liberation.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Daniel, p. 267.

¹²⁷ Ayele Tariku, p.27.

¹²⁸ Nebiyu, p, 49: Adane Kassie, p.47.

Fitawrari wärkenäh Negussie was appointed as *meslänés* of this *wäräda*. During the period under discussion, Enämay was further divided into two *meketel-meslänés*. They were; Yäräze and Lämečan.¹²⁹ Local governors in the study area were selected and appointed by the then Governor-General. They had obligation of maintaining peace and order as well as collecting taxes and accomplish judiciary activities.¹³⁰

Regarding the appointment of government officials, the government did not take formal education as criteria in the selection of high ranking officials. Their faithfulness and their loyalty to the Emperor were the main criterion to designate officials in this period. Furthermore, commitment and preserving of peace and security were also other prerequisites to become officials.¹³¹ Therefore, such kind of appointment brought disagreement between most of the patriots and the Emperor. The conflict between Emperor Haile Selassie with Belay Zälläqä and other patriots and patriot leaders in the province, was a good example.¹³²

In 1946 *Däjjazmač* Käbbädä Tässämä was appointed as Governor-General of Gojjam. From 1941-1945 he served as Governor-General of *Šäwa Tekelay Gezat*.¹³³ In the course of his administration, the political map of Gojjam Province was reorganized. Accordingly, following the proclamation of June 28, 1946, the *awraja*, *wäräda*, and *mesläné* administrative units were renamed *täqelay Gezat* (governorate-general or province), *awraja* (sub-province) and *wäräda* (district) administrative units respectively. Each *wäräda* was divided into *meketel-wärädas* (sub-districts).¹³⁴

Based on the proclamation, the province of Gojjam was divided into five *awrajas*. These were Qola Däga Damot, Mätäkäl, Däbra Marqos, Agäw Mider- Bahir Dar and Mota-Bečäna.

¹²⁹ Informants, *Mägabi Hamsa Aleqa* Käbbädä Tägoda, Näbärä and Säma

¹³⁰ Informants, *Ibid.*, *Komos Abba* Gäbrälgziabher

¹³¹ Abayneh Girma "The Nature of Administration and Development in Ethiopia: The Case of Wälamo Development," (BA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1971), pp.34-35: Mengistu, p.30.

¹³² Nebyu, p.40: Alula, p.65.

¹³³ IES MS Folder No.1799 " Bä Gojjam Täcklay Gezat Yätämädäbu Šumament Sem Zerzer"

¹³⁴ Adane Kassie, p.47.

Beçäna and Moña *Wäräda gezats* were amalgamated to form a single *awraja* named Moña-Beçäna *awraja*. Fälägä Berhan which is existed between Moña and Beçäna towns was selected as the administrative center of Moña-Beçäna *awraja* until 1957.¹³⁵ Šaläka Ayalew Tadässä, the well known patriot during the time of Italian invasion, was appointed as the governor of both Beçäna and Moña *awraja*.¹³⁶ From this time on, Enämay was one of the *meslänes* upgraded to the *wäräda* leve and situated in Moña-Beçäna *awraja* under the governorship of *Fitawrari* Algaw Adgehe.¹³⁷

When we see the appointment of government officials of *awrajas* (provinces), *wäräda* (sub-provinces) and districts were practically put under the direct interference of the central government. General Governors were directly appointed by the order of the Emperor based on the recommendation of the Ministry of Interior. Besides, most of the time, the *Meketel* governors were also appointed by the order of the central government among the local *baläbats*. The *awraja* governor also had the right to designate the potential *wäräda* governor to the governor-general who had the right to report such recommendations to the Ministry of Interior.¹³⁸

Some historians and writers argue that, a major source of the malcontent and uprising of the people of Gojjam after the withdrawal of Italians was political competition between *mesafints* of Gojjame and Šäwa as well as popular discontent on the ruling class.¹³⁹ Informants and archival sources show that Šäwan supremacy in the administration of Gojjam in the post-liberation period was significant at provincial level. For example, from four governor generals

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*:Ayale,pp.28-29

¹³⁶ IES MS, Folder No. 1799, Bä Gojjam Täkläy Gezat Yätämädäbu..... ; informants, Bälay and Sämma

¹³⁷ Informants, Bälay , Säma and Emahoye Selenat Mängestie

¹³⁸ *Ibid*: Gebru Tareke, *Ethiopian Power and Protest, Peasant Revolts in Twentieth Century*, (Lawrence Ville: Red Sea Press, 1996), pp.178-180.

¹³⁹ Adane, p.51

who ruled Gojjam from 1941 to 1974 there was one Gojjamie, and the rest were from Šäwa.

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On the other hand, all personals who appointed as the governors of Enämay *wäräda* in the post liberation period were Gojjamie in origin. Furthermore, generally in Gojjam, most of the governors below the governorate generals were native to their respective regions.¹⁴¹

Table 2. 1: Lists of Names of Governors in Enämay *Wäräda* (1941-1974)

No	Title	Name of Governors
1	<i>Fitawrari</i>	Wärknäne Negussie
2	<i>Fitawrari</i>	Algaw Adghe
3	<i>Gerazemaĉ</i>	Gäsässä Wädaje
4	<i>Gerazemaĉ</i>	Musie Tädela
5	<i>Balambaras</i>	Awäkä Mulusew

Source: Enämay *Wäräda* Culture and Tourism Office, Annual Bulletin, 2002E.C¹⁴².

Regarding wage, the governors of the *wärädas* and *meketel wärädas* who were appointed by the central government used to receive monthly salary. Since 1943, a fixed payment of salary was introduced in Gojjam. Initially, the Governor General received a monthly salary of three hundred shillings.¹⁴³

In the year 1947 and 48 monthly salaries of authorities was reexamined and was paid in Ethiopian *Birr*. But there was a gap between salary of the Governor Generals and the principal *mislanewoch*. For example, the salary of *Ras Hailu Bäläw* was 1,500 Eth *Birr* while the salary of

Fitawrari Wärknäneh Negussie, the principal *mislane* of Enämay *wäräda* was 80 Eth *Birr*.¹⁴⁴

The following Chart gives some extra data.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* John Markakis, *Ethiopia: Anatomy of a Traditional Polity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 293

¹⁴¹ Informants, Näbärä and Emahoy Manayse

¹⁴² *Ibid.*: Enämay *Wäräda* Culture and Tourism Office, Annual Bulletin, 2002E.C.

¹⁴³ ENALA, Folder, h .t. 10.14 *Ya Gojjam Täklay Gezat Yähägäre Agäzaz Ena Astädader Serateñoĉ Sem Zerzer Ena Delidil*

¹⁴⁴ ENALA Folder, h .t. 10.14, *Yä Gojjam Ťaqelay Gezat Yä Hagär Agäzaze ena Yästädädär Säratäñoĉ Sema Zerzer Ena Deledel, Miyaziya*, 1960 E.C

Province	Salary	Sub province (<i>awraja</i>)		District (<i>wäräda</i>)	Salary	Sub-districts (<i>meketel wäräda</i>)	
Gojjam							
Status	Eth\$	Status	Eth\$	Status	Eth\$	Status	Eth\$
Governor General	1500	Governor	350	principal <i>misläné</i>	80	<i>Meketel misläné</i>	40
Director	350	Secretary	125	P. judge	80	Secretary	30
General Secretary	250	<i>Meketel</i> Secretary	50	Secretary	40		

Table 2. 2: Salary of Some Government Officials.

Source: ENALA Folder, h.f.10.14, *Yä Gojjam Īaqelay Gezat Yä Hagär Agüzaze ena Yästäädär Säratäñöče Seme Zerzer Ena Deledel*, Miyaziya, 1960 E.C.

During the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie there were many *balabats* in Enämay *wäräda*. Each *Qäbälle* had one and above *balabats* (see Appendix 1 and 2). These *balabats* were serving as a bridge between the government and the people. Unlike the government officials, the *balabats* were not getting monthly salary in the form of cash. Even though, there was no cash payment in the form of salary from the central government, their main advantages were labor services from the local people.¹⁴⁵

The other administrative area that witnessed reorganization following the restoration of the Emperor was the judicial system. The administration of justice announcement of 1942 introduced the foundation of the provincial, regional and communal courts to arbitrate civil

¹⁴⁵ Informants, Bälay and *Emahoy* Selenat

and criminal cases in their regions of locale.¹⁴⁶ The authoritative directions of 1942 granted *meselāne* double part to carry out both the legal and official functions inside their areas of jurisdiction. The court framework which was accomplished orally was changed to a more formal composed ways.¹⁴⁷ This made the higher courts that conceivably get an offer from its subordinate simple to get it the case.¹⁴⁸

The announcement for the foundation of local judges in 1947 was a response of the government to the legal intrigue of the individual's cases by the delay within the settling of their debate. Subsequently, it requested for the assignment of one judge in each locality.¹⁴⁹

The privilege to choose the local judges was given to the presidents and the vice-presidents of the *wärāda* judges and elders. The announcement gave the *gult* governors, and the *balabats* priority to work as local judges themselves in a place their home. They could also appoint representatives if they were not interested to be judges or on the off chance that their *gult* area surpasses the parcel apportioned to the areas of purview of the judgment. Within the areas which are not *gults*, the elect of the individuals of the parish could serve as a local judge.¹⁵⁰

The secret letter of the principal secretary of Gojjam to the Ministry of Justice uncovers that there was a down to earth issue within the province related to the election of the local judges. It expressed that there were numerous individuals claiming to be a local judge for there were numerous *baläbats* within the area. Subsequently, it sees time to settle the issue until 1953.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ Negarit Gazeta, "Administration Justice Proclamation" No.2 1942: Abay Dagn, "A History of Senane *Wärāda*: East Gojjam, 1941-1991" (MA Thesis Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2011), p. 53.

¹⁴⁷ Negarit Gazeta, Administrative Regulations," Decree, No.1, 1942.

¹⁴⁸ Abay, p.54.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, pp54-55.: *Negarit Gazeta*, "A Proclamation to Provide for the Establishment of Local Judges," No. 90, 1947.

¹⁵⁰ Abay, p.55.

¹⁵¹ ENALA, Folder 149, File No. 3, *Yä Gojjam Täkelay Gezat Tähäfi Lä Fered* Minister, A.A., RN 1(400) 6, 3 Säne 1945 E.C.; Abay, p.55.

These local judges in Enämay *wäräda* were known as *Atbiya Dañoč* (parish Judges). The prime significance of *Atbiya Dañoč* was to settle disputes through compromise the two parties. Nevertheless, in case the plausibility of compromise demonstrated pointless, they would settle both civil and criminal cases and pass decisions. In any case, the law restricted the spaces that the local judges would arbitrate. There restrain was to charges culpable within a fine not surpassing 25 and 15 birr to civil and criminal cases respectively¹⁵². The decision of the local judges can be offered to the particular *meketel wäräda* court. However, if the decisions of the two were not concurrent, the applicants might moreover continue to the *wäräda* court in which its judgment would be last¹⁵³.

Until 1947 the task of appointing *atebya dañas* and defending their territorial extent were given to the president and vice president of *Wäräda* and *meketel wäräda* courts and elders. The *wäräda* court had the right to intervene between those higher hierarchies, a little bit modernized and well organized, and the rural institutions like *gulta-gaz*, *čiqasum* and *aṭebya dañas*, standoff with tradition and custom.¹⁵⁴

Consequently, the assignment of appointing *aṭebya dañas* was given to the General Governor. The General Governor had the right to appoint *aṭebya dañas* on the basis of different criterion. The great chance was given to *gult* owner (governor of *gult*), *malkaṇa* and *balabat* to be elected in the new office as *aṭebya daña*.¹⁵⁵

Regarding the salary of the local judges, they were allowed to utilize half of the income from the judgment of the civil law cases.¹⁵⁶ However, these local judges had their own shortcomings on the legal practice. They were faulted for encouraged litigations, which was

¹⁵² Informants, Säma and Abäbä Kābädä.

¹⁵³ Abay, p.55.

¹⁵⁴ Fekede, p.37.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, pp.37-38

¹⁵⁶ ENALA, Folder.h.† 03.06, File No.30/oo3, *Selä Atebya Dañoč Yätädärägä Ačer Tenat*.

their source of legal income. They were also denounced for apportionment of endowments and bribes to pass decisions in favor of either accomplice. Sharing of the government income from the legal practice was another point raised by bunches who restricted the propagation of the judges.¹⁵⁷ The issue was a major agenda on the chamber of councils in the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁵⁸

The civil code decree that was issued in 1965 was a step to isolate the judicial and executive functions of governors which annulled the *meketel wäräda* courts and made the local judges responsible.¹⁵⁹ Generally, the post-war regulatory methodologies had fizzled to reach to the grass root level of the society through its formal structure of *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda* unites alone. It was not conceivable to reach the lowest echelon with few regulatory personnel. The only authoritative authorities within the *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda* levels were governors and their secretariat.¹⁶⁰

In this manner, they might not oversee the organization at the parish and village levels. This organization gap at the least echelons had constrained the government to compromise the continuation of the *gult* system in which the later took part within the assignment of administrative capacities. This incorporates legal functions as *aṭebya dañoč* assist in the collection of taxes and maintenance of peace and order in their localities. In any case, their benefit was altered in such a way that they did not completely bend the advanced practice.¹⁶¹ For instance, they were not permitted to organize their own armed men. They were also not permitted to collect tribute by themselves. Rather, they were encouraging the collection of charges to the government treasury and they would get one third of the charge from the treasury. Hence, the *gult* governors had served the government in a refined

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*; Adane, p.65.

¹⁶⁰ Abay, pp.56-57

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*

enthusiasm¹⁶². There were 10 and 16 villages in Yäräz and Lämčän respectively. These villages were under 17 and 19 *gult* governors. (See appendix 2)¹⁶³

2.2. The Conflict between *Däjjazmac* Bälay Zälläqä and the Government

It was immediately after the liberation that opposition to the emperor arose, which was caused for various reasons. One of which was Haile Selassie's appointment policy. Based on the promise of the Emperor that says; “.....እንደወለታህ እንደልፋትህ ወደፊት ተገቢ የሆነ ነገር እናደርግልህ:: በሀገርህ ላይ ትሾማለህ ትሸለማለህ.....::”¹⁶⁴ Meaning: **In return for your strong struggle, we will afford you the right reward. You will be given designation and rewards in your home area.**

According to the above promise, the patriots anticipated to be honored based on their service and sacrifice. However, despite the promise only those who were faithful to the authority of the emperor were given significant and proper governmental posts. Therefore, the ex-patriots like Nägäse Bāzabeh, *Blatta* Täkkälä Wäldä Hawariat and Bälay Zälläqä stood against Haile Selassie.¹⁶⁵

Belay Zeleke was the most charismatic leader whose base was in my study area. His courage made him a famous hero throughout Gojjam and Ethiopia at large. In April 1941 Belay marched to Däbrä Marqos to receive the Emperor invited by *Ras* Hailu. However, his popularity was not apparently liked by Emperor Haile Selassie. Therefore, Haile Selassie arranged to oust Bälay from his birth place. Therefore, to this effect, Haile Selassie proposed either to be Governor-General of one of the provinces in the south of the country with the title of *Ras* or be the governor of Bečän *aawraja*. Bälay rejected the former and accepted the latter by saying; “I fought the Italians with the support of my relatives; most of them had died in the struggle. So, in order to collect and bury their body properly and also to assist their

¹⁶² Mehari, pp.72-74; Informants, *Emahoy* Manayäše and *Abba* Berhan.

¹⁶³ F.B.A.A.C, Folder NO 013, no file No. *Bä Bečäna Awraja Yämigäñu Balabatoč Ena Gultočačaw Sem Zerzir*

¹⁶⁴ Nebyu, p.38, Informants, *Abba* Berhan and Lāwoye.

