



JIMMA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

A HISTORY OF BASO-LIBÄN WÄRÄDA: EAST GOJJAM (1941-1991)

BY
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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF
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Preface

The present thesis focuses on reconstructing the history of Baso-Libän *wäräda* from 1941 to 1991. It has been conducted consulting both primary and secondary sources. The thesis has four chapters. The first chapter deals with the geographical and historical background of Baso-Libän *wäräda*. In this chapter, the geographical features and the early history of the *wäräda* are clearly described and analyzed. The exposition and treatment of these issues are presented so that the study could have a background on which it could be possible to judge the historical developments of the *wäräda* from the period before 1941.

Chapter two is devoted to the analysis of agriculture and land tenure system in the *wäräda*. It clearly discusses the land tenure, security and administration system of the *warada*. It mainly focuses on analyzing the land holding system which was apparent in the *wäräda* since the period of liberation to the coming to power of military junta. Most importantly, this chapter attempts to analyze the security and administration problems with in the province in general and Baso-Libän *wäräda* in particular in the post liberation period.

Chapter three is concerned with explaining and analyzing the major changes that the *wäräda* experienced after the revolution. The chapter attempts to elaborate the historical development of the *Därg* programs such as land reform, peasants associations, Service Cooperatives, and Villagization. It clearly describes the role of peasant associations in every activity of the communities; the agricultural producers' and service cooperatives, villagization programs and the responses of the society in the district understudy. The last chapter deals with a general analysis of the socio-economic history of Baso-Libän *wäräda* in the period under discussion. It particularly focuses on treating the impact of some socio economic developments on the people of the area under study.

In writing this thesis, I had encountered several problems. The major problem that I had encountered was finding and accessing the necessary archival materials. After getting approval of my proposal, I went to the *wäräda* administration bureau to get the permission to look into archival materials for the period between 1941 and 1991. Nevertheless, I was informed that there were- no archival materials in the *wäräda* as they were burned down following the overthrow of the *Därg* regime. I was, however, advised to go to- Däbrä Marqos, which was the capital of Gojjam province during the period under study.

I went to Däbrä Marqos University Archival Center and was able to find some archives. However, many of the archives were not catalogued well and not easy to access them. Hence, I tried a lot to fill the gap created in accessing archival materials for these two periods relying on oral sources and literature. In addition, I visited the National Archive Centre and Library Agency. In the National Archive materials related to land proclamation and peasant associations were found. These materials together with other sources were thus used in reconstructing the history of Baso-Libän *wäräda* from post liberation period, 1941 to the downfall of military regime, 1991.

Finally, this thesis does not claim to be comprehensive and complete concerning the overall aspect of the period and the specified *wäräda*, rather it will serve as a stand for further investigation.

Abstract

The present study presents the history of Baso-Libän wäräda from 1941 to 1991. It starts its historical analysis of the wäräda by revealing different developments that Baso-Libän had experienced before the Italian occupation in the background. The restoration of the imperial rule and the changes the restored imperial administration had introduced especially in relation to administration and land relations and the subsequent reactions of the peasants of the wäräda against the introduced changes are the main themes of analysis for the period between 1944 and 1974. Moreover, the study assesses the security issues in the wäräda in the period under discussion.

The coming to power of the Därg and its rural policies such as Development through cooperation campaign, the land reform, peasant associations and villagization programs were assessed from the experience of the waräda population. The study also tried to notice developments that the wäräda had experienced during the Därg regime. The new regime's attempt to place its power on a better footing by introducing several measures at a national level had its own negative effects and its challenges, and positive effects in the socio-economic and political lives of the peoples of the wäräda and they are the major areas of emphasis for the study. Finally, this study tries to show the socio-economic developments in the wäräda and concludes that during the imperial and the Därg regime the wäräda was inadequately provided with basic socio-economic facilities.

Acronyms

AAU	Addis Ababa University
AMC	Agricultural Marketing Corporation
BA	Bachelor of Art
DMUAC	Dabra Markos University Archival Center
CDP	Cooperative Development Program
CSA	Central Statistics Agency
E.C.	Ethiopian Calendar
EPRP	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Party
HSIU	Haile Selasse I University
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
MA	Master of Art
NALA	National Archive and Library Agency
PCs	Producers cooperatives
PAMC	Provisional Administrative Military Council
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
QPAs	<i>Qäbälé</i> Peasant Associations
SCs	Service Cooperatives

Key to the Transliteration System

I. The seven sounds of the Ethiopian alphabets are represented as follows:

- 1st ጠ=Bä
- 2nd ጡ=Bu
- 3rd ጢ=Bi
- 4th ጣ=Ba
- 5th ጤ=Bé
- 6th ጥ=Be
- 7th ጦ=Bo

II. Palatalized sounds are represented as follows:

- ሽ=Šä
- ቸ=Čä
- ኸ= Ñä
- ጀ=Jä

II Glottalized Sounds are represented as follows:

- ጠ=Ṭä
- ቀ=Qä
- ጬ=Çä

III. Germination sounds should always be indicated by doubling:

- ገሰሰ=Gäsässä
- ታደሠ=Tädässä
- ከበደ=Käbbäda

CHAPTER ONE

Geographical Setting and Historical Background of Baso-Libän *Wäräda*

1.1. Geographical Setting

Providing clear and sufficient information regarding the geographical background of places and events is critical in writing historical research. Thus, it is imperative to provide readers of my thesis an overview of the geographical and historical background of the area under study.

There is no common understanding among historians and other writers concerning the territorial limit and boundaries of the then Gojjam. During the medieval period, the territory of Gojjam was considered to be the area almost enclosed by the Blue Nile River, which is the broad geographical sweep stretching from Lake Tana in the north to the great eastern and southeastern bends of the same river¹. From the seventeenth through to the twentieth century, however, the name Gojjam came to refer to the much restricted geographical area within the Blue Nile bend inhabited by the Amhara and Agaw peoples². Between these periods, Agaw Medir, which was considered as the neighbor of Gojjam in the west direction, gradually became absorbed by Gojjam itself. In this regard, Mockler, noted the incorporation of the Agaw as "...the Abyssinians considerably advanced their frontier towards the West, effacing what was left of the independent regions."³

¹ Habtamu Mängsté, "Lord, Zega and Peasant in Eastern Gjjam, 1767-1901", (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History, 2003), p.1; Abdusamäd H. Ahmääd, "Trade and Politics in Gojjam, 1882-1935 ", (M.A.Thesis, (Addis Ababa University,History,1980),p.1.

² Gabru Tarake, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest, Peasant Protest in the Twentieth Century*, (Lawrenceville: The Red Sea Press ,1996), p.163; Alula Yohannes, "A History of Dämbäça *Wäräda* to 1991", (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History,2011),p.1.

³Anthony Mockler, *Haile Selssie's War : The Italian-Ethiopian Campaign,1935- 1941*, (New York: Olive Branch, 2003), p. 111.

On the other hand, various sources depict that in the history of Ethiopia, the name “Gojjam” referred to different geographical areas at different times. Most of the historical writings consulted for the study attest that references on the region were made as “Gojjam proper” and “Damot”⁴. Before the middle of the 19th century, most of the history of Gojjam was characterized by regional power struggle for political supremacy among the descendents of *Ras Hailu* (r.1775-1795).⁵ It was during this time that the geographical area that is historically known as Gojjam began to be referred to as Gojjam proper and Damot. ⁶ Gojjam proper referred to Eastern parts of Gojjam consisting of the districts around contemporary Bičana, Mota, and Dabra Marqos that extend to the Blue Nile. Damot referred to Western parts of Gojjam, which had two sub-districts, Daga Damot, and Qola Damot. ⁷

Basso-Libän, a triangular shaped district and a combination of two parts Basso and Libän which are separated by Yäda River is located in Northern Western part of Ethiopia, Amhara National Regional State, East Gojjam zone. It is found 326 Kilometers far from Addis Ababa and 27 Kilometers from the zonal capital, Däbrä Markos to southward direction. The *Wäräda* is bounded by Abay River in the south, which separates the region from Oromia National Regional State, Anädäd *Wäräda* in the North East and Gozamen *Wäräda* in the North West. The Čämwaga River defines part of its western border.⁸

Based on figures published by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia in 2007, the territorial extension of Baso-Libä *wäräda* was estimated to be 118.56 square kilometers.⁹ It has a total population of 138,332 of whom 68,034 are men and 70,298 women. The majority of the people

⁴ Habtamu, p.1; Ewunätu Tegegne, “A History of Debre Marqos Town, 1941-1991,” (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2006), pp.1-3 ; Abdusamad H.Ahmad, “Gojjam: Trade, Early Merchant Capital and the World Economy, 1901-1935 ”, (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1986), p.67 ; Näbeyu Eyasu, “The Administrative History of Gojjam, 1941-1974,” (M.A.Thesis, , Addis AbabaUniversity, Department of History, 2004),pp.12-14.

⁵ Informants; AyäläAbatnäh , Käbbädä Tämäsegän an d Misganaw Tamiru.

⁶ Alula,p.1.

⁷ Abdusamad, 1986, pp. 64- 65.

⁸ *Yä Baso-Libä Wäräda Mastawäqiya Şefät Bét Amätawi Report*, 2008, pp.1-3.