¹⁶⁵ Nabyu, p.38.

families I must back to my home land.” By this avenue Bälāy manifested his refusal to go to another province; willingly he desired to be appointed in Gojjam.¹⁶⁶

Finally, in July 1942 Emperor Haile Selassie designated Bälāy as a governor of Bečāna *Wärāda*. The appointment angered Bälāy, a man with a great ambition, did not like what he got. Moreover, he was dissatisfied by the higher position given to the other patriots including the collaborators¹⁶⁷ Hailu Bälāw made *Ras* and governor-general of Gojjam. At the same time, Mängäša Jänbära was also promoted to the rank of *Bitweded* and appointed as deputy governor-general of Gojjam.¹⁶⁸ More than that, the loss of Moča and part of Däbrä Marqos district which had been under his control during the resistance period angered him as a shame to his status.¹⁶⁹ Besides, Bälāy was not interested to work under the authority of *Ras* Hailu Bälāw because Bälāy hated *Ras* Hailu and the two had quarreled during the resistance period. In fact, Hailu Bälāw and Mängäša Jänbära were as brave patriots as was Bälāy although they had noble background.¹⁷⁰

Therefore, immediately, *Däjjazmač* Bälāy was returned to Bečāna and he began disobeying orders forwarded from both the central government and governor-general. Besides, Bälāy continued to reject orders coming from his superior provincial governors and failed to manage effectively the administrative work of his district based on the rules and regulations forwarded from the central government and governor-general. On the contrary, Bälāy applied the governing system he had used during the resistance period.¹⁷¹ In addition, he promoted and demoted who he liked or hated without the authorization of the central government or even without the knowledge of *Ras* Hailu Bälāw. Moreover, when the government

¹⁶⁶ Nebeyu, p.41

¹⁶⁷ Informants, *Abba Berhan*, Bälāy and Abäbä.

¹⁶⁸ Nebeyu, p.41.

¹⁶⁹ Zelalem Assefa, "*Dajjazmač* Bälāy Zallaqa: 1912-1945: A Tentative Biography", (Senior Essay in History, AAU, 1983), pp.61-64.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Informants, *ResäDäber* Negussie Zägäyā, *Abba Berhan*, Abäbä and: Nebeyu, pp.42-43.

appointees were sent to the Bečäna *wäräda*, Bälay forced them to go back to Däbrä Marqos. Generally, in all financial, administrative and judicial matters Bälay appointed his Owen personnel who were not loyal to the central government.¹⁷²

Accordingly, *Ras Hailu Bäläw* requested Bälay to work in accordance with the rules and regulations of the government. But he rejected to take the directions of the governor-general. Rather, he made clear his refusal to accept *Ras Hailu's* governorship by saying that; “you could not over rule me because you had less patriotic service and skill that I had. Although today, due to various reasons, you became the supreme governor of the province, with the title of *Ras*. I was not a man who would be under you.”¹⁷³

As a result, the governor-general frequently reported all the 'unlawful' activities of Bälay to the Emperor. Following this, a letter was written to *Ras Hailu Bäläw*, *Däjjazmač Bälay Zälläqä Bitwedäde Mängäša Jänbära* and other significant officials in the province to come to Addis Ababa. The purpose was to resolve the administration problem of Gojjam. Based on the letter, except *Däjjazmač Bälay Zälläqä* and *Fitawrari Adamu Mäsfän* the governors of Bečäna and Mota respectively, all the requested officials reached Addis Ababa.¹⁷⁴ During this time, Bälay plundered the treasury of the government at Bečäna.¹⁷⁵ Again, for the second time the Emperor sent a letter on February 11 1943 to *Däjjazmač Bälay*. The letter was sent on the hand *Ato Lessanu Habtä Wäld*. The letter asked Bälay to come very quickly to the capital. But, once again he refused to accept the emperor's request.¹⁷⁶

Due to this, troops from Šäwa, Gojam and Wollo were sent to Bečäna. *Bitwedäde Mängäša Jänbära* was the overall commander of the operation. Bälay decided to fight together with his

¹⁷² Zelalem, pp.61-64

¹⁷³ *Ibid*; Nebyu, p.43; Informants, *Emahoy Manayäše* and *Abba Berhan*.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*.

¹⁷⁵ NALA, Folder, “*Kä Batä Mängest Yäesränoč Mamlät ena Mäyaze, Yätäfärädäbačew Fered*” *kä Tahesase 19 eskä Tere 5, 1937 E.C*, p.6; Informants, *Emahoy Manayäše* and *Abba Berhan*

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*.

followers in a fortress of Somma.¹⁷⁷ At this critical point, well known church men and nobilities such as *Mälakä Berhan* Admasu Gämbära, *Liqä Tābābet* Tākla Semāḡe, *Blata Färädä Bärāña*, *Qāḡazmaĉ* Abäje Täye and *Blata Tafärä Dästaw* attempted to resolve the disagreement between Bälay and the Emperor. To avoid bloodshed, they decided to discuss with the Emperor and Bälay. Then, first they went to Addis Ababa and met Emperor Haile Selassie. The Emperor accepted the request provided that Bälay was willing to accept governmental orders. However, Bälay Zälläqä rejected the plan and continued the struggle.¹⁷⁸

After three months of fighting, some of his troops were killed and some of them defected to the government. This reduced the moral of Bälay’s force before the actual war was ended. According to my informant, Bälay’s decision to stand up against the government by returning to banditry was the result of his advisors. This expressed by the following poem;

አጉል መካር ከጅል እየመከረ፤
 አዙረህ ብታየው ጀርባህ ባዶ ሆኖ ቀረ።¹⁷⁹
 Being advised by improper and unwise advisor
 You back got endanger if you looked back

Finally, on April 25, 1943 the forces of Bälay were defeated and he was captured by the government forces. Initially, by considering his patriotic service he was saved from severe penalty. So, he was taken to Waliso. But, the then governor of Waliso, *Däjjazmaĉ* Gäräsu Duki brought Bälay to Addis Ababa. Then he was sentenced to life imprisonment.¹⁸⁰

After months in prison he made an escape attempt from custody together with the other prisoners including *Lij* Mamo Haile Mikael, an Italian collaborator. Once again they were re-arrested and brought to court. Then, they were sentenced to death penalty and Belay was

¹⁷⁷ Nebyu, p.44.

¹⁷⁸ Informants, *Abba* Berhan, Säma and *Emahoy* Manayäse

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Kä Batä Mängest*..... p.6.; Gebru, Ethiopia: Power and Protest....., p.167.

executed by hanging in Tākla Haymanot Square in Addis Ababa along with his brother Ejigu on 12 January 1945.¹⁸¹

The following two lively and historic poems were composed to indicate the compliant and dissatisfaction of the local population towards the action of the central government but along with the prestige and notoriety of Bälāy and the study area where he was born really bear this out.

ተውት አትቅረቡት የበላይን አገር፣
ሰሙ እንኳን ሲጠራ ያሻግራል ድንበ።

Do not touch the place of Bälāy [means Gojjam], more specifically Bečäna *Awraja*,
Because, the name of the land by itself has significant worth and admire through the frontier,

ከበላይ ዘለቀ ከተሰቀለው፣
ይሻላል ሽፈራሁ ሰማ የቀረው።¹⁸²

Compared to Bälāy Zälläqä who was hanged down in front of his adversary?

Shefäraw is better who fought with great brave and annoyed the government army, and lost his life at the Somma.

2.2 Taxation and Tax Related Revolt in the Enämay *Wäräda*

Following liberation, the restored government tried to change the conventional system of taxation and its administrative system by issuing a series of decrees in Enämay *Wäräda* and all at once in Gojjam *Ṭäqalay-Gezat*.¹⁸³ The plan implied to speed up the central government's control over regional and local officials. Besides, the realization of this venture was reinforcing the budgetary capacity of the government. This made the collection of expanded income from the lower class [peasantry] through a systematized frame of charge collection basic.¹⁸⁴ That's to say, changing the framework of tax assessment from kind to cash was

¹⁸¹ Nebeyu, p.44: Gebru, Ethiopia: Power and Protest....., p.167.

¹⁸² Informants, *Emahoy Manayäše, Abba Berhan, and Säma*

¹⁸³ GebruTareke, "Rural Protest in Ethiopia: Study of Three Rebellion," (PHD Dissertation: Syracuse University, 1977), p.275; Allan Hoben, *Land Tenure among the Amhara of Ethiopia: The Dynamics of Cognatic Descent* (London, Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, Ltd, 1973), p.211. ; Tena, p.41; Mengistu, p.32.

¹⁸⁴ M. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1969) p.209; Alganhep.28; Abay, p.58.

made steadily in conjunction with changing the framework of land tenure all over the province of Gojjam including the study area.¹⁸⁵

It was due to this objective the restored government declared different announcements relating to property tax and expanding government incomes. Changing all property charge from kind to cash and reducing the control of *gult* and its genetic brand of landholders are clearly indicated in the announcement issued by the central government in the post-1941 period.¹⁸⁶

In the post-war period, the government had spelled out certain conditions that warrant the acknowledgment of customary land arrangement. In this way, the custom of the society would be recognizing amid the execution of the new announcement. This move appears to be practical for the government's control in an endeavor to oblige the reality on the ground over land.¹⁸⁷

All the same, the re-established government of Emperor Haile Selassie cautiously recommenced and supported its pre-war arrangements employing an arrangement of announcements that had a practical utility throughout Ethiopia including Gojjam.

The first of such proclamations was that of March 30, 1942 Agricultural Land Tax Proclamation that classified all agrarian land in the country into three categories in connection to its richness such as *aslām* (fertile), *läm-ṭäf* (semi-fertile) and *ṭäf* (barren) land. The sum of income to be collected from these categories was fixed in *Birr*, *Birr* 5.00, 10.00 and 5.00 per *gasha* of land, respectively.¹⁸⁸ In this way, the 1942 proclamation approved a

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*: Hoben, p.211.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 211: Daniel, p.153.

¹⁸⁷ Hoben, pp.211-213.

¹⁸⁸ *Negarit Gazeta*: Land Proclamation No 8 of 1942

uniform framework of assessment and changing over land tax assessment from kind to cash.¹⁸⁹

Repudiating the 1942 tax decree, the government issued a new enactment in 1944 that commenced a settled rate of charges in lieu of *asrat* and land charges with *Birr* 35.00, 30.00 and 10.00 for each *gasha* of land on the three categories of land distinguished as *lam*, *lam-taf* and *taf* respectively.¹⁹⁰ However, the 1944 Land Tax Proclamations did exempt Tigray, Begemidir and Gojjam. According to Perham and Abay, the government's lament to execute the new proclamation in these regions was the deliberate political calculation to dodge discontentment and disobedience. Any move of the government to supplant the conventional framework of tax collection would cause disappointment and political turmoil in these territories.¹⁹¹

The new announcement denied the right of *gult* proprietors with respect to the collection of taxes in their parcel. In any case, the *gult* proprietors in Gojjam offered their grievance to the Emperor amid the latter's visit to the area in 1944.¹⁹² He, subsequently, made a few sort of changes that allowed the *gult* proprietors a *siso-abal* from the land charge. Nevertheless, the *gult* proprietors were made beneficiary of the opportune installment of the charges in their range. After the charges were completely collected, *gult* proprietors were allowed to take one third of what they collect.¹⁹³

According to Crummy and Bahru, the 1942 and 1944 Land Tax proclamations did not greatly improve the income of the government in the Ethiopian context at large.¹⁹⁴ In fact, the new

¹⁸⁹ Gebru Tareke, *Ethiopian Power and Protest.....*, p.178; Daniel pp.153- 154; Tena, p.34.

¹⁹⁰ Abay ,p.58

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*; Perham, p.211.

¹⁹² Abay ,p.59

¹⁹³ *Ibid*; Nega pp.68-70.

¹⁹⁴ Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p.193; Donald Crummy, *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia from the thirteenth to the twentieth Century* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2000), p.237.

legislation was also not fully applied in Tigray, Begemidir and Gojjam including Enämay, because the ruling class regrates to execute the new announcement in these provinces for the purpose of avoiding discontents and rebellion.¹⁹⁵ In spite of these announcements, within the years between 1941 and the primary estimation assessment of land as kept up by the decree in 1950, the local peasants kept on paying land tax based on the pre-war standards. In any case, since 1950/51 the conditions of the pre-war tax finding authoritatively banished by law at the level of the 1920s and early 1930s decree issue was improved in Enämay and all over Gojjam *Ṭäqalay-Gezat*. Like all other parts of Gojjam, in this manner, the land tax of Enämay was settled with *Birr* 1.50 at the level of ancestral (genological) groups' ownership.¹⁹⁶ However, the government went to execute it without persuading the local population.¹⁹⁷

In the Enämay like in the most parts of Gojjam the framework of tax collection in kind was maintained and preceded with the already changed tax in cash. The local authorities collected taxes from the local peasants to a great extent based on the land generation and sold it. In reality, they changed over it into cash and, in this way straightforwardly submitted to the adjacent government treasury by them.¹⁹⁸

In June 1946, *Ras* Hailu was supplanted by a Šäwan nobleman *Däjjazmač* Käbädä. The afterward was decided to change the circumstance in Gojjam with respect to the framework of tax collection. He was expecting to increase the income from the territory by executing the land tax decree, which was not in effect until then. There were maybe pushes from the Ministry of Finance to extend the income from the province. A memoranda composed to the

¹⁹⁵ Hoben, pp.212-214; Abay, p.58 and Daniel, p.155.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

Ministry of Interior in 1946 uncovers that *Däjjazmač* Kābādä's assurance to measure the land of Gojjam into *gaša* and to rise the income.¹⁹⁹

Däjjazmač Kābādä understood that Gojjam was one of the foremost ripe territories in the country but one of the least regarding collection of government income from tax assessment. Moving forward the regulatory condition of the province and execution of the new land tax decree were the key procedures he planned to increase the income.²⁰⁰ It was self-evident that, the income collected from Gojjam was minimal. It did not cover the salary of authorities within the *Teklay Gizat*. Therefore, the scarcity was consistently covered from the central treasury.²⁰¹ Therefore, to fathom the issue and support the budgetary needed to run the bureaucracy within the province, *Däjjazmač* Kābādä decided to execute the land tax announcement of 1944.²⁰² He based his action on the land appraisal direction of 1949, which authorized the provincial governors to set up commissions in each *meketel wäräda* of their regions to classify and evaluate lands inside the categories of ripe, semi-fertile and destitute, decided to actualize the land tax proclamation of 1944.²⁰³

Däjjazmač Kābādä requested the governor of Enāmay *wäräda*, to carry out land evaluation and classification program. Three land appraisal committees were chosen. The committee comprised the *meketle wäräda* governors, representatives of the Ministry of Finance, the *ČeqaŠum* and three seniors chosen at each ward. Assessors were not measuring the land for rebellion rather they roughly evaluated the area cultivated and the sum of crops yielded. The land was enlisted within the name of *aqñi abat* and charges were required on each *Abat* ranges. However, the peasants were questioning to pay the charge for they accepted that the

¹⁹⁹ Abay, p.59.

²⁰⁰ Gizachew Adamu, "A Historical Survey of Taxation in Gojjam (1901-1969)", (Senior Paper in History, HSIU, 1971), PP.21-25.

²⁰¹ Abay, p.60.

²⁰² Negarit Gazeta, "Land Assessment Regulations", Legal Notice No.132, 1949.

²⁰³ Negarit Gaeta, "Land Assessment Regulations", Legal Notice N° 132,1949; Abay , p.60

charges exacted were higher than the past ones. This led to public outcry within the area that at last brought about the substitution of *Däjjazmač* Kābādä by *Ras* Hailu in 1950. Then, in 1951 peasants were exempted from paying this tax.²⁰⁴

Ras Hailu extended the collection of taxes through his appointees. *Wäräda* and *Meketel* *Wäräda* governors including the *Čeqa Šums* ordered the local people to pay charges according to the land assessment made. However, because of the peasants opposition to pay 'unfairly' tax and administrative inefficiency, the appointees were not able to collect all the anticipated taxes from Enämay *wäräda*.²⁰⁵

Generally, the framework of tax collection within the territory remained unaltered generally for a decade. Charges were paid by the *tätäri* (agent of each *abat*) to the specialists of the Ministry of Finance. The *tätäri* were chosen by the individuals of the amplified family and mindful to gather the tax beneath their *abat* area. They were bridges between their family individuals and the government with respect to the issue of tax assessment. The elders known as *Awač* (lit. elders) from the family individuals had chosen the share of charge to each individuals of the family who plough the land. Their decision was last and authoritative which was generally reasonable.²⁰⁶

According to my informants, it was only in 1950 that the study area saw the development of clear confrontation between militias and the local peasants. On this revolt, the peasants were defeated and forced to pay the tax imposed by the central government. After this

²⁰⁴ Informants, Bälay, *Näč Läbaše* Lemänhe Akalu, Nābärä and Säma

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*: Ayele, p.51.

²⁰⁶ Department of Land Tenure, "Report on Land Tenure Survey of Gojjam Province", (A.A., January, 1971), pp. 6-7; Gebru, Ethiopia: Power and Protest.....p.168.

confrontation, in the study area there was no open revolt associated with tax until the 1960s and 1970s.²⁰⁷

In 1960, *Ras Hailu Bälāw* was replaced by *Däjjazmač Šähaye Ienqu Sellasie*. The tenure of *Däjjazmač Šähaye* was known by peasant revolt in the history of Gojjam including the study area.²⁰⁸ This was because of three reasons. The first was related to the re-imposition of the exempted taxes by the central government in 1959. The second was the traditional right of the church regarding collection of taxes from their *gult* was lifted, and in their place government officials were appointed to collect charges and protecting peace and security as well as orders over the parish. The third was the announcement of the introduction of Agricultural Income Tax.²⁰⁹

During the rule of *Däjjazmač Šähaye* opposition from peasants related to tax was reached its highest peak in Gojjam. There were serious questions to the Emperor against the governor general of the province. But, no change had been brought about and the system of taxation continued without modification. Muslims and craftsmen tenants were expected to pay income tax. All tax payers should pay the expected tax personally.²¹⁰

In 1967, the government announced a proclamation that annoyed the Gojjamès. Because, the Proclamation no.255 of 1967 abolished the *asrat* (tithe) and peasants were forced to pay tax based on their agricultural income. The new tax was aimed at increasing the government's revenue from land. The decree officially repudiated the *asrat* tax payment and cancelled the three categories of land taxation identified with *läm*, *läm-ṭäf* and *ṭäf*, respectively.²¹¹ To carry out the new tax decree assessor committees, one from the Ministry of Finance and two elders

²⁰⁷ Informants, *Komos Abba Gäbrä Igziabher NäčLäbaše* Lemänhe and *Abba Berhan*.

²⁰⁸ Gizachew, p.34.

²⁰⁹ Peter Schwab, "Rebellion in Gojjam.....p.251; Nega,"Centralization Versus....." p.74; Ayele, p.55.

²¹⁰ A Proclamation to provide for the Rural Land Use Payment and Agricultural Activities Income Tax", *Negarit Gazeta* (Proclamation No. 77, January 4, 1976), p.25; Eshetu Chekole, *Under Development in Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: Ossrea, 2000), pp.66-67.; Gizachew, p.32.

²¹¹ Peter Schwab,p.250.; Gebru,pp.178-179

from the local people were assigned. However, the estimators faced strong opposition from the peasants²¹².

The 1967 tax decree decided that an annual 1.50 *Birr* tax per head to be paid. This was the immediate factor for the beginning of open peasant uprising against the government in the province of Gojjam.²¹³ The peasants speculated that the government was not willing to halt its repeated campaign of introducing new kinds of taxations. This anxiety of the agrarians can clearly explain by the following prose: **ዘንድሮ ብር ከአምሳ በቀጣይ መቶ አምሳ (in this year we are expected to pay 1.50 *Birr* and in the next years we will be asked 150.00)**. Because of this, the peasants of Gojjam refused to accept the newly introduced tax. For almost two years, the peasants had spent resisting the execution of the new tax, locally called *Yäber Kähamesaw Torenät* (war of one *Birr* and fifty cents).²¹⁴

Until the beginning of 1968, there was no strong peasant organization in the province. Despite little opposition, however, the land assessment was continued.²¹⁵ However, according to the testimony of oral informants, because of repeated opposition and inefficiency of the assessors themselves, the task of assessment was not fully achieved in the areas adjacent to the Somma Mountain, Čoqa massif and Lämčän.²¹⁶

Subsequently, the characteristics of the challenge of the peasants changed to rebellion, particularly in the areas of Moġa and Damot. On 7 February 1968 rebels from Moġa and Damot *awrajas* met at the Azwari River and took an Oath not to stand with the government in front of priests. After this oath was taken peasants choose their district and sub-district leaders. They also agreed to move and into the neighboring *awrajas* to dissuading against the

²¹² Gizachew, p.38; Peter Schwab, p.251.

²¹³ Ayele Tariku, p.57.

²¹⁴ Informants, *Emmahoye*, Selänat, Bälaye and *Märgeta Wälälaw*.

²¹⁵ Informants, Näbärä, *Märgeta Wälälaw*, *NäčLäbash* Lemänhe and *Emmahoye* Selänat

²¹⁶ *Ibid*.

new decree. As a result the resistance spread into neighboring *awrajas* of Bahir Dar, Bičäna and Däbra Marqos.²¹⁷

At the end of February, representatives of peasant from Bičäna, Bahir Dar, Däbrä Marqos, Moča and Damot *awrajas* met at a place called Felfela Meda which was located between the boundary of Sennane and Bibuñe. This was one of the biggest and well known *Šāngo* (lit. Summon) in the history of Gojjamè in which above 4000 peasants attended from the above mentioned *awrajas*.²¹⁸

The participants discussed issues related to the New Agricultural Income Tax, administrative problems and unwillingness of Emperor Haile Sellassie I to listen to their grievance. Finally, they ignored the new proclamation and determined to get solution through armed struggle. They also believed that the New Agricultural Tax was contrary to their traditional land holding system. They justified that the Emperor was making grounds to introduce *Qalad* system in Gojjam.²¹⁹

The atmosphere changed beginning from the 9 March 1968, when a small incident in Däbrä Marqos district occurred in the village of Awabel after the villagers attempted to halt the measurement and forced the assessors to leave the area. The committee included Ayälew Käseqes (the governor of Yadwarače *Meketel Wārāda* in Awabel *Wārāda*), and its officers Čane Bazzey and Yezāngaw Färädä. The provisional governor ordered *Fitawrari* Dämessie Alamerāw, the governor Bičäna *awraja*, to mobilize a group of militia to Awabel. Then the militia plundered property and captured seventy men. Fifty-six of them were later sentenced to prison.²²⁰

²¹⁷Gebru, Ethiopia: Power pp.178-179.; Peter Schwab, p.251.

²¹⁸Abay, p.63.

²¹⁹*Ibid.*

²²⁰Daniel, pp312-313

On 6 April 1968, more than three thousand rebels from the adjacent *awrajas* moved towards Mängisto (an area in the Enämay *wäräda*), to free the prisoners and to punish Dämisie Alamräw. Before they reach Mängesto, the peasants faced a combined force from the Territorial Army, the Police and regular troops. After a serious fighting, the rebels retreated back to Fälägä.²²¹

It was after this clash that the government sent a commission to assess and look the problem. At the same time, representatives of the rebels presented their problems to the Emperor both orally and in writing in Addis Ababa. They informed him of their pain under corrupt governors and militia. They requested for better governance, better health, educational, and transport facilities and wanted the stopping of tax assessment. The Emperor, however, was not pleased with such boldness and rejected their demand.²²²

According to the testimony of oral informants, the revolt continued. Bamlaku Ayele (the leader of peasant revolt in the study area) and *Fitawrari* Dämmise fought in several battles in which both the government and the peasant forces suffered heavy casualties.²²³ However, at this critical point a committee which included *Dejjazmač* Yämanä and *Abune* Marqos were sent to Biçäna and Moía. They begged the rebels to stop uprising and destruction of villages.²²⁴

Subsequently, in August 1968 *Däjjazmač* Šähaye and most of the *Awraja* governors including *Fitawrari* Dämmise were removed from power. Then, on August 8, 1968 the Emperor announced general pardon for the rebellions and peasants were made free from all penalties

²²¹Markakis, p.382; Gebru, *Ethiopia: Power.....* p.179

²²²Informants, *Komose Abba* Gäbrä Igziabher, *Näč Läbasha* Lemänhe and Sämma.

²²³Informants, Taddässa, Tājja and *Näč Läbasha* Lemänhe.

²²⁴ Temesgen Gebeyehu, "The History of 1968/69 Peasant Uprising in Eastern Gojjam with Particular Reference Mota and Bicana" (B.A Thesis , Department of History, Bahir Dar University,2001),p.26Daniel.314; Ayele,p. 60.

for past failure to pay tax.²²⁵ When the news of the removal of Šāhāyu and his officials reached in Gojjam, the public expressed their joy and slang through the following traditional poems.

መላወ የጎጃም ሰዉ እንኳን ደስ አላችሁ
ሀምሌ አስራ ስድስት ቀን ጠሀይ ወጣላችሁ።²²⁶

Oh praises, to all the Gojjamè
On July 16, the sun rose for you [*Däjjazmaĉ Šāhāye removed from Gojjam*].
ደምስ ድንጋይ ልቀም
ፀሐይ ዉሃ ቅዳ
ሰብስበህ ሰብስበህ ባመጣኸኛ እዳ።²²⁷

Let Dames collect stone, let Šāhāyu fetch water
Because you were the ones who charged challenges to yourselves.
ቢቸናላይ ሆኖ ባምላኩ ቢያቅራራ
ደምስ አላምረዉ በልብሱ ላይአራ።²²⁸

When Bamelaku sang a war song at Beĉāna
DämmesAlamerāw was alarmed too much.

The above couplet indicates the happiness of the people of Gojjam encompassing Enāmay *wārāda* by the actions taken by the government and the removal of the governor general of the province.

In May 1969 the Emperor visited Gojjam and landed on the towns like Moġa, Biĉāna, Qāranyo Märtula Mariam, and Dābrā Wārġ. He gave awards and medals, which was aimed to appease the gentry and the clergy. To show his pardon the Emperor appointed the leader of peasants' revolt in Lāmĉan (*Däjjazmaĉ Ayälä Tāddessä*) as the governor of Biĉāna *awraja*. Bamlaku Ayele the revolt leader in the district of Moġa and Biĉāna was also appointed as a vice governor of Yenaĉ *Meketel Wārāda* (in Biĉāna *awraja*).²²⁹

²²⁵ Nebiyu, pp80-82; Daniel p.315: Abebe, p.39.

²²⁶ Informants *Emmahoye Manayāše, Nāĉ Lābasše* Lemānhe, Tāddässäe and Lāwoya

²²⁷ Informants, *Abba Berhan*, Tāddässä and *Nāĉ Lābash* Lemānhe Lāwoya.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ Abebe, p.39, Ayale, p.60: Informants, Nābārā, Sāmā and Lāwoye.

CHAPTER THREE

ENÄMAY WÄRÄDA DURING THE DÄRG PERIOD

3.1 The New Government and Its Challenges

In the early 1970s, there was a wide spread revolt in Ethiopia against the imperial regime. Maladministration, rise of oil price, the poor living condition of the army, the Wollo famine, the introduction of Educational Sector Review, rampant poverty and corruption in the government, forced peasants, students, the army, taxi drivers, trade unions, and teachers to stand against Haile Selassie's regime. They also accused the regime of failure to introduce reforms to bring political, economic and social progress. Generally, the 1974 uprising was the result of accumulated grievance and popular dissatisfaction against Emperor Haile Selassie's rule.²³⁰

In February 1974, a popular uprising against the government of Haile Selassie had reached its highest peak and the overthrow of the regime became only a matter of time. The main question was who would rule the country next? Would political parties or the army or others take the power? One presumption was that, the military would return to its garrison by giving political power to the civilians? In fact, by then some parties like All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement (*Meison*) and Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party (EPRP) were formed.²³¹ However, these political parties lacked organization to challenge the government Haile Selassie.²³²

²³⁰ Andargachew Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Revolution, 1974-1987: A Transformation from Aristocracy to Totalitarian Autocracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 34-35; Christopher Clapham, *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.38; Tefera Haile Sellase, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1994: From Monarchical Autocracy to a Military Oligarchy* (London: Kepan Paul International, 1997), pp. 87-89; and Alganhe, p. 39; Abay Dagne, p.60; and Fakada, pp.59-60.

²³¹ Clapham, pp.41-46; and Fakada, p. 60.

²³² Ottawa Marina and David Ottawa, *Ethiopia: Empire in Revolution* (New York: Africana, 1978), p. 1; Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2002), p. 226; Clapham, p. 40; and Andargachew Tiruneh, pp. 34,6

On 28 June 1974, representatives from military units officially formed the *Därg* (committee). The establishment of the *Därg* before the formal overthrow of the emperor brought a kind of diarchy rule in Ethiopia. In fact, the diarchy rule could not last for a long period of time as the Emperor was overthrown once and for all on 12 September 1974. During the diarchy period the *Darg* carried out propaganda campaign to discredit the Emperor until he was arrested and deposed.²³³

The end of Emperor Haile Selassie's administration in September 1974 brought the end to its formal and informal administrative structures at the grass root level. Particularly, after the *Därg* embraced the title Provincial Military Administrative Council (PMAC) and accepted full political control on 15 September 1974, drastic changes took place in regulatory patterns all over Ethiopia.²³⁴

In the Enämay *Wäräda*, the establishment of the Provisional Military Government and the end of the Imperial regime had created a sense of pleasure and hope among the oppressed and the dissatisfied peoples. The workers and the peasants, who were disadvantaged in the past hoped for further gains from the revolution, and enthusiastically stand on the side of the revolution. Because the oppressed people in Enämay *Wäräda* anticipated equality, liberty and distribution of land from the new administration.²³⁵

The new government began arresting higher officials of the imperial regime in the study area and announced that, the higher officials of Haile Selassie's regime should surrender to the newly appointed government officials. In response to this warning, some officials of the district surrendered peacefully and were thrown into prison. However, some of the wanted men were not willing to surrender. One of the wanted individuals in the district was, Bamlaku

²³³Setegn, p. 236; Alganhe, pp.39-40.

²³⁴Dawit Wolde Giorgis, *Red Tears: War, Famine and Revolution in Ethiopia* (Trento: The Red Star Press Inc, 1989),p.16.

²³⁵Informants, Täddäsä, *Abba Čäru Näč Läbasha* Lemänhe and Ismail Abäbaw.

Ayälä who was at the beginning a peasant revolt leader, and later, promoted to the rank of *Meketel wäräda* governor during the imperial regime. In addition to Bamlaku, Bantie Endalfär, Wubale Tägänu, Basazenäw Gobäna, AtnafuYilma, Čane Alamrew, and Taye Tirunhe were among the renowned anti-*Därgrebel* leaders in Enämay *wäräda* and its surroundings.²³⁶

Bamlaku Ayälä, in collaboration with *Fitawrari* Terfe Räta who was ex- governor of Gonča *wäräda* and Moġa *awraja* respectively began to protest against the *Därg*. Bamlaku and *Fitawrari* Terfe organized peasants of Bečäna, Moġa *Awraja* and the nearby districts stood against the *Därg*. They were able to win the support of the masses and initially they had managed to score victory over their opponents.²³⁷

In 1975, the rebel groups under *Fitawrari* Terfe Räta, Bamlaku Ayälä, Bantie Endalfär, and Mäkonänen Mängistu from Moġa and Bečäna *Awraja* attacked Bečäna, and killed a number of civilians most of them were Muslims. Because, the rebels believed Muslims of the district supported the military government. For a short period of time, the insurgents controlled the area from Moġa district up to Muga River. Then, the victory of rebels caused a great shock and disappointment on the new government.²³⁸

On January 13, 197 E.C, the *awraja* governor, Mähari Yohannes and local militias under the leadership Lieutenant AtnafuYilma and Molla Mängistu from Yäräze and Mängistu respectively attacked the rebel force at a place of Mängisto, (in Enämay *wäräda*). Then, rebel forces retreated to Gurezam, in Enämay *wäräda*. After one day of fighting the rebels were defeated at Gurezam and left Enämay *wäräda*.²³⁹ According to my informants, the victory of

²³⁶ Informants, Säma and *Näč Läbash* Lemänhe

²³⁷ *Ibid*, Alganhe, p.41, Temesgen, "Peasant Resistance to Ethiopian Revolution: the Case of Gojjam, 1975-1978". (MA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2005). p. 17; and informants, Tädäsä, *Abba Čäru*, Säma and *Näč Läbash* Lemänhe.