⁹ Central Statistical Authority, “The 2007 Housing and Population Census Report (here after C.S.A) Report of Gojjam Province”, 2007, pp.80-167.

live in rural areas with only 4.65% urban inhabitants. 99.09% of inhabitants of the *wäräda* followed Christianity and the remaining are Islamic followers.¹⁰

The altitude of the *wäräda* ranges from 1500-2500 meters above sea level. It is located on latitude and longitude of 10°090'N 37°45'E coordinates and 10°090'N 37°45'E respectively¹¹. In terms of climate, it has three agro-climatic zones: *Däga* (cold or high altitude), *Wäyna-däga* (temperate or moderate altitude) and *Qolla* (hot areas or lowlands). *Däga*, *Wäyna-däga* and *Qolla* zones account for 9 %, 70% and 21% of the total area of the *wäräda* respectively. In terms of settlement, the majority of the people almost 73 % of the totala population live in followed by 20 % in *Qolla* and only 7% in *Däga* zones.¹² The existence of various ecological zones in the *warada* gave opportunities to grow different crop types and rear different livestock types. The average temperapture of the *wäräda* varies between 15 and 26⁰C. There are two important seasons; the rainy and dry seasons. The rainy season begins in June and end in the very beginning of September. The dry season begins in the middle September and ends in May. However there is little rainfall during the dry season particularly April and May. The fertile black soils of the area produce *téff*, wheat and maize.¹³

Vegetables like Potato, Tomato, Carrot, Cabbage onion and beet root are also widely grown in the *wäräda*. Sugar cane, hops, mango (*Mangifera indica*), papaya (*Carica papaya*) and banana constitute the important ones grown in the *wäräda*.¹⁴ The region is renowned with different types of plants. Indigenous tree species in the *wäräda* include *Wanza* (*Cordia africana*), *Korč* (*Erythrina bruci*), *Besana* (*Crotonmacrostachys*), *Yäfärenji Şed* (*Cupressus lusitanica*), *yä häbäša Şed* (*Juniperus procera*), *Säsa* (*Albiziagummifera*), *Berbera* (*Millettia ferruginea*), *Zegeba* (*Podocarpus falcates*), *Şola* (*Ficus sure*), *Warka* (*Ficus vasta*), and *Qäy Baher Zaf* (*Eucalyptus camaldulesis*).¹⁵

¹⁰ CSA, 2007, p.62.

¹¹ Makidelawit Ayal, “Determinants of Adoption of *Téff* Row Planting Practice: The Case of Baso-Libän , *Wäräda*, East Gojjam Zone, Amhara Region, Ethiopia”, (MA Thesis, Arbaminch University, Rural Development and Agricultural Extension , 2018),p.15.

¹² *Yä Baso-Libän wäräda Gebrena enna Gäär Lemat Şefät Bét*, Folder No. *፪/፳፱/02*, File No. *፪/፬1*, “*Atäqalay Märäjawäče*”, 2011, pp.1-38;

¹³ Agricultural Report of Baso-Libän *wäräda*, 2017, pp.14-15.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.16-17.

In terms of economy, agriculture has been the major activity of the people of Baso-Libän *wäräda*. The people of the *wäräda* have been practiced mixed farming. Most of the people are herders and farmers. Besides, trade is one of the most important economic activities that play a crucial role for generating income for the *wäräda* for so long in history. The different crops and animal products from the *wäräda* are usually sold at local markets. Most peasant produce is consumed at home and the surplus products of the area are usually sold to markets. The types of soils in Baso-Libän *wäräda* are suitable for growing crops and various vegetations. The major soil types found in the *wäräda* are Humic Nitosols, Eutric Cambisols and Eutric Vertisols. Humic nitosols cover 68% of the land of the *wäräda* while Cambisols and Vertisols account for 22% and 10% of the *wäräda*'s land coverage.¹⁶

The total territorial coverage of Baso-Libän *wäräda* as a whole is made up of twenty four *qäbäles*. From this territorial coverage, twenty two rural *qäbäles* and two urban *qäbäles* are found. According to the information obtained from the communication office of the *wäräda*, the rural *qäbäle* in Baso-Libän are: Mečeg, Dändägäb, Yädug, Yänseča, Yälämäläm, Yägäläw, Dän, Anjem, Däjät, Gobätma, Komie Zämie, Dogäm, Denguam, Dändö, Gundelemit, Zämbol Yäčara, Enätämän, Denjem, Yälamegäj, Kork, Aratu Amba, Çid Mariam, Yäjubie and Lemečam. Among these Kork and Yälamegäj are categorized as small towns in the *wäräda* and both of them are found in the hills of Libän and Baso respectively before reaching the Abay River.¹⁷