²³⁸ Abäbä, Tädäsä, *Abba Čäru*, Säma, and *Näč Läbash* Lemänhe

²³⁹ *Ibid*.

Gurezam had two consequences. First, it led to the withdrawal of Terfe Rāta and his supporters from Enāmay *wārāda*. This enabled the pro-*Dārg* militias to concentrate their struggle in the Moṭa *awraja*. Secondly, the victory was a crushing blow to the fighting moral of the anti- *Dārg* struggle in the *wārāda*.²⁴⁰

In November 1975, anti- revolutionary leaders such as, *Nāč Lābaše Māto Alāqa* Manay Adamu, *Ato* Wubale Tägānu, *Māto Alāka* Basazenāw Gobāna, Lieutenant *Atnafu* Yilma, *Ato* Čane Alamrew, *Gerazmač* Taye Tirunhe, *Fitawrari* Gälaw Täsāle and *Ato* Alä Ayäle and their followers got pardon from the *Dārg* regime (see Appendix,3).²⁴¹ However, the pardon of Wubale Tägānu was temporary because he continued his struggle against the military regime immediately after he got the pardon.²⁴²

Concerning the political circumstance of the time in Enāmay and its surroundings, it was mystifying for the administration to perceive the people's interest for a moment. Higher authorities of the government were inquisitive to know what was going on in the area. In some *Qābälles* of Enāmay *wārāda* and its surrounding, there was reliable mass gathering by a significant number of people. Nevertheless, it was difficult for the security to easily get adequate information about the agenda of these gatherings. All these things obliged the government to survey the purpose of the gathering in particular and the society in general through different mechanisms.²⁴³

To this end, the administration sent the so called *Mälāyo lebaš* (men in uniform) and *Nāč Lābaše* (local militia) in the area under study. Both of them had the obligation to preserve peace and order within the area. They had also the obligation to assess the day to day

²⁴⁰ Informants, *Abba* Čāru, *Abābā*, *Sāma* and *Nāč Lābash* Lemānhe

²⁴¹ A Letter from *Ato* Māngāša Wāreknhe (the Governor of Gojjam Province) to Māhari Yohannis (the Governor of Bičāna *Awraja*, Hidar 15, 1968 E.C., F.B.A.A.C. no Folder No 11, no File No.

²⁴² A Letter from *Yemānu* Lakew (the governor of Enāmay *Wārāda*) to *Ato* *Abābā* Alāmnāhe (the Chairman of Enāmay *Wārāda* Peasant Association), *Māskārām*, 15, 1971 E.C.D. M. U. A. C, Folder No. 29/11, File No. 051, See also Appendix, 4.

²⁴³ Informants, *Nāče Lābash* Lemānhe, *Tādāsā*, *Abba* Čāru, *Sāma* and *Mārgeta* Wälälaw.

activities of the people in those suspected *qäbälles* where hidden gatherings had been taking place. The security forces were requested to report such engagements of the people in their respective surroundings to the nearby higher authorities as soon as possible.²⁴⁴

Apart from this, the administration requested each government official in the study area including the *wäräda* administrators, to travel in each portion of the area where such issues were observed to settle all the issues. In the meantime, this group of people started discussions with the local population and tried to raise their political awareness.²⁴⁵

In the year 1975, in the study area there was an open assembly and the issues were basically, about illiteracy campaign, the philosophy of Ethiopia First, the establishment of different associations (like peasant association, service cooperatives, agricultural producers cooperatives and etc., as well as their relevance and the significance of what the administration called Ethiopian socialism.²⁴⁶

3.2 The Formation of Peasant Association in Enämay *Wäräda*

During the military regime the name *wäräda and awraja* were maintained while the title *Täklay Gezat* was replaced by *Kefle Hager*. Besides, the internal structure and the administrative staffs were also changed.²⁴⁷ Furthermore, the power which was casually vested on the hands of *gult* owner (local rulers) was taken over by the *Qäbälle* Peasant Association (QPAs).²⁴⁸ Based on the March 1975 decree, the PMAC removed most of the previous district governors from power and supplanted them with new authoritative staff prepared with new socialist philosophy.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Alula, p.99.

²⁴⁶ Informants, Abäbä and *Märgeta Wälälaw*

²⁴⁷ Cohen and Koehn, pp.276-277.

²⁴⁸ Dassalegn Rahmato, *Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia* (Uppsala: the Scandinavia Institute of African Studies, 1984), p. 78.

²⁴⁹ Cohen and Koehn, pp. 278-279; and Adane, p.56.

Before 1975, the power of administration and tax collection at the village level was vested on a single person. However, after 1975 this authority was shared among a committee member individual of the QPAs. Following the March 1975 land reform proclamation, many QPAs were founded in different part of the country. Each QPA had a chosen administration that was expected to maintain law and order, implement the government land use directives, settling debates, enhancing development programs such as, conservation of land and water; building of schools, health centers, construction of road and cooperatives. In addition, organization of defense squad and collecting taxes were also the tasks of the QPA administrators. Amid the early years of the administration when the PMAC was active in the urban centers, peasant associations played a central role in suppressing rural disturbance²⁵⁰

In February 1975, *Balamba Ras Awokä Mulusäw*, the last imperial governor of the Enämay *wäräda* was expelled from power and replaced by Mussie Tädla. Even though, the administrative personnel in the *awraja* including the governor were replaced by new authoritative personnel with new socialist ideology, the rural localities in the district were still managed by the previous administrative personnel. In addition, most of the peasants had social and financial relations with the former local rulers or the *gult* owners. Because of this, when the participants of the early 1975 campaign (Development Through Cooperative Campaign) arrived to the locality to teach the peasantry about the benefit of the transformation, they were not enthusiastically welcomed by them. Therefore, initially peasants were significantly impacted by them more than the instruction given by the members of the campaign.²⁵¹ Hence, the presence of strong socio-economic ties between the previous local rulers and the peasantry had seriously affected the foundation of PAs.

²⁵⁰ Adane, p.56; and informants, Yitayew Almaw, Ayalew Mamo, and Abäbä

²⁵¹ Informants, Bälay , *Abba Čäru*, and *Abba Säma*

However, in spite of the challenges of the resistance groups, the campaigners succeeded in their task of building up QPAs within the area by the beginning of 1977.²⁵²

According to testimony of oral informants, even after the foundation of the QPAs and implementation of the land reform, the former local rulers kept on extricate tribute from peasants. Hence, local administration in the Enämay *wäräda*, in the years between 1975 and 1977 was characterized by disorder because of the struggle between the former local rulers and the new revolutionary peasants that were baptized with the ideology of socialism. As a result, there was no effective administration during the first four years of the *Därg* rule in Lämčän, Mänkorkoya, Yäkäbähäna, Yätämbe, Säkäla and Endäšeñt *qäbälles* of Enämay *wäräda*²⁵³

In early 1978, after the foundation of a Revolutionary Development Committee (RDC) in the Enämay *wäräda*, a total of sixty three *Qäbälle* Peasant Associations were set up and 10486 peasants were registered as members of their respective *qäbälles*. Ato Abebe Alämnhe was appointed as the chairman of the Peasant Associations of Enämay *wäräda*. The following table shows number of *qäbälles* and other administrative organs in Bečäna *awraja* during the *Därg* period.²⁵⁴

²⁵² *Ibid*; Mengistu, p.71; Adane, p, 57.

²⁵³ Informants, Näbärä , Bälay and Abba Čäru,

²⁵⁴ *Yä Bičäna Awraja YäAratu Wäradawoč Astädadärawi Mäwaqir Tir*, 1979, Former Bičäna Awraja Archive Center, Folder no. 3, no file No. See also Appendix, 5.

No.	<i>Wäräda</i>	No. of QPAs in the <i>Wäräda</i>	No. of administrative committee in the <i>Wäräda</i>	No. of Judicial Tribunals (<i>Ferede Šāngo</i>) in the <i>Wäräda</i>	No. of Defense squad Committee in the <i>Wäräda</i>	Members of QPAs in the <i>Wäräda</i>
1	Enämay	63	441	315	770	10486
2	Däbay Tilat Gine	61	441	315	779	13568
3	Enarge Enawga	69	483	345	760	14445
4	Šäbal Bäränta	63	413	295	590	8041
		256	1778	1270	2899	46540

Table 3. 1: *Qäbälles* and other administrative organs in Bečäna Awraja.

Even though, the March 1975 land reform decree conceived the foundation of the peasant associations, it was decree No.71 of 1975 that provided a legal personality for their organization and solidification throughout the country. According to this announcements, the most authoritative organ of the QPAs were the General Assembly, the Executive Committee and the Defense Committee which later became subordinate to the Executive Committee and the Judicial Tribunals. The highest decision making organ of the QPAs was the General Assembly.²⁵⁵ In each QPAs it was the Executive Committee which included the chairman, the treasury, the secretary, the chairman of the defense squad and one individual responsible for social things that used powerful control over the peasantry.²⁵⁶

During the implementation of the land reform in the Enämay *wäräda*, the committee members distributed most of the fertile land for their relatives and the rich peasants whereas the infertile land was allocated to the poor. Therefore, according to the testimony of oral

²⁵⁵ *Nägarit Gazëta*, Proclamation No. 71, 1975, No. 15, December 14, 1975.

²⁵⁶ Getie Galaye, *Peasants and the Ethiopian State: Agricultural Producers' Cooperative and its Reflection in Oral Poetry: A Case Study of Yetnora East Gojjam, 1975-1991* (Hamburg: Lit Verge Munster, 200), pp. 71-72

informants in the early stages the committee individuals of each QPAs were engaged more in collecting bribes than in the maintenance of law and order in their districts. Besides, the committee individuals used their authoritative power to assist their relatives and to assault their opponents. Thus, the peasants communicated their disappointment with the committee individuals as follow:

እጆቸን አዉጥቶ ኮሚቴን ብመርጠዉ፤

ካራዉን ሳለና ጣቶቸን ቆረጠዉ፡፡

I voted for the committee by raising my hand

But, he cut my fingers by sharpening the knife

ኧረተዉ ኮሚቴተዉ በትክክል ስራ፤

ትመነጠራላህ በነመንኔ ካራ፡፡²⁵⁷

Take care! You committee members

You should better work fairly

Otherwise you will be slain by Mängestu's sword [punishment]

Regardless of many problems observed in the *wäräda* during the implementation of land reform, however, the former landless peasants were happy by the new land reform introduced by the *Därg* and they applauded the land distribution by composing the following poems against the former *gultowners*.

የመሬት ከበርቴ አምላክህ ያጥናህ፤

መሬት እንደሸቀጥ ተሰፈረልህ፡፡²⁵⁸

Land nobles let God give you stability

Your land has been measured as if it was a stock

After 1978, however, the administration capacity of each QPAs was reinforced with the foundation of the Revolutionary Development Committee (RDC). This committee took

²⁵⁷ Informants, *Emahoy Selänat*, Abäbä and Biyazen Berhanè

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

serious measures against the dormant and corrupt QPA leaders and supplanted them with others who were trusted by the district governors and were loyal to the military government. Following the foundation of the RDC in the district, better and competent leaders were chosen in each QPA²⁵⁹.

Later on, the local administration as well as the participation of peasants in the administration significantly improved. The administrative functions of the QPAs, in the study area played a critical part acting as a link between the peasantry and the central government.²⁶⁰ Truly speaking, those common administrative functions of the government such as tax collection, adjudication and maintenance of law and order were conducted through QPAs in collaboration with the *Qäbälle* Judicial Tribunal (QJT), *Wäräda* Judicial Tribunal (WJT), *Wäräda* Peasant Association (WPA) and other local branches. All things considered, the QPA played a critical part as a bridge between the *wäräda* governors in whom the last formal administrative authority of the central government was vested on the peasantry.²⁶¹

According to Proclamation No.71 of 1975, each QPAs had the right to administer their respective localities, they were engaged in the establishment of Judicial Tribunals and Defense Squad to settle debates.²⁶² The Defense Squad which afterward got to be a subordinate to the executive committees was engaged in addressing security issues within the *wäräda*. Meanwhile, the QPAs were permitted to setup their own militia to defend the security of their particular locales. They were given military trainings and political agitations at the town of Bečäna. Afterwards, along with the QPA leaders, they began to carry out their

²⁵⁹ Informants, Abäbä, Yitayäw and Biyasmer Getie

²⁶⁰ *Ibid*, and Adane, p.60.

²⁶¹ *Ibid*; *Mengistu*, p. 71.

²⁶² *Nägarit Gazèta*, Proclamation No. 71, 1975, No. 15, December 14, 1975, pp. 112-113.

authoritative capacities. Most of the time, they escorted the QPA leaders when they moved from place to place to chase criminals. Besides, they constrained the peasantry to pay government charges, to work on the cultivate lands of the QPA leaders as well as in their private land as well. The militiamen of each QPA also took an active part in military enrollment which was carried out all through the locality.²⁶³

The *Qäbälle* Judicial Tribunal (QJT) as an organ of each QPA also held an imperative place in locale administration. It listened not only cases including members of the organization but also issues relating violation of the QPA rules and regulations. However, complicated issues were passed to the *Wäräda* Judicial Tribunal (WJT) or the *Wäräda* Regular Court (WRC)²⁶⁴

Generally, the QPAs under *Wäräda* Peasant Association (WPA) which had a coordinating power played critical part in the administration of populace at the grassroot levels.²⁶⁵

3.3 Cooperative Societies in the Enämay *Wäräda*

One of the first purposes of the foundation of Peasant Associations, as indicated in the “Peasant Association Organization and Consolidation Proclamation No. 71 of 1975” was to form cooperative societies that would help to improve the productive capability of peasants and resisting the influence of individual merchants and their ‘exploitation’ through organized efforts.²⁶⁶ The sodality of co-operative societies was also part of the ten year project of East Gojjam Administration which had begun in 1977 E.C.²⁶⁷ From these cooperatives, Agricultural Producer Cooperatives, Service Cooperatives and Artisan Cooperatives were the three major cooperatives founded in the Enämay *wäräda*.²⁶⁸

²⁶³ Informants, Biyasmer, Abäbä and Yitayew.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, Adane, p.61; and Mengistu, p.105.

²⁶⁵ Abay, p.77; informants, Biyasmer, Abäbä and Yitayew.

²⁶⁶ Mengistu, p.55; and Nägarit Gazëta, “Peasant Associations Organization and Consolidation Proclamation No. 71, 1975”.

²⁶⁷ Fakada, p .75.

²⁶⁸ Informants, Ismail, Abäbä and Läwoye.

3.3.1 Agricultural Producer Cooperatives

PAs were allowed to organize Agricultural Producer Cooperative societies and, APCs were organized by volunteer peasants with the objective of rising farming productivity by employing shared means of production. Some of the main tasks of the APCs were to "control and manage the means of production under the mass"²⁶⁹.

In fact, the organization of the APCs was not clearly indicated by the March 1975 land reform proclamation and they were not shaped until announcement No. 138 that was issued on 3 March 1978. The decree, however, defined the objectives for collectivization and given legitimate authority for the foundation of cooperative societies.²⁷⁰

The government accepted that the collectivization of APCs would be a solution for extraordinary fracture of land and means of eliminating all form of oppressions in the countryside. The chairman of each APC moreover served as a chairman of their individual QPAs. In any case, the administration was not in favor of the *geläsäb* (those peasants who were not interested to be a part of producers). In some QPAs the fertile land of *geläsäb* peasants were taken by the producers and in return they were given a less productive land.²⁷¹

According to testimony of oral informants, some Peasant Associations in Enämay *wäräda* were not willing to form Agricultural Producer Cooperatives. This was because of the lack of interest among farmers to share outputs with others. It is evident that in group works, there is a distance in volume and interest among farmers. Some peasants might work intensively while others might not. Some peasants are prompt and work actively while others are not.

²⁶⁹NägaritGäzeta, Proclamation No. 71 of 1975; Dessalegn, "Agrarian Change and Agrarian Crisis: State and Peasantry in the post- Revolution Ethiopia", *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol.63. No.1 (1993), p.41; Getachew Senshaw, "House hold Access to Farmland and Socio-Economic Status: The Case of Waneqa *Qabale*", Gozamin *Wäräda* (East Gojjam), Amhara Region," (MA Thesis, Department of Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University: 2003), pp. 50-51; Setegn, p.313.

²⁷⁰Nägarit Gazeta "A Proclamation to Provide for the Establishment of Cooperative Society, (Proclamation No.138, March 3, 1978)

²⁷¹ Adane, pp. 61-62; informants, Biyazen, Läwoye, Säma and *Abba Čäru*

However, whatever of such differences, the Agricultural Producer Cooperatives members share the outputs equally.²⁷²

The Peasant Associations that had set up Agricultural Producer Cooperatives in Enämay *wäräda* were Dima, Wera, Šebätam-Gaçämua, Yätämbe, Gutära, Bičäna, Däber, Yälemate, Hibrät Amba, Zäbê, and EndäŠeñt. Among these Agricultural Producer Cooperatives, role model in terms of its yield and fund was the Dima Agricultural Producers Cooperative. It was located existed on a fertile plain area and produced different vegetables and cereals, particularly *Teff*.²⁷³

However, the members of the APCs had deep- rooted problems. They lacked mechanism of regulating their budget and expenses. As a result, those who misused the budget were not penalized. Although some members got training in accounting and home economics, most of them were not eager to work on the area in which the government assigned them.²⁷⁴ Besides, no incentives were given for those who worked hard and contributed a lot in the works of the APCs. On the other hand, individuals whose participationsin APCs were very small got equal share with the active participants.²⁷⁵ Therefore, when the “command economic policy” of the government was replaced by the so called ‘mixed economy’ during the last period of the military rule, most of the members were not worried. Finally, following the introduction the mixed economic policy, the government allowed them to abolish their organizations if they wished to do so. As a result, many Agricultural Producer Cooperatives were abolished.

²⁷² Informants, Biyazen, Hasäen Ahmed, and Läwoye

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁴ Informants, Ayalew, Abäbä and Hassän

²⁷⁵ *Ibid*, Fakada, p.77

Hence, 189 Agricultural Producers Co-operative Societies were disbanded in East Gojjam before the end of 1980s.²⁷⁶

3.3.2 Service Cooperatives in the Enämay *Wäräda*

According to the proclamation No. 71 of 1975, peasants were allowed to form Service Cooperatives. The announcement states that Service Cooperatives should be established at least by 3 and at most 10 PAs. Their purpose was to deliver services to its members. SCs were expected to relieve member associations from private merchant abuse on commodity price.²⁷⁷

Accordingly, in Enämay *Wäräda* Service Cooperatives like Hiberäte Amba, Bičäna -Däber, and Dima were established. In this Service Cooperative shops, consumer products such as sugar, coffee, umbrella, exercise books, blanket, cloth, pen, soap, nail, salt and others were sold to SC members at prices less than that of private merchants. SCs of Enämay *wäräda* brought these goods from the Ethiopian Domestic Distribution Corporation (EDDC) branch found at the town of Bičäna.²⁷⁸

Following the foundation of cooperatives, farmers were ordered to sell their agricultural productivity to cooperatives, but it was not obligatory. However, after a while, the government started to intrude in grain marketing service of cooperatives. This brought, Cooperatives became government grain producing centers.²⁷⁹

In the year 1978/79 the military government introduced a quota system, in which farmers were urged to vend their agricultural produce by a fixed amount to the Service Cooperatives

²⁷⁶Yä Meseraq Gojjam Astadadär Akababi Šehfät Bét, *Bä-astadädär Erekan Kefefel Mekeneyat Bätatafu Wäradawoč Yätakasätutin Čegeroč Bätämäläkätä Yätägajä Ťenatawi Report*, Däbra Marqos, Nahäsé, 1982E.C, pp.35-37.

²⁷⁷*Nägarit Gazeta*, Proclamation No. 71 of 1975.

²⁷⁸Informants, Biyazen, Hasäen, Yitayew and Läwoye.

²⁷⁹*Ibid*; and Ayalew

every year²⁸⁰. Then, in Enämay *wäräda*, peasants were classified in to three categories for the share or quota system imposition. Accordingly, first category of peasants were obliged to deliver at list five quintals, the second group of peasants were obliged to sell at list three quintals, and last category of peasants were forced to sell at list one quintal of grain.²⁸¹

The committees of each Peasant Associations together with the government agrarian representatives set the sum of grain that the peasantry were required to offer to Service Cooperative shops. When the peasants failed to offer their grain share at the desired time, they were exposed to several problems. Such as, the nearby state militias called *Šemeqe* could detain them or confine their oxen. Moreover, the *Šemeqe*, prevented the peasants from offering their grain in the usual local the markets by controlling the town doors, and preventing them to induce agricultural inputs like fertilizers and certified selected seeds.²⁸² Finally, because of the introduction of the mixed economic policy in 1990, the grain share was nullified and peasants were permitted to sell their grains at the open market unreservedly, and the Service Cooperatives were ceased to operate.²⁸³

Similarly, the military government had also introduced a program of Artisan Cooperative Services. The Artisan Cooperative Services were founded following the launching of the *Edegät Bähebrät Zämäcä*. During the campaign, the government announced workers of Mill, woodwork, metal work, weaving, baking and garmenting were asked to get organized into one organization based on their talents.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁰ *Ibid*; Setegn, p. 317.

²⁸¹ Informants, Näbära, Abba Čäru, Hasäen and Emahoy Selänat.

²⁸² *Ibid*.

²⁸³ Desalegn Rahmato, "Agrarian Change and Agrarian Crisis: State and Peasantry in the Post Revolutionary Ethiopia," In Bahru Zewdeet'als (eds.), *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa, April 1-6, 1991. Vol. II* (Addis Ababa: AAUP, 1994), p.47.

²⁸⁴ Fakada, p.78

In 1978 attempts had been made to organize the artisans in the center of the *wäräda*. Then, one garment and one weaving associations were organized. The garment association included 117 males and 13 women garment workers.²⁸⁵

However, studies carried out on SCs in East Gojjam Zone indicate that, shortage of budget had prevented the SCs to work with their full potential, and there was also a problem in financial management and lack of awareness. Besides, the appointment of dishonest and corrupted officials killed the moral of workers and made the SCs non profitable.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁵ Informants, Ṭäjä Mazängya and, Abäbä, See also Appendix, 6.

²⁸⁶ Abay, p.80.

3.2.2 Villagization

Villagization program was one of ‘crucial programs’ launched by the military government aimed at strengthening the economy of Ethiopia.²⁸⁷ The program started after July 1985. The program had a wide variety of targets. Among these were to encourage appropriate land use and resource distribution; to allow easy access of developmental services and building infrastructures to the rural population; to assure collective and individual security; and to amplify and improve cooperative societies that existed in the rural areas.²⁸⁸ At the beginning, the program was prepared without the involvement of peasants. Ideas and interests of peasants were not taken into consideration. The program was rather executed by *wäräda* and *awraja* high ranking officials.²⁸⁹

In 1985 the military government proceeded to force the implementation of villagization in the country. During the implementation of the program, the government made a relentless effort to oblige the peasants to settle in new areas and the program was undertaken by the guidance of a governmental agency known as the Agricultural Development Office.²⁹⁰

According to the testimony of oral informants, the government, particularly, the so called Agitation and Propaganda Committee tried to persuade the society about the program by magnifying its importance. To this end, in the Enämay *wäräda*, villagization sites were chosen and the process of the resettlement was started in 1985. However, most of the settlers were strongly opposed the program and refused to depart from their previous village, but

²⁸⁷ Fekede, pp.78-79

²⁸⁸ John M. Cohen and Nils- Ivar Isaksson, “Villagisation in Ethiopia’s Arsi Region”, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.25, No.3, 1987, pp. 435-438; Abay, p. 84.

²⁸⁹ Mengistu, pp.56-57; Informants, *Abba Tariku Dägnäh* and Abäbä.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid*; *Addis Zaman* “Yamandar Mesratä Behērāwi Astabābāri Comité Madabañā Sibsabā Akāhēda”, Sane, 1978

their attempts were fruitless. Finally, the peasants had been given only three months of preparation to leave their former villages.²⁹¹

In the Enämay *wäräda*, different commissions were established to facilitate the program. Representatives from the *Wäräda* Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE); the offices of Finance, Health, Agriculture, Education, Police and Court were the members of the *Wäräda* Villagization Coordinating Committee (WVCC). Besides, mass organizations like, All Ethiopian Peasant Association (AEPA), Revolutionary Ethiopian Youth Association (REYA), and Revolutionary Ethiopian Women Association (REWAWA) were also included in WVCC.²⁹² The WVCC had organized different sub-committees for the purpose of performing specific works in the program. These sub-committees included Site Selection and Service Committee, Construction and Materials Committee, Statistics and, Documentation Committee, Security Committee and Agitation and Propaganda Committee.²⁹³

According to the testimony of oral informants, a selection of newly sites in Enämay *wäräda* was made base on the direction given by the Provincial Villagization Coordinating Committee (PVCC). Sites were picked on the basis of conduciveness for the resettlement and easiness for expansion of infrastructural facilities. The selection committee members also considered the accessibility of building materials and water in the nearby areas. In fact, the selection committee gave priority for the areas where clinics, SCs and schools were previously constructed.²⁹⁴ However, according to my informants, the committee never considered the ideas and the demands of the settlers regarding the selection and the settlement program in the Enämay *wäräda*.²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ *Ibid*; informants, Näsrädine, Abba Tariku and Abäbä

²⁹² Informants, Mulu Yitayew, Mäsobiaw Asräse and Abba Tariku

²⁹³ *Ibid*; Yä Gojjam KefeläHäger Yägäbärawäč Mändäre Meserata Derejtawi Mäwaker ena Yä sera Mämäriya, Bahir Dar, 1978 E.C, p.51.

²⁹⁴ "Bä Gojjam KefeläHäger Yä Gäbärawäč Mändäre Meserata Yäbota Amärareč Mämäzäga Näteboč", Bahir Dar Tahesas, 9 1978 E.C, p.19-23; Informants, Abba Berhan, Mäsobiaw, and Mulu.

²⁹⁵ Informants, Abba Berhan, Mäsobiaw and Mulu.

As a result, the program faced stiff resistance from peasants and the expected change could not occur. From the beginning, the program faced a problem of lack of trained personnel to implement the agenda coming from the PVCCs and other decrees, like, land distribution and Literacy campaign. To resolve these problems, peasants picked from PAs and received 10-15 days training at the Adult Training Center. Then, the program was applied for the next four years since 1985.²⁹⁶ However, the program was not successful because of the failure of the government to keep its promise of providing financial budget support and sending trained personals in the newly setup villages.²⁹⁷ Besides, the peasants were also not interested to live far away from their farming land because their harvest was endangered by wild animals.²⁹⁸ Generally, in the Enämay *wäräda*, villagization program led to the decline of agricultural production and, at the end of the 1980s peasants in mass left the new villages and returned to their previous settlements. Finally, following the ousting of the *Därg* regime in 1991, almost all the peasants returned to their former homeland.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁶ Informants, *Abba Berhan, Mulu and Atenafe Zenä*

²⁹⁷ *Ibid*; Birru Birmeji, "Villegazation and Rural Transformation in Ethiopia", (BA Thesis, Department of Political Science, Addis Ababa University, 1988), pp. 49-50.

²⁹⁸ Informants, *Abba Berhan, Atenafe and Mäšobiaw*; Calpham, pp. 175-178; Mengistu, p.58.

²⁹⁹ Informants, *Abba Berhan, Mäšobiaw and Mulu*

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN ENĀMAY WĀRĀDA

From 1941 to 1991

Even if relative reforms were introduced after the 1960s, in the fields of socio-economic and infrastructural developments that would provide public and private services for the society was very low in Bičāna Awraja in general and Enāmay wārāda in particular.³⁰⁰

Lack of these services showed that the population of the study area was unprivileged in the same way as other rural areas from the changes that were carried out. This shows that both the Imperial and the military governments were giving more attention to the town. Despite this, relatively some changes came into being during the *Därg* period.³⁰¹

4.1 Educational Service during the Imperial Period (1941 to 1974)

Education is one of the means to combat backwardness and traditional outlooks as well as to spread modernization through the introduction of modern education. It was during the post-Adwa period that modern education was introduced and groups of modern intellectuals started to appear in Ethiopia.³⁰² The ruling government demanded the establishment of modern education because the expanding bureaucracy and desired knowledgeable officials for services in diplomatic fields as well as in the government offices.

³⁰⁰ Tsega Endalew, Conflict Resolution Through Cultural Tolerance: an Analysis of Mičhu Institution in Mätäkäl Region, Ethiopia, (Social Science Research Series Report, No.25, 2002), p.3.

³⁰¹ informants, Belay and Nābara

³⁰² Bahru Zewde, A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991---, p.104

Therefore, schools were established by the ruling government which was to serve in producing civil servants.³⁰³ Initially, the introduction of modern education goes back to the opening of Menelik II's primary school in the year 1908.³⁰⁴

Following its introduction the government gave due emphasis for its expansion in a properly organized manner in the post Italian period. Prior to the beginning of formal modern education in Ethiopia, church education was mainly dominant in many parts of the country and it was provided by the clergymen and missionaries.³⁰⁵

The developing modern education was completely cracked during the Italian invasion. After the withdrawal of Italian from the soil of Ethiopia, the restored government mobilized foreign scholars to help in modernizing the educational system.³⁰⁶ From 1942 and 1952 Education system of Ethiopia was influenced by the British curriculum. This task was mainly done with British assistance.³⁰⁷ During this period Amharic was the primary language of instruction and English was taught as a subject from 3rd grade. English has been the language of instruction since the 5th grade.³⁰⁸

Modern education in Bičäna *awraja* and Enämay *Wäräda* was started in Bičäna town in 1943. Teaching was offered by two selected church men, *Abba Mänegsetu Enkoye* and *Liqä Tābābte Šāga WubŠät*, who were selected from the monastery of Dima Giyorgis and they

³⁰³ Meaza Bekele, —A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia: Its Foundation, its Development, its Future with

Emphasis on Primary Education, —(Ph.D Dissertation, Colombia: Colombia University, 1996), pp.32-35

³⁰⁴ Bahru Zewde, A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991---, p.108.

³⁰⁵ Mengistu, p. 63.

³⁰⁶ Zeleke, p.22.

³⁰⁷ Sisay Awgichew, "The Historic Move, Contemporary Challenges and Opportunities in Ethiopian Education," *International Journal of African and Asian Studies Vol.26* (College of Education and Behavioral Sciences, Haramaya University, Ethiopia, 2016), p.59.