Baso-Libän *wäräda* is found in the Abay River basin. It is bordered by the Abay River on its southern edge. It has a number of seasonal and perennial rivers and springs. The main perennial rivers are Çämoga (62 kilometers long), Yäda (45kms long), and Säns (30Kms long). Çämoga, one of the longest river, rises from hill in Çoqé, East Gojjam Senan *wäräda*, and drains to the south across Gozamen *wäräda* then to Baso-Libän *wäräda* territories via Denguam *qäbäle* and joins the Abay River. Yäda rises from the plains of Anädäd *wäräda* and drains south ward separating Baso and Libän and discharges its water to Çämoga which is a tributary of Abay River. Säns is the only perennial river to have its origin from Baso-Libän *wäräda* and drains to Çämoga River. Besides these there are many small seasonal streams in Baso-Libän *wäräda*.

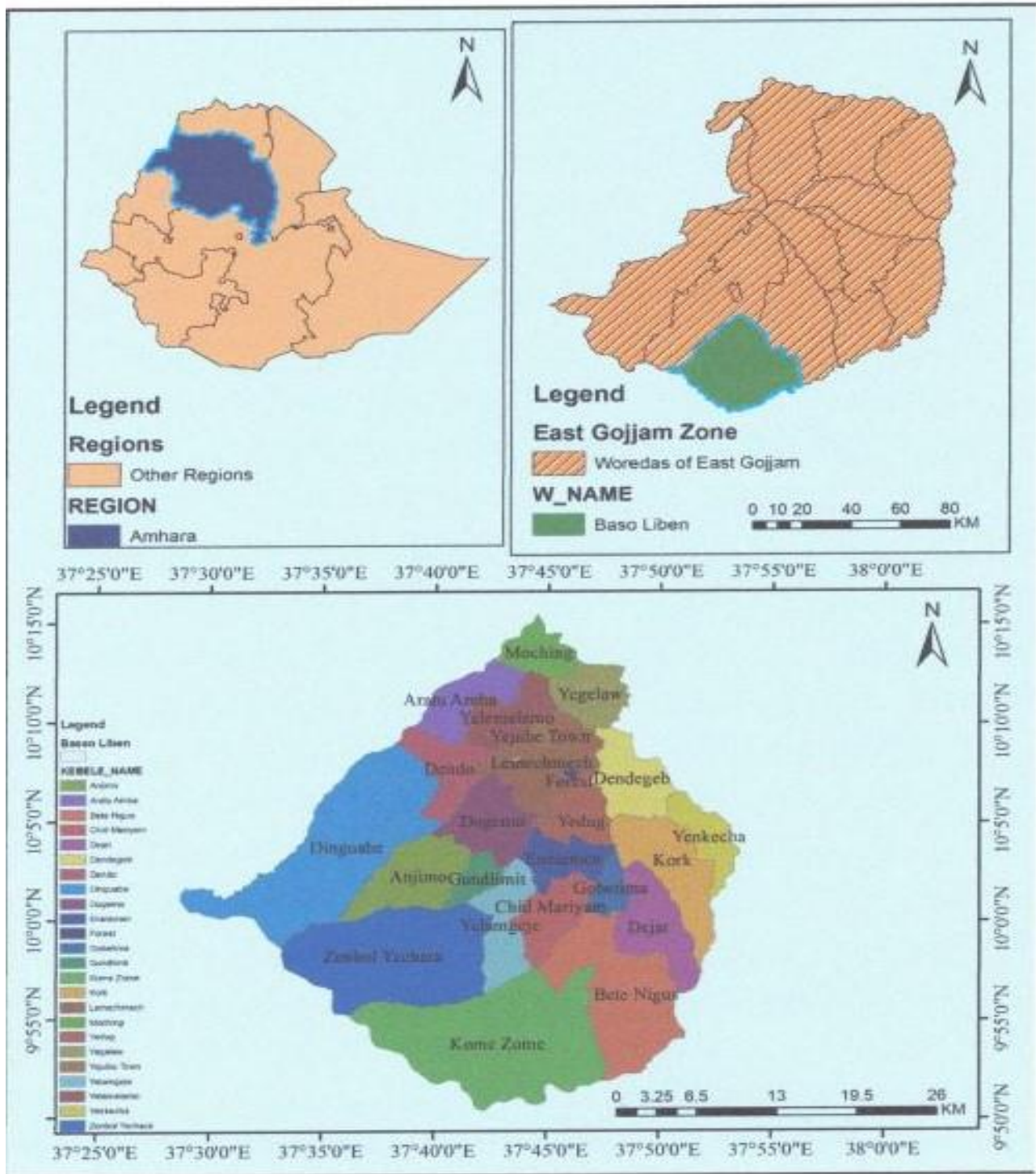
¹⁶ Baso-Libän *wäräda* Agricultural Office Report, 2002, p.5.