³⁰⁸ Seyoum Tefera, "Attempts at Educational Reform in Ethiopia: A Top down or a Bottom- up Reform," *The Ethiopian Journal of Education vol. XVI, No.1*(Norwegian Universities, 1996), p.4 and Kābādä Frésänbät, *Zāmānawi Tmhr̄t bāqdmā Abyot Ithiopia, Kādhnāt wod Lmat: Iwqātn Lätwld Mastälalāf* (Modern Education in Pre-Revolutionary Ethiopia, From Poverty to Development: Transmission of Knowledge to the Generation, Second Edition, No. 7, 2001), p. 13.

were salaried from government. This year was very important in the history of Bičäna *awraja* and Enämay *Wäräda* because it was the time when the first modern education was started in the study area. Teaching was started in *Balamba Ras Täfära Jämebare's* house with monthly rent. The 10-birr monthly fee of the house payment was covered by Bičäna *awraja* patriotic association. During this time the total number of students was 510 and all of them were males. In 1947 the school was shifted from *Balamba Ras Täfära Jämebare's* home to Bičäna School in 1947. The materials used for classroom instruction were inadequate as there was a shortage of class room, textbooks, teachers and other teaching aids.³⁰⁹ In 1947, the government assigned *Ato Amarä Dägu* from Debre Marekos as a first director and teacher of Bičäna elementary school. The governments also employ one church man, named *Qēsä Gäbüz Antänäh* in the staff. Then the numbers of teachers were reached from 2 to 4 and the number of students reached to 1520 and most of them were from Bičäna town.³¹⁰

During the Imperial period a very small section of individuals were benefited from the educational system because in 1950s and 1960s the imperial government only focused on the towns. To motivate the students and the community as well as to increase the number of students, the government included Geez and ethics in the curriculum. Besides the above, the imperial government provided incentives such as cloths, soap, packed milk, and sugar, school materials like pen, exercise book and pencil that had picture of Emperor Haile Selassie.³¹¹

Teachers also thought attractive words that spark education and thought about personal hygiene. On the other hand, Students who were attracted by the education sang songs to create awareness in front of the society by traveling to rural areas on the ceremonial days. In the ceremonial days the students present canticle and poem in English and again in Amharic in ceremonial days. The society was impressed by the English ability of students. Then, some

³⁰⁹ Zeleke Tegode, p.23, and Archives from East Gojjam Administrative Zone Educational Office, 1994

³¹⁰ *Ibid*

³¹¹ *Ato Abäbä Käbädä and Näbärä*

parents began to send their child to school voluntarily. Another advertising way was physical exercise of the students in the anniversary of parental day in a semester.³¹²

Generally, the imperial government employed educated church men and already educated students as well as foreign scholars to help in modernizing the educational system of Enämay *wäräda*. According to my informants, during the period of Haile Sellasie teacher from Harär, Addis Abeba (Täfäré Mäkonän School), Kotäbé teacher training centers, and from Däbrä Marqos, NgusTäklä Haymanot secondary school come to Enämay *wäräda*.³¹³

Table 4. 1: Number of schools, students and teachers from 1947-1949

Year	Number of school	Number of student	Number of Teacher
1947	1	20	4
1948	1	55	7
1949	1	87	10

In 1953, the British predominance in the Ethiopian educational system was replaced by Americans. Following this a significant support was received from the American in 1953 and the curriculum was also completely changed into American educational system. The Imperial government had agreed with foreign lenders. One of these organizations was SIDA (Swedish International Development Agency).³¹⁴ From 1955 onwards the major bilateral donors to the Ethiopian educational sector were the United States and Sweden. While USAID was interrupted during the period of Därg, but Swedish assistance to education continued

³¹² *Ibid*

³¹³ *Ibid* and Zeleke, pp. 26-27.

³¹⁴ Desta Asayehgn, "Socio-economic and educational reforms in Ethiopia (1942-1974)," correspondence and contradiction, Paris International Institute for Educational Planning, IIEP Occasional Papers No. 50, 1979, p. 46: Archives from East Gojjam Administrative Zone Educational Office, 1994

throughout the entire period. In many ways SIDA initiated new program area in the educational sector. For example, SIDA donated about\$ 239 396.00 moneys for the construction of schools in Bičäna *awraja*. በህዝብና በስዊድን ተራድዖ ድርጅት በቢቸና አውራጃ ለሚሰሩ ትምህርት ቤቶች በስዊድን ተራድዖ ድርጅት ትብብር ገንዘብ \$ 239 396.00 የተለገሰ ሲሆን ከህዝቡ ደግሞ \$ 34991.97 ተሰብስቧል (Debre Markos University Archive Center, Folder No.007).³¹⁵

As sources from Debre Markos University Archive center, Folder No.102 as it said, this agency had constructed many elementary schools in Bičäna *awraja*. From 1957, the construction of primary schools was increased in Bičäna *awraja* with the Swedish assistance. During this year, Häyilu Yosëdëq junior secondary school was reconstructed by the involvement of the people and the Swidish government. *Fitawrari* Dämese Alameräw, (the Bičäna *awraja* administrator), *Ato* Seyum Goshu (the agent of ministry of education) as well as *Mister* Ospland (the Swedish volunteer service agent) involved in the construction process. To reconstruct and expand the building of Häyilu Yosëdëq junior secondary school, about 20,000 Ethiopian birr was collected from the society and the remaining 20,000 was financed from Swedish volunteer service.³¹⁶

In the decade between 1962 and 1974, the government declared universal primary education and by 1962, the total number of primary schools in Bičäna *Awraja* was 6 from these two of them are founded in Enämay *wäräda*. In 1974 the number of government schools were increased to 18 and six of them are founded in Enämay *wäräda* .³¹⁷

Generally, up to 1974 there were 131 schools in Gojjam province. Among these schools, 18 of them are found in Bičäna *awrajja*. From 18 schools 6 of them were found in Enämay

³¹⁵ Ethiopian federal democratic educational minister, 2018, p.14 Debre Markos University Archive center, Folder No.007, File No. መ.መ.1, Ref.No.2067

³¹⁶ Debre Markos University Archive center, Folder No.102, File No. መ/ቡ-75 Ref No, ጎ/4/-1084/673/9.

³¹⁷ Debre Markos University Archive center, Folder No.007, File No. መ.መ.1, Ref.No.2067

wäräda. From 6 schools 5 of them were elementary schools offered teaching from grad one to six while the remaining one school was secondary school that was Häyilu Yosëdëq School. In 1958, the Ethiopian Ministry of Education and Art was permitted, Bičäna School to be renamed as Häyilu Yosëdëq. Before its service as a school, the place was used for Italians as a military camp.³¹⁸

4.2 Educational Service during the *Därg* Period (1974 to 1991)

After the popular revolution of 1974 educational system of Ethiopia completely changed and became socialist in character. The military regime transferred almost all education and training institutions to state control. One of the immediate measures taken by the *Därg* administration was to address the issue of Primary education. Accordingly, on December 20th, 1974, it proclaimed, “education for all.” On the basis of this declaration, universal primary education in short period of time was started in proportion with available resources.³¹⁹

4.2.1 Literacy Campaign

The most visible reform implemented by the military government in Enämay was literacy campaign. To accomplish this program, the military government used the Urban Dweller Associations (UDA) in the urban areas and the *Qäbälle* Peasant Associations (QPAs) in the rural areas. The UDA and QPAs played an important role in the literacy program. They picked up learners and teachers; they follow up the day to day activities of the campaigners and punished the individuals who were not willing to participate in the program.³²⁰

³¹⁸ *Ibid*

³¹⁹ Biadgelign Ademe, “Teacher Involvement in Curriculum Material Evaluation: A Qualitative Case Study in Secondary Schools of Ethiopia,” (A Thesis Presented in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Curriculum Design and Development, Addis Ababa University, 2014), p.27; Seyoum Tefera, 1996, pp. 7-8.

³²⁰ Informants *Abba Berhan*, Meshobiaw and Mulu :Zelege Tegode, p.39.

On December 20, 1974, the military government announced its policy of, “Education for All.” On the basis of this declaration, a campaign of universal primary education was started quickly based on the available resources. The government also echoed the slogans: Education for Production; Education for Scientific Inquiry as the general objectives of education in Ethiopia.³²¹

Following the announcement of the *Zämäčä* called “Development through Cooperation, Enlightenment and Working Campaign” (*Edgät Bāhibrät Yāwkät Ena Yäséra Zämäčä*), every secondary, college, university students and teachers were ordered to take part in the campaign and they were dispatched to the rural areas all over the country. The objective of the program was to propagate the philosophy of Ethiopian Socialism, conducting a speedy literacy campaign, and working hard for the moral, cultural and intellectual development of the Ethiopian masses.³²² And, the town of Bečäna was made to be the center of Moča and Bečän *awraja zamäčä* activity.³²³ Some of the campaigners, who arrived in Bečäna, were Täshomä Usman, Wodajo Kābädä, Eyasu Bälay, Bälätä Baye and Endalamaw Gäbru. Täsomä Usman appointed as the coordinator of the program in Moča and Bečäna *awraja*³²⁴

Like other parts of the country, the government announced diverse educational program to the people of Enämay *wäräda*. To implement the program, Literacy Campaign Coordinating Committee (LCCC) was established at the *wäräda* and at a national level under the Ministry of Education (MoE). Ato Gašaw Hibstie was appointed as the chairperson of the LCCC in Enämay *wäräda* and the program was officially started in 1979.³²⁵

³²¹Seyoum Tefera, “Attempts at Educational Reform in Ethiopia: A Top down or a Bottom up Reform,” *The Ethiopian Journal of Education vol. XVI, No.1* (Norwegian Universities, 1996), pp. 7-8.

³²²Nägarit Gazeta, “A Proclamation to Provide for Development Through Cooperation, Enlightenment and Work Campaign”, Proclamation No.II of 1974; Clapham, pp. 47-49.

³²³Alganhe, p.53.

³²⁴Zäläqä, p.40.

³²⁵Informants, Täfära Andualäm, Abäbä and Hübäša

To facilitate the program, the government formed four committees under Ministry of Education. These were the Placement, Training and Recruitment Committee; Material Procurement and Distribution Committee; Certification, Data Collection and Supervision Committee and Aid Coordination and Propaganda Committee.³²⁶

Following the Literacy Campaign, a number of people in the Enämay *wäräda* participated in the program and got basic education. For instance, in 1971E.C 18,792 students were registered in the program. From these, 9884 of them were women, which account 52.6%. The following table shows the number students registered to participate in summer program in the *wäräda* in 1971E.C.³²⁷

Age of students	Sex		
	M	F	T
Below 10 years	315	410	725
From 10-19 years	1747	1807	3554
From 20-29 years	2478	3334	5812
From 30-39 years	2043	2177	4220
From 40-49 years	1340	1285	2625
From 50-59 years	615	568	1183
60 and above	370	303	673
Total	8908	9884	18792

Table 4. 2: The Number Students Registered to Participate in Summer Program in the *wäräda* in 1971E.C.

The involvement of the society in the Literacy Campaign was demonstrated in many ways. In 1971 E.C, 357 men and 105 women volunteer teachers were registered to participate in literacy campaign of summer program in the *wäräda* (See Appendix, 12.³²⁸ The society also participated as students; involving in the construction of houses to the campaigners and libraries to the students. Problem of documentation, coordination and insufficient

³²⁶Abay, p.88.

³²⁷ A Report from Yigzye Käbädä, Bičäna *Wäräda* Literacy Campaign coordinator to Gojjam Province Literacy Campaign Coordinator, Nähäse, 30, 1971; F.B.A.A.C, Folder no., 03 file no. 16. See also Appendix, 8.

³²⁸ A letter from Amsalu Bäkälä, Secretary of Enämay *Wäräda* Literacy Campaign to Täšomä Usman Bičäna *Awraja* Literacy Campaign Coordinator, *Nähäsa* 1971, E.C, See Appendix, 12.

instructional materials were some of the serious problems that were manifested during the campaign.³²⁹

Regarding Nursery education, In 1980s Nursery education was started in Enämay *Wäräda*. Nursery education is the pre- primary school education for children and can take up to three years. In this program Childs between the ages of four to six were allowed to register. In 1986, 282 children were registered in the study area. Among these 144 were men and the remaining 138 were female. Child’s activities, attitude and their improvement were recorded day to day in their own foldaway. Teaching was offered to them based on the contemporary curriculum, fun-like education that would enable them to express their feelings, to appreciate beauty, and to learn to distinguish and form letters and numbers. Numbers of nursery school teachers were 5 who recruited from grade 10 students, who passed to grade 11.³³⁰

Table 4. 3: Number of nursery school, nursery teachers and number of children in Enämay *Wäräda* in 1986.

<i>Wäräda.</i>	No. of school	No. of teacher	No. of children		
			Male	Female	Total
Enämay	3	5	144	138	282

4.3 Health Service, Road Transportation, Telecommunications and Postal Service in Enämay *Wäräda* from 1941 to 1991.

Health Service

In the Enämay *wäräda*, there was lack of modern medical service throughout the period under study. The knowledge of the community about the value of modern medical services was also low. As a result; many people suffered and lost their lives by itch, malaria,

³²⁹ Abay, pp.88-89; informants, Täfära, and Hübäša

³³⁰ Debre Markos University Archive centers, Folder No. 007, File No. *ጠ-ጠ-1*, Ref No. *ጎጠ/ዘ/718458/18*: Debre Markos University Archive centers, Folder No. 0022, File No. *ጠ/ተ/3*, Ref NO. 29 /*ጠ/ 5531/9825.9*.

smallpox, diarrhea and other epidemic diseases. During the period under investigation most of the communities were utilizing traditional medication for their health problems. The traditional medical practitioners deliver services for extensive range of contagious and non-contagious diseases. However, traditional medical practitioners were apparently imperfect in allocating the accurate dosage of traditional medicine they gave to their patients which brought a dangerous side effect on the health of the patients.³³¹

Consequently, however, following the beginning of modern medical services, the wakefulness of the community developed and they began to use modern medication. The first health center to be opened in Enämay *wäräda* was a health center in Bečäna town at the end of the 1950s.

However, the health center was small to deliver service for the whole community of the *awraja* and the *wäräda*.³³²

In 1978 the Dima Clinic was opened. At the same year, the construction of the Mängisto Clinic was completed.³³³ According to the testimony of oral informants, during the military regime the health practitioners taught the community weekly at churches and market places about hygiene, the value of hygienic area, preparation of food, keeping the cleanness of the body and the like. Detergents were donated by non-governmental organizations to all students monthly at school. But, the donations were limited to the towns. However, the health service was still not adequate for the community of the town and even the countryside.³³⁴

³³¹ Informants, Häbäša, Tanaw Dämäkä and Häbtamu Lakačäw.

³³² Enämay *Wäräda* Tena Ĥèhfät Bet, *Yä Wärädačün Tena Täqwamat Mäsfafat ena Yä Tena Tädärašenet*, (Bičäna, Yäkatit, 2002 E.C), 2.

³³³ A Letter from Taddesse Tesfaye, Health Officer to Bičäna Awraja Administrative Office, Miazia, 197, 1D.M.U.A.C. Folder No.9458, File No.1502/219/1/60; *Yä Enämay Wäräda Yä Tarik Mähzgab* (Bičäna, 1976 E.C), p.35, See also appendix, 13.

³³⁴ Informants, Häbäša, Tanaw and Häbtamu

Generally, in the study area there was a relatively better expansion and advancement of health services during the *Därg* period. The following table shows the number of freely treated individuals in the *wäräda* between the years 1971 and 1975 E.C.³³⁵

No	Type of health service	Number of treated individuals					
		1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
1	Child treatments	1352	2130	3016	3517	1479	1864
2	Pregnant Treatment	137	807	1317	1226	1280	1587
3	Mothers treatment	94	825	348	343	225	747

Table 4. 4: General Statistics toward Free Health Services in the *Wäräda* b/n 1970-1975

E.C.

Source: *Yä Enämay Wäräda YäTarik Mäzgab*, p.35.

Road Transportation, Telecommunications and Postal Service

Concerning road transportation, the *wäräda* was characterized by lack of well-organized infrastructure. As a result, In Enämay *wäräda* pack animals like, mules, donkeys and horses were largely used as means of transportation in the absence of modern transportation.³³⁶

The first road that connected Bečäna with Däbrä Marqos and Addis Ababa was constructed in 1957³³⁷. Except this main road, there was no track road that could connect Bečäna with sub-districts of the *wäräda* until the 1970s.³³⁸ During the *Därg* regime, some attempts were made to expand and transform the domestic road network. As a result, the road connected Bečäna

³³⁵ *Yä Enämay Wäräda YäTarik Mäzgab*, p.35, see also appendix, 14.