¹⁷ *Amhara Livelihood Report on Baso-Libän Wäradä, East Gojjam Administrative Zone*, (Däbrä Markos, 2005), pp.2-3.

Among others, Géte is one of the seasonal streams which discharge its water to Yäda River. Mar is another seasonal stream which is found in the *wäräda*'s seat Yäjubie and drains to Yäda River. Arbo Abis is the only seasonal stream of Baso-Libän *wäräda* which drains southward via Yänesča, Gedeb Ameba, *Burqa Zero*, *Dire Nägaya* to Abay river. As the *wäräda* separates with the Gudru and Cheliya *wärädas* of Oromia Region by Abay River, several fords have been used from time immemorial to cross the river from Baso-Libän. The most important and widely used fords are the *Balanti*, *Malka*, *Malka Kuki*, *Malka Fursi* and *Malka Yekatel*.¹⁸

¹⁸ R. E. Cheesman, "The Upper Waters of the Blue Nile", *Geographical Journal*, Vol.71, 1928, pp.358-374.

Map.1. Map of the Study Area



Source: GIS officer, East Gojjam Zone Finance and Development Office. 1997.

1.2. Historical Background

In the history of Ethiopia in general and Gojjam in particular, ancient writers and the society tended to use the Bible as a textbook reference to write the origin and identity of different groups of people. To this end, most of the writers associated the origin of the people of Gojjam with the biblical statement of “...after the flood all the nations of the earth ascended from Noah.”¹⁹ Based on this, the original settlers in Ethiopia descended from among the children of Noah who were dispersed to different parts of the world. The tradition takes that *Iteyop* was the forerunner to the land of Ethiopia.²⁰

According to this tradition, the name Gojjam, where the major area of emphasis for the study is found in, is therefore, directly associated with Gozi, one of the direct descendants of the fore settlers of the Noah children in the area. Sources like *kebrä nägäst* and the chronicle of Aläqa Täklä Iyäsus clearly demonstrates that Gozi was the founding father and the earliest settler in the place what we call currently Gojjam.²¹ The tradition argues that the term Gozi gradually evolved into Gojjam. The twenty-third generation and its settlement pattern and group identities have become the area of emphasis among scholars who dwell on the tradition to expose the early history of Gojjam. The tradition further extrapolates that the descendents of Gozi, namely, Mälälo, Sälälo, Däräbé and Särbäé were said to have ascended the heights of the Çoqé Mountain and through surveying divided the resourceful areas of the region. Mälälo and Sälälo were assigned to settle between the Çay River, the present Biçena and along the Abay River. The rest were assigned to occupy the area to the East, Southwest of the Çocé and the area between the Çay River in the east and Zingni in the Southwest.²²

The original settlers of Baso-Libän are not specifically mentioned in this tradition. However, the study attempts to scrutinize historical and geographical evidences so as to provide some points

¹⁹ Informants: Dässié Berhäné and Ayälä.

²⁰ Tekle-Iyassus (*Aläqa*), “Yä Gojjam Tewled Kä Abay Eskä Abay”, IES, Ms., No. 254;p.61.

²¹ Informants: Dässié and Ayälä; Alula , 2011,p.54.

²²Taddesse Tamrat, “Ethiopia in Miniature: The Peopling of Gojjam,” *Papers of the 12th International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol.1, (Michigan State University, 1994), pp.951-960; Tayä Gäbrä-Maryam (*aläqa*), *Yä Ityopiya Hezb Tarik*, (Addis Abäba: Central *Matämiya Bét*, 1984), p.61; Informants: Alämu kädäda, Tariku Almwaw and Misganaw Alälegn .

about the original settlers of the area under study to readers. According to *Aläqa Täklä Iyäsus*, the chronicler of Täklä Haymanot, the children of Mälälo settled in the areas of Bibuñ, Gedeb Seltanaile, Bäkaka, Sarmeder Gonča and Enäbsé.²³ To *Aläqa Täklä Iyäsus*, it looks, the descendants of Mälälo had settled in some parts of eastern Gojjam. On the other hand, their counterparts, Sälälo, predominantly occupied Aräfa, Qoläla, Yelmana Dénsa, Zäga and Ačäfar.²⁴ These areas are found in the current administrative units of northwestern and northeastern Gojjam.

Däräbé and Särbäé were the most important personalities who were supposed to have first settled in Gojjam. As noted in the chronicle of *Aläqa Täklä Iyäsus*, the children of Däräbé were said to have settled in the Gozamen, Anädäd, Ṭelatgen, Awäbäl and Wudmit areas, which are found in the East Gojjam administrative zone and most of these places borders Baso-Libän.²⁵ The tradition further shows these places names were the names of the children of the founding father, Däräbé.²⁶ The other name that the tradition often makes reference regarding the origin of the people of the area under study is Särbäé. Särbäé is depicted as to have bigoted three children: Sähnan, Mačakäl and Säbräden. These children occupied and settled in the land found between the rivers Gädäb and Zängni. Mačakäl occupied the territory between Gädäb and Tämča rivers while the area found along Fätam River became the domain of Sähnan. Säbräden took the territory found between Fätam and Zängni rivers.

In fact, these sources are inadequate to draw a rather whole picture of the issue raised, but it seems logical to make a link between the descendants of Däräbé with the early settlers of the area under discussion. This is because; there is no clear cut information about the early settlers of the area except mentioning the nearby places of Anädäd and Awäbäl as the early territories of Däräbé. Using the above investigation as a standing point, one can consider the early settlers of Baso-Libän as the direct descendants of Däräbé for the territories of Däräbé comprised places which are parts of Baso-Libän since history.

²³ Taddesse, 1994, pp.951- 95; Alemneh Melese, “A Historical Survey of the Agaws of Gojjam to 1941,” (M.A. Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History, 2004), pp.9-22.

²⁴ Taddesse, 1994, p.955.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

On the other hand, there are many historical explanations about the existence of the Agäw people as the indigenous settler of the Gojjam. Proponents of this thesis argued that the history of Ethiopia from the Axumite period to the first quarter of the sixteenth century may be said to have been marked by the southward expansion of the state. Following the transfer of power from the Zagwé to the Solomonic dynasty, this process of expansion was further speeded up and the incorporation of Gojjam into the Christian Kingdom was part of this general process.²⁷

According to sources, in the beginning of the sixth century A.D, the Agäw people inhabited the area south of the Tākāzé River, which apparently includes East Gojjam where the area under discussion is found.²⁸ In the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, the predominant population groups of East Gojjam were the Agäw.²⁹ Oral traditions in different parts of the region indicate that the Agäw preceded the Amhara in settling the area. Place names such as Agäw *Badema* (Agäw Ruin), Agäw *Märét* (Agäw Land), Agäw *Bärät* (Agäw Barn), Agäw *Genb* (Agäw Wall), Agäw *Meneç* (Agäw Spring), Agäw *Amba* (Agäw Hill) found in different parts of the region as far east as Enäbsé and Enäsé and as far west as Mačakäl apparently show that there was a strong Agäw presence in East Gojjam.³⁰

The trend of Amhara expansion and settlement in Gojjam was from the east to the west. Within this general framework, there seem to have taken place two different settlement processes, which can be identified when one analyzes the oral traditions of the present inhabitants of the region and the traditions about the establishment of churches in the region. The first and most important process of settlement was the one, which probably involved violent conflicts between the Agäw inhabitants of the area and the Amhara new comers. In view of the east-west trend of Amhara expansion and settlement, the very eastern parts of the region: Enäbsé, Enäsé, Sar Meder, Gonča,

²⁷ Tadesse Tamrat, “The Horn of Africa: The Solomonids in Ethiopia and the States of the Horn of Africa”, *General History of Africa: Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*, Vol. IV (Heinemann: UNESCO, 1984), pp.349-340; Abäbaw Ayaléw, “A History of Painting in East Gojjam in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century: A Study of the ‘Second Gondärine’ Style of Painting”, (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History, 2002),p.3.

²⁸ Tadesse Tamrat, “The Process of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History, the Case of the Agaw”, *Journal of African History*, Vol. 29, No.1, 1988, p.9; Tadesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1527*, (London: Clarendon Press, 1972), p.65.

²⁹Tadesse, 1988, p.27; Abebaw, p.4.

³⁰ Habtamu, pp. 1-2; Abebaw, p.5.

Enarj Enawga, Šäbäl, Bäränta and Enämay, were the first districts affected by this process.³¹ The Amhara who first settled in these areas from the provinces of Amhara and Šäwa seem to have increased their number, gradually expanding to the western districts of the region: Awäbäl, Däbay Ṭelatgen, Anädäd, Gozamen, Mačakäl, Senan, and Moṭa.³² The proverbs of the people of the region stipulate this development. For instance,

አገፌ ሲነቀል ጩዋ ሲተክል
*When the Agäw were expropriated,
 The Çäwa were given land permanently.*
 አገፌ ሲሰደድ አማራ ሲለምድ
*When the Agäw migrated,
 Amhara settled down' indicates the same development.*³³

However, these sources are far from being complete to show exactly the overall settlement pattern of these people, specifically in Baso-Libän *wäräda*. As a result, the exact period when penetration of these people into the area started has become a source of scholarly debate. It is thus equally impossible to tell when the descendants of Noah and the people of Agäw had settled in Gojjam in general and in Baso-Libän *wäräda* particular. .