³³⁶ Informants, Zäru Wasyihun and *Abba Fiseha Kibäre*.

³³⁷ Tassew Shiferaw et al, *Ethiopian Village Studies: Yetmen Enemay Gojjam*, Centre for the Study of African Economies (Oxford University, Economics Department, 1996), p.2.

³³⁸ Informants, Zäru and *Abba Fiseha*

with Moña and Bahir Dare via Däbrä Wärq was constructed by the Bäreta Construction.³³⁹ In 1981, the roads which connected Bečäna with Kuy, Yäduha, and Dima were also constructed.³⁴⁰

Communication is the most relevant aspect which played a great task in the economic, political, and social development of one country. Media, postal service and telecommunication facilities are some of the types of communication services. In our country Ethiopia, the concept of communication services was introduced during the regime of Emperor Menilek II.³⁴¹

The introduction of telecommunication service in the study area was following the connection of highway route from Dabra Marqos to Bečäna by telephone line in March 1948. Then, rural and urban community of the *wäräda* got telecommunication services from the town of Bečäna during the period under discussion.³⁴²

Besides, postal service is also the most important sector of communication and plays an important role in the exchanges of information and ideas in different cultural, social and economic spheres. This service was introduced in the *wäräda* in 1970.³⁴³

Regarding electricity, the inhabitants of Enämay *wäräda* specifically during the period under study failed to get electric service. But only the people who settled in the town of Bečäna benefited in having access to electric light since 1980. However, they did not experience full time electric light, the maximum time of electricity is only for five hours and the source was obtained from a generator.³⁴⁴

³³⁹ ENALA, A Letter from Atnafu Tariku head of Gojjam Province, July 1969 E.C, Folder 0536, File no.670

³⁴⁰ ENALA, A Letter from Animut Kindie vice- administrator of Gojjam Province, March 1974, Folder 17.1. 11.02 file no. 28.

³⁴¹ Tena Tarkegn, "Administrative and Socio-Economic History of Sululta *Woreda*, 1941-1974" (M.A. Thesis Department of History: Addis Ababa University, 2020), p. 83; Adinew Bitew, "The Political and Socio-Economic History of from 1941-1991" (MA.Thesis, History Department: Addis Ababa University, 2016), P.72.

³⁴² *Yä Enämay Wäräda Yä Tarik Mazgabe*, (Bičäna, 1976 E.C),p.36

³⁴³ *Ibid*, informants, Mulu, Zäru and Abba Fisha

³⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

Conclusion

The thesis gave more emphasis to investigate and reconstruct the history of Enämay *Wäräda* from the period of restoration of the Haile Selassie's regime to the end of military rule (1941-1991). The study attempted to reconstruct the history of the *wäräda* depending on archival sources, written materials and oral sources. The first chapter of the thesis discussed about major historical developments the *wäräda* experienced before the Italian occupation. The second chapter of the study focused on analyzing the patriotic struggle in the area. The Italian rule had disrupted the life of the people of the *wäräda* as it had been to the other peoples of the Ethiopia. At this critical point, most of the inhabitants of the study area organized under patriotic leaders and fought the Italians until they were withdrawn from the study area.

Following the restoration, the regime of Haile Sellassie started to implement what they had left in 1935. Then, the regime introduced different measures in the field of economic and administration issues. The intention of re-establishing absolute centralized political power and strengthening the government's economic bases was to attend different goals of existing administrative as well as land related reforms. Regarding administration, the restored government of the emperor brought consecutive administrative re-arrangements that intended at regulating the administrative system in centralized manner.

Since 1942, the state introduced different taxation system in the country including the study area. This was done to easier the realization of the existing taxation method in a more systematic and simple manner by using centrally appointed provincial administrators. But peasants of the area consider the act of the state as an effort of taking away their traditional rights of *gult* and *rest*. Consequently, tributes and taxes remain the main source of conflict between the peasants and the government mainly in the early 1950s. Similarly, following the

introduction of Agricultural Income tax in 1967 the relation between the inhabitants and the regime turns to conflict.

The study also discussed various programs and reforms of the *Därg* such as Literacy campaign, land reform, PAs, SCs, APCs, and villagization in Enämay *wäräda*. In this regard, the most visible and successful programs of *Därg* that was implemented in Enämay was Literacy Campaign. The *Därg's* attempt to implement PAs, SCs, APCs, and villagization in the *wäräda* was not successful, because most of the inhabitants were not interested to apply the programs and the reforms. As a result, the government faced strong resistance from the people, which eventually led to the downfall of the regime.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix I :Bä Bečäna Awrajja Yämigänu Balabatoč Ena Gultočačaw Sem Zerzir

A handwritten table with 15 columns and 15 rows. The columns contain various numerical and text entries, including dates and names. The table is written in a cursive script. A large number '92' is written in the bottom right corner of the page.

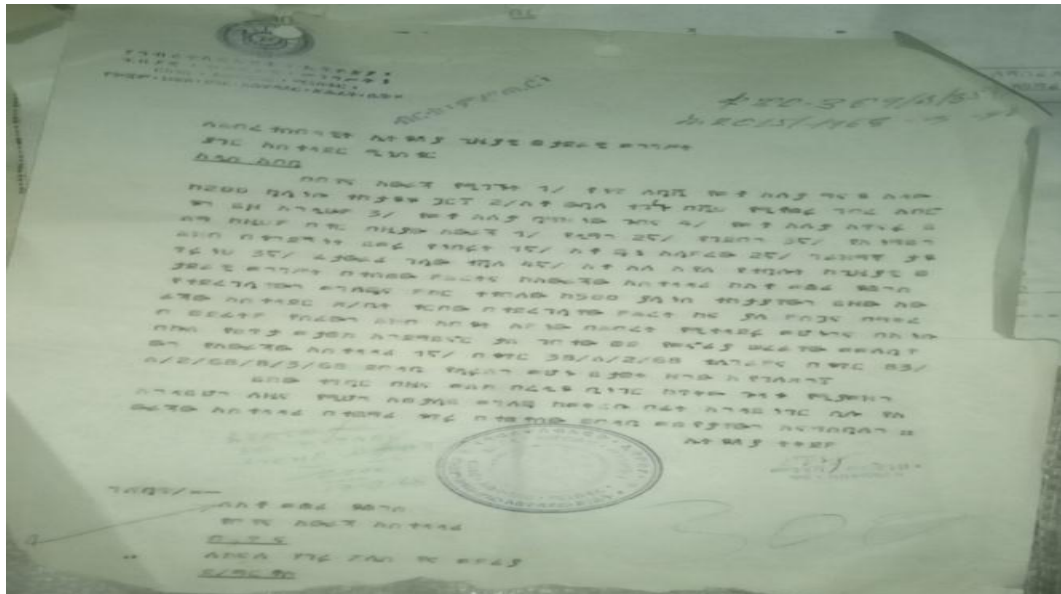
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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45
46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75
76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105
106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120
121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135
136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150
151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165

Appendix II Bä Bečäna Awrajja Yämigänu Balabatoč Ena Gultočačaw Sem Zerzir

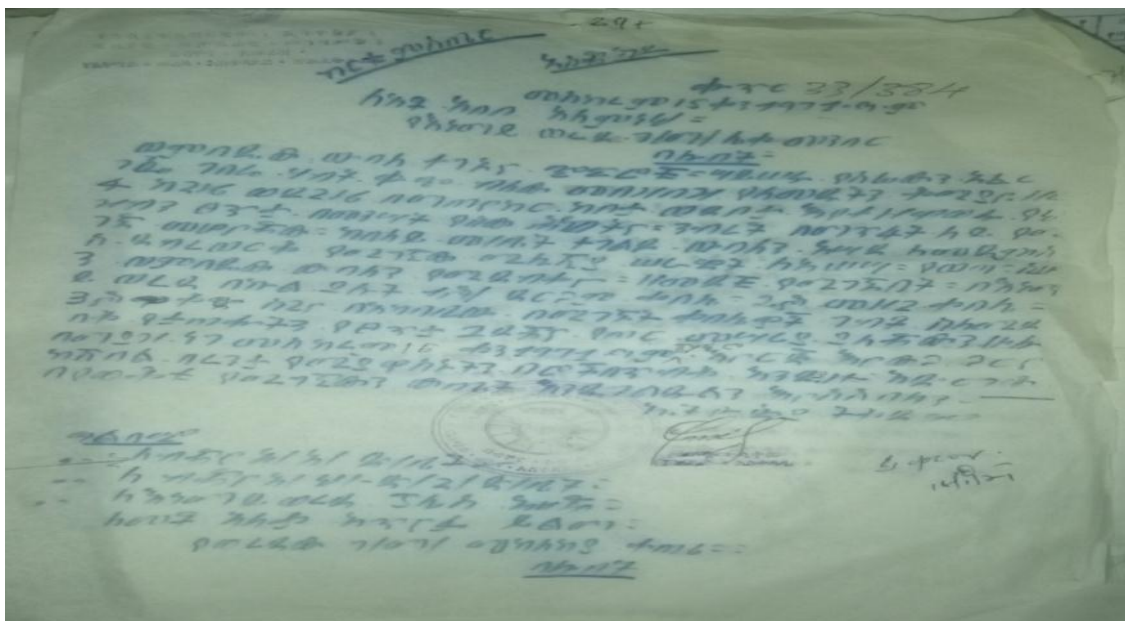
A handwritten table with 15 columns and 15 rows, similar in format to Appendix I. It contains numerical and text data in a cursive script. A large number '23' is written in the bottom right corner of the page.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45
46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75
76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105
106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120
121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135
136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150
151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165
166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180
181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195
196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210

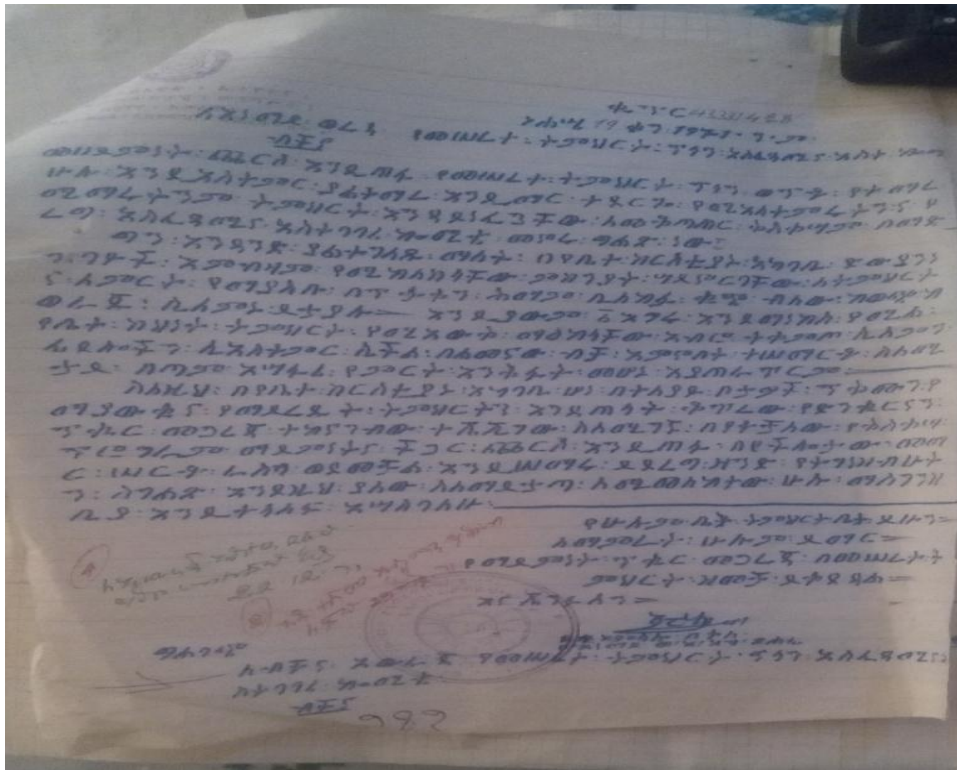
Appendix III A Letter from AtoMängäsa Wäreknhe (the Governor of Gojjam Province) to Mähari Yohannis (the Governor of Bičäna Awraja, Hidar 15, 1968 E.C



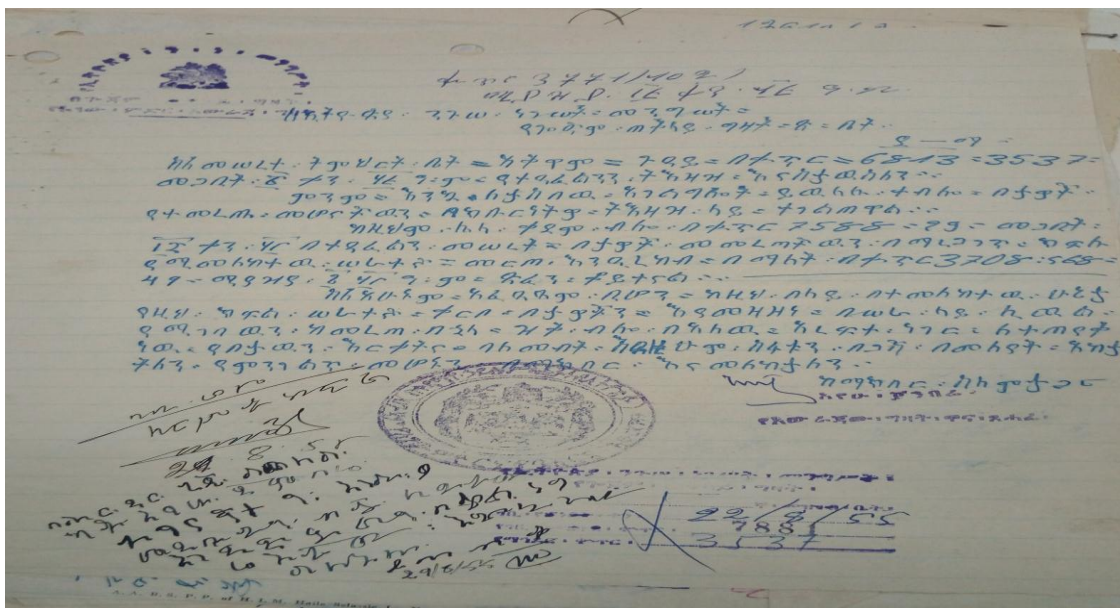
Appendix IV A Letter from Yemänu Lakew (the governor of Enämay Wäräda) to Ato Abäbä Alämnähe (the Chairman of Enämay Wäräda Peasant Association), Mäskäräm, 15, 1971 E.C



Appendix VII: A letter from Enämay Wäradä Literacy Campaign Cordinators.



Appendix VIII: A letter from Ayehu Genberie(secretary of Bičäna Awraja) to the secretary of Gojjam province



Appendix XIV: Temhrt bete Lämäserat Kä SIDA Ena Kämahberesbu Seletewataw Gänzäbe

Handwritten document in Amharic script, likely a financial report or ledger. The text is written in a cursive style and includes several lines of numbers and names. A date "2011-10-06" is visible in the top left corner. The document is titled "ADIK AB SHANES- HAN" and "ADIK US". It contains several paragraphs of text, some of which are underlined. The text appears to be a list of items or transactions, possibly related to a literacy campaign or a similar community project. There are some handwritten notes and signatures scattered throughout the document.

Appendix X: A letter from Enämay Wäräda Literacy Campaign Cordinators.

Handwritten document in Amharic script, likely a letter or official communication. The document features a circular stamp in the center, which appears to be an official seal or logo. The text is written in a cursive style and includes several lines of text, some of which are underlined. The document is titled "Enämay Wäräda Literacy Campaign Cordinators". It contains several paragraphs of text, some of which are underlined. The text appears to be a list of items or transactions, possibly related to a literacy campaign or a similar community project. There are some handwritten notes and signatures scattered throughout the document.