Many writers and scholars yet failed to justify the early inhabitants of Baso- Libän *wäräda* in a clear manner. There is no clear cut information by which the history of Baso- Libän *wäräda* is narrated. As mentioned earlier, some writers related its peopling with the Däräbé origin. However, according to many literatures, the territories of Däräbé are limited to Gozamen, Anädäd, Ṭelatgen, Awäbäl and Wudmit areas. Literatures did not mention Baso- Libän *wäräda* though it borders Anädäd and Awäbäl as territories of Däräbé. Thus, it creates a knowledge gap whenever we are dealing with the peopling of the area under discussion. But, informants believed that it is not that much imperative to mention Baso- Libän as Anädäd comprises many villages which are now under Baso- Libän.³⁴

³¹ Abäbaw, p.6.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*; Informants: Mihrätu Zägäyā, Ayalnäsh Dämelé and Andargé Adamu. *Çäwa* is a word referring the Amhara in the sociatial structure.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

In the sixteenth century, however, another historical event took place, which added another element on the genealogical inquiry of the region under discussion. This was directly associated with the movement of the Oromo people. According to oral traditions, the nomenclature of Baso- Libän comes from two *Afan Oromo* words, Baso and Libän. Baso (*basi*) means drive away (አስወጣ) and Libän means bamboo (ቀረቀሀ).³⁵ When the Oromo came to the area in the nineteenth century, the area was covered by bamboo. Then the Oromo began to drive away the people from the bamboo covered surroundings. To this end, they call the area as Baso- Libän. However, this tradition is not enough to conclude the nomenclature of the Baso- Libän like this due to the absence of genuine evidences.

Far from this tradition, the work of Mohammäd Hässän may necessary give emphasis on the nomenclature of the *wäräda* by relating Baso and Libän as two groups of Oromo. He mentioned that Iyasu I got the opportunity to launch his anti-Oromo campaign when the Libän from Bizamo crossed the Abay and attacked Gojjam in 1683.³⁶ Angered by the incorporation of the southern parts of Gojjam where Baso- Libän located, Iyasu I left Gondar and marched towards Gojjam. His sudden and unexpected arrival with many soldiers puts pressure and frustration on the Libän groups of Oromo and later they were forced to abandon everything and fled across Abay to their country.³⁷

Iyasu I and his Christian army made two more expeditions against the Oromo in 1702 and 1704. The first campaign was directed against the Gudru Oromo confederation in Bizamo. At this time the Gudru were involved in conflict with brethren the Baso Oromo. Taking advantage of the conflict between the two groups, Iyasu I and his troops sided with the weaker Baso group. As a result, the Gudru were bitterly attacked by Iyasu's soldiers and Baso warriors. The Gudru retreated south ward and reorganized their soldiers in brave. After some periods, the Gudru stiffly opened counter attack on Iyasu's soldiers and forced him to return to Gojjam. The withdrawal of Iyasu's soldiers after the disastrous defeat frustrated the Baso for the possible Gudru revenge. The Baso asked Iyasu to rescue them. Iyasu ordered them to go together and

³⁵ *Ibid.*; Misganaw Hailé, Dässié Walä and Hässän Dawid.

³⁶ Mohammed Hassen, *The Oromo and the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia 1300-1700*, (Available on <http://hdl.handle.net/123456789/7439>, retrieved on 12 June 2021), 2015,p.326.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p.327.

settled in Gojjam. Gradually, like several other Oromo groups who were resettled in Gojjam, the Baso were converted to Christianity and integrated to the Christian Amhara society.³⁸

When Iyasu returned to Gojjam, he began serious deliberation with the famous Christianized Oromo man called Tullu, who was earlier given the title of *Däjjazmač* and appointed as the governor of the region of Damot in Gojjam. Impressed by the quality of *Däjjazmač* Tullu, Emperor Iyasu I gave in marriage his own favorite daughter *Wälätä sellasié* to Tullu.³⁹ The marriage alliance demonstrates the rise of the Christianized Oromo elite in the Christian kingdom. Iyasu's second expedition was against the Meccha Oromo. He consulted his plan and aims about his expedition against the Meccha to *Däjjazmač* Tullu and other Oromo groups like *Baso*, *Libän*, the *Qala Ganda*, and the *Yahabata*. During this period, the Meccha of Bizamo were organized and ruled by the famous *Aba Gäda*, Dilamo. When Iyasu reached at the Meccha territory by crossing the Abay River, the Meccha organized under their leadership of Dilamo and fought a decisive war against Iyasu's troops. After a week of series clash, the *Meccha* was defeated and fled towards the Gibe region. Their leader, Dilamo, was captured and castrated by *Zämubaṭé* from the Baso clan.⁴⁰ This historical evident divides the Baso from their brethren, the *Meccha* Oromo, and after the campaign of Iyasu, the Baso continued to settle in Gojjam and accepted Christianity there by becoming part of the mainstream Amhara society.⁴¹