Appendix XI: Bä Gojjam Kefle Hager Yä 1971 E.C Lä Keremt Timhret Yätämägäbu Tä mariwoch bezat

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
...
...
...

Appendix XII : Bä Biçäna awraja Bä 1971 E.C Lä Keremt Timhret Yätämägäbu Tä mariwoch bezat

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
...
...
...
...
...
...

Appendix XV: Number of Nursery Students, Schools and Teachers in 1978 in Awraja and Wärädä level.

የትምህርት ደረጃ	የትምህርት ቤቶች ብዛት	የትምህርት ሰዎች ብዛት	የግንባታ ደረጃ			
			የግንባታ ቤቶች	የግንባታ ሰዎች	የግንባታ ወጪ	
1	ግንባታ ቤቶች	10	14	276	284	560
	ግንባታ ሰዎች	1	2	78	67	135
	ግንባታ ወጪ	1	1	20	20	40
	ግንባታ ሰዎች	2	3	76	58	134
	ግንባታ ቤቶች	1	2	192	210	402
	ግንባታ ሰዎች	4	7	=	=	=
ግንባታ ወጪ	=	=	=	=	=	
ግንባታ ቤቶች	7	19	29	711	680	1391
ግንባታ ሰዎች	3	5	144	138	282	
ግንባታ ወጪ	1	2	81	52	133	
ግንባታ ሰዎች	1	1	25	27	52	
ግንባታ ቤቶች	=	=	=	=	=	
ግንባታ ሰዎች	5	8	250	217	467	
ግንባታ ወጪ	4	3	74	63	137	
ግንባታ ሰዎች	3	1	12	22	34	
ግንባታ ቤቶች	1	1	18	14	32	
ግንባታ ሰዎች	1	1	16	15	31	
ግንባታ ወጪ	1	1	120	114	234	
ግንባታ ቤቶች	4	6	6			

Appendix XVI: A Letter About The Construction of the First Senior Secondary School in Biçäna Awraja

ግንባታ ቤቶች ስርዓት ላይ ለማስገባት ማድረግ ይገባል።

የግንባታ ሰዎች ብዛት 10 ሲሆን የግንባታ ወጪ 276 ሲሆን የግንባታ ቤቶች 14 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 2 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 78 ሲሆን የግንባታ ቤቶች 1 ሲሆን የግንባታ ሰዎች 1 ሲሆን የግንባታ ወጪ 20 ሲሆን የግንባታ ቤቶች 2 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 3 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 76 ሲሆን የግንባታ ቤቶች 1 ሲሆን የግንባታ ሰዎች 2 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 192 ሲሆን የግንባታ ቤቶች 4 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 7 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ = ሲሆን የግንባታ ቤቶች = ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች = ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ = ሲሆን

ግንባታ ቤቶች 7 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 19 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 29 ሲሆን የግንባታ ቤቶች 144 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 138 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 282 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች 3 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 5 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 81 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች 1 ሲሆን የግንባታ ሰዎች 27 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 52 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች = ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች = ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ = ሲሆን

ግንባታ ቤቶች 5 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 8 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 250 ሲሆን የግንባታ ቤቶች 74 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 217 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 467 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች 4 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 3 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 74 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች 12 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 22 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 34 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች 1 ሲሆን የግንባታ ሰዎች 1 ሲሆን የግንባታ ወጪ 18 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች 14 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 15 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 31 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች 1 ሲሆን የግንባታ ሰዎች 1 ሲሆን የግንባታ ወጪ 16 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች 120 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 114 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 234 ሲሆኑ

ግንባታ ቤቶች 4 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 6 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 6 ሲሆን

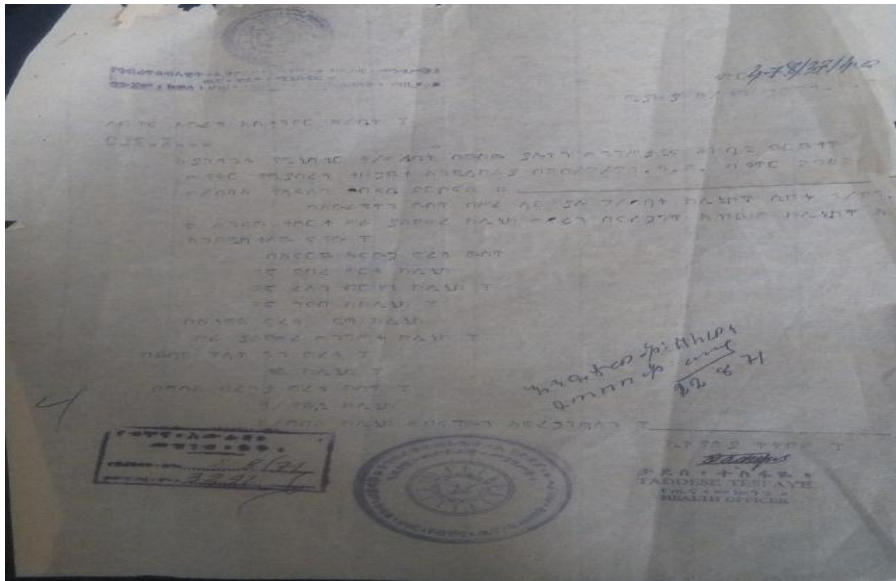
ግንባታ ቤቶች 10 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 14 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 276 ሲሆን የግንባታ ቤቶች 14 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 2 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 78 ሲሆን የግንባታ ቤቶች 1 ሲሆን የግንባታ ሰዎች 1 ሲሆን የግንባታ ወጪ 20 ሲሆን የግንባታ ቤቶች 2 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 3 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 76 ሲሆን የግንባታ ቤቶች 1 ሲሆን የግንባታ ሰዎች 2 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 192 ሲሆን የግንባታ ቤቶች 4 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 7 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ = ሲሆን

ግንባታ ቤቶች 7 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 19 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 29 ሲሆን የግንባታ ቤቶች 144 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 138 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 282 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች 3 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 5 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 81 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች 1 ሲሆን የግንባታ ሰዎች 27 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 52 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች = ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች = ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ = ሲሆን

ግንባታ ቤቶች 5 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 8 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 250 ሲሆን የግንባታ ቤቶች 74 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 217 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 467 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች 4 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 3 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 74 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች 12 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 22 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 34 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች 1 ሲሆን የግንባታ ሰዎች 1 ሲሆን የግንባታ ወጪ 18 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች 14 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 15 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 31 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች 1 ሲሆን የግንባታ ሰዎች 1 ሲሆን የግንባታ ወጪ 16 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ቤቶች 120 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 114 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 234 ሲሆኑ

ግንባታ ቤቶች 4 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ሰዎች 6 ሲሆኑ የግንባታ ወጪ 6 ሲሆን

Appendix XVII: A Letter from Taddesse Tesfaye, Health Officer to Biçäna Awraja Administrative Office, Miazia, 1975



Appendix XVIII: Bä Enämay Wäräda Kä 1970-1975 E.C Bänäta Hekimina yageñu Säwoch Bezat.

የዓለታት: ዓ. 1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
1- ገቢ: የተደረገው: 94	825	348	343	225	747
2- ገቢ: የተደረገው: 137	807	1317	1226	1280	1597
3- ገቢ: የተደረገው: 1352	2130	3016	3517	1479	1864

ህልፍ: የተደረገው: 4.411 ስ: የተደረገው: 1793995: ስ
 2: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 3: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 4: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 5: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 6: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 7: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 8: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 9: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 10: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 11: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 12: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 13: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 14: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 15: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 16: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 17: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 18: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 19: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው
 20: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው: የተደረገው

List of Informants

NO.	Name of Informants	Sex	Age	Place of Interview	Date of interview	Remark
1	Abäbä Käbädä	M	83	Biçäna	11/09/21	He was administrator of Däbay Tilat Gine <i>Wäräda</i> in the last years of <i>Därg</i> and highly knowledgeable about the reforms and the programs of the <i>Därg</i> in the district.
2	Atenafe Zenä(<i>Ato</i>)	M	64	Yitbako	19/05/21	He was a merchant for a long time. He knows more about the history of Enämay, particularly the <i>Därg</i> period
3	Ayalew Mamo (<i>Ato</i>)	M	61	Däbet	24/06/21	He is a civil servant and a committee member of Development Association. He has detail knowledge about the reforms of <i>Därg</i> administration.
4	Awäkä Alämu (<i>Ato</i>)	M	78	Mehal Amba	10/02/21	He exercised both livestock and crop production in the course of Muga river and highly knowledgeable about the history of the district.
5	Bälay Asheber (<i>Abba</i>)	M	93	Käšam	27/09/21	He was a farmer and he has general knowledge about the historical, political and the socio-economic history of the district.
6	Berhan Yänanhe	M	71	Biçäna Däbere	08/06/21	He is a religious man who has valuable knowledge about the conflict between

	(<i>Abba</i>)					Bälay Zälläqä and the Emperor.
7	Biyasmer Getie (<i>Hamsa Aläqa</i>)	M	62	Kuy	17/04/21	He gives ample evidence on the administration of the <i>Darg</i> regime in the district.
8	Biyazen Birhane (<i>Ato</i>)		65	Yädagwat	10/10/21	He was a farmer and highly knowledgeable about the history of patriotic resistance and ancient history of the study area.
9	Čäru Wädaje (<i>Abba</i>)	M	83	Yätämän	14/01/22	He was born in Dibesa and lives in Yätämän. He gives ample evidence about the history <i>Darg</i> in the district.
10	Embet Zewdu	F	34	Endäsġnt	10/02/21	She is a civil servant and has detail information about the tourist sites of the area.
11	Endaiylalu Bassie (<i>Ato</i>)	M	39	Bičäna	23/03/21	He is a civil servant and has good memory about agricultural development in the area.
12	Fiseha Kiber (<i>Abba</i>)	M	98	Bäčät	23/07//21	His oral information about the infrastructural development in the district is very important.
13	Gäbrä Igziabher Čäkole (<i>Khomos</i>)	M	72	Dima	08/06/21	He is a religious man. He has a good understanding about Italian rule, peasant uprising in the district and the traditional history of the area.
14	Getanhe Biazen(<i>Ato</i>)	M	42	Yätmän	19/02/21	He is young and very active youth who exercise irrigation around Muga river and

						participate in planting different plant species.
15	Gwanča Däbase (Ato)	M	59	Lämçän	27/03/21	He is a farmer and highly knowledgeable about the economic history of his area.
16	Häbäsa Abäbä (Wäyzäro)	F	77	Biçäna	16/02/21	She has very crucial information about ancient and modern history of the district.
17	Häbtamu Lakaçäw (Ato)	M	73	Dima	21/02/22	He was official during the <i>Därg</i> regime and knowledgeable about the health condition of the area.
18	Habtie Biazen (Märgeta)	M	60	Hiberät Amba	24/09/21	Head of the church in Hiberät Amba and he has general historical knowledge about the study area.
19	Hassen Ahmed (Ato)	M	70	Wera	17/11/21	He served in government posts after 1974. He has a detailed historical knowledge of the Muslims of the district.
20	Hussien Ali (Ato)	M	67	Säkälla	23/11/21	He is a farmer and has detailed knowledge about political, social and economic history of the study area.
21	Ismail Abäbaw (Ato)	M	61	Däjjan	11/04/21	He was one of the Muslim settlers came from Biçäna and settled in Däjjan. He served as government militiamen in the early years of the <i>Därg</i> and excellently narrates the reforms of the <i>Därg</i> regime.
22	Käbbädä Tägodan	M	91	Assendabo	18/11/21	He knew more about the socio-economic and political developments of the district.

	(Mägabi Hamsa Aleqa)					
23	Läwoy Bayu (Näçe Läbas)	M	80	Lämeçän	06/04/21	He was local militia during the Imperial regime. He has general knowledge about the history of the district and, he also excellently narrates the socio-economic conditions of the district.
24	Lemähe Akalu (Näçe Läbas)	M	86	Järämse	08/06/21	He was local militia in Enämay <i>Wäräda</i> during Haile Selassie's regime and He excellently narrates about the peasants revolt and the <i>Därg</i> administration
25	Mäsärät Bayable (Märgeta)	M	56	Käšam	15/12/21	He is religious man and he has good Knowledge about the ancient and modern history of the area.
26	Mäsobiaw Asräse	M	81	Kuy	24/02/22	He has good information on the <i>Därg</i> administration of the area.
27	Mulu Yitayew (Ato)	M	62	Assendabo	17/01/22	He is a merchant and he has a good memory about the reforms of <i>Därg</i> in the area.
28	Näbärä Ascäle	M	95	Enäkärkär	23/03/21	He was <i>Gult</i> owner of Yäkäbabat Qäbälle during the imperial period. He gives valuable information about political, administrative and socio-economic conditions of the district since the ancient time.
29	Ngusē Zägäyā (M	82	Däberä	26/11/21	He was born in Biçäna and lives in Däberä

	<i>Resä Däber)</i>			Wärke		Wärke. During the last years of the imperial period he wa agovernor of Shabel Berenta <i>Wäräda</i> and he has significant information about the district.
30	Säma Fäntie (<i>Abba</i>)	M	88	Dibesa	14/04/21	He has a good knowledge about peasant revolt, patriotic resistance, administrative and traditional history of the study area.
31	Selenat Mängistu (<i>Emahoy</i>)	F	82	Yäkäbähä na	26/11/21	She is a nun and excellently narrates about the traditional and modern history of the area.
32	Sewagen Andargie (<i>Ato</i>)	M	48	Arajo	06/04/21	He is a farmer who was born in Järämse. He clearly outlines about irrigation and agricultural development of the area.
33	Sewmamen Käbäde(<i>Ato</i>)	M	53	Jänge	05/06/21	He was a farmer. He has a good knowledge on the economic and administrative history of the Enämay.
34	Täfära Andualem (<i>Ato</i>)	M	60	Kuy	24/03/21	He is a teacher having more than 32 years experience and still working, has a deep Knowledge about educational reforms of the <i>Därg</i> regime.
35	Täddässä Lemänhe (<i>Ato</i>)	M	67	Järämse	08/08/21	Has a good knowledge on patriotic resistance, peasant revolt and the reforms of the <i>Därg</i> regime.
36	Täjie Mazängia	F	69	Yälma	30/07/21	Her oral information about the general knowledge of the district is very significant.

37	Täšomä Tamre	M	51	Jänje	03/10/21	He exercised both livestock and crop production in the course of Aragadife and Muga river and he has detail information about agricultural history of the district.
38	Tariku Dägnäh (Abba)	M	76	Yädagwat	10/02/21	He has good information about the <i>Därg</i> government of the district.
39	Tanaw Dämäkä (Ato)	M	45	Bičäna	21/01/22	He is private health officer and has a good knowledge about the health condition of the district.
40	Tibäbu Awäkä (Ato)	M	45	Mängisto	08/10/21	He is a farmer and excellently narrates about the economic history of his area
41	Wälälaw Getnet (Märgeta)	M	59	Käšame	27/03/21	A Religious man with a general knowledge about the history of the study area.
42	Walelign Aschale (Ato)	M	52	Kuy	24/ 03/21	He is a teacher having more than 26 years experience and still working, has a general Knowledge about the history of Bičäna Awraja.
43	Walie Ayälä(Ato)	M	66	Yälemate	17/07/21	He is a farmer and he has a good knowledge about the history of the study area.
44	Yitayew Almaw(Ato)	M	64	Mängisto	08/10/21	He is an interesting informant concerning the <i>Därg</i> period of the district.
45	Zäru Wasyihun (Ato)	M	58	Arajo	06/04/21	His oral information about the infrastructural development of the district is very important.

Declaration

I, the undersigned declare that the thesis is my own work, has not been presented for a degree in any other University and that all the sources for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Signature _____ Date _____