Charles T.Beke, an English traveler who travelled through this area in 1842, states that a group of Oromos had settled in this part of Gojjam, by the name of their tribe which later became the name of the district.⁴² He investigates the relationships of the Oromo of Bizamo with the neighboring Gojjamié. Beke perpetuates that the tribes of Gudru and Jimma on account of their connection with the market of Baso, they had preserved good relations with the neighboring Gojjamié. However, the friendship of Meccha tribes of Kuttai and Libän was doubtful and full of rivalry and conspiracy.⁴³

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.* p.332.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p.333.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Charles.T. Beke, " Abyssinia :Being a Continuation of Routs in that Country", *Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, (London, Vol.14, 1844),p.25.

⁴³ Charles.T. Beke, "On the Countries South of Abyssinia", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol.13,1843,p.257.

According to Beke, the Oromo inhabited in the bends of Abay River near mount Zämié, an *amba* of lower elevation than Komié. At this place, market had been held frequently by the Gudru and Kuttai Oromo.⁴⁴ Beke further notified that the Kuttai Oromo were involved in attacking and plundering the weekly merchants passing from Yäjubié to Gudru.⁴⁵ In his travel across Gojjam, Beke visited Libän and Kamboat, both of which like Baso and Jawi, derive their names from the Oromo tribes settled there. After visiting Libän, Beke, marched to Enäbi near the province of Däräbié.⁴⁶ He did not relate the inhabitants of Libän either to from Däräbié or Säräbé. He rather describes the Oromo presence in the area.

Tsega Etefa described that Libän is a clan of Wäliso Oromo. According to him during the days of the Robale Luba (1570-78), two *Maccha* Oromo groups, the Calliya and Hooko, forged an alliance with the Libän and Gudru and assumed the collective name of *Afre*, literally the confederacy of four.⁴⁷ Later on, the Libän marched to Gojjam when emperor Susenyos was busy in fighting the Batantuma groups.⁴⁸ Tsega concluded that in areas such as Baso, Libän, Buré, Wänbärma and Ačäfär, inhabitants were operated actively under the Gada system. However, they were assimilated and lost their identity in the eighteenth century.⁴⁹

Muslims of Baso-Libän *wäräda* are believed to come from north of Lake Tana, probably from Gondar. Local informants perpetuate that in the times of Adam Sägäd (later Iyasu the Great, 1682-1706), a Muslim Gondarian merchant called Ali Säido came to Baso together with his fellow men's.⁵⁰ Ali Säido was amazed by the fertile soils and lands of the area. To this end, Ali Säido asked Iyasu I to give a settlement place there. Accordingly, the Emperor guaranteed land and settled at Baso with his fellow men's. Later on Ali Säido expanded and developed trade activities and formed Muslim settlement in Baso.⁵¹ On the other hand, some informants narrates

⁴⁴Beke, 1844, p.22.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* pp.22-25.

⁴⁶*Ibid.* ,p.25.

⁴⁷Tsega Etäfa, "Pan-Oromo Confederations in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *Journal of Oromo Studies*, Vol.15, No. 1, 2008, p.20.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.27-28.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p.11.

⁵⁰ Informants: Hassän , Alämu Aman and Hussén Aräru.

⁵¹*Ibid.*

that the Muslims of Baso-Libän *wäräda* particularly those who settled in Däjat, Yänasča and Kork qäbälés came from Yäwuš. The continuous persecution and oppression made by the *čäwa* residents of Yäwuš against them forced to leave their former places. Hence Muslims claim Yäwuš as *Yäwuša Hgär* (the country of bitch) in order to explain the bitter attack by the *čäwa* residents of the area.⁵²

Yäjubié is the administrative seat of the Baso-Libän *wäräda*. According to oral sources, Yäjubié's former name was *Yäjwabi*, which literally mean reference/*meseker* for the goods exchange at the market. Merchants give goods to the people without cash by taking the oaths of *Yäjwabi's*. Later on in the eighteenth century, *Yäjwabi* was renamed as Yäjubié by Queen *Wälätä Isarél*, the wife of *Däjzmač Yosédéqe*, the founder of the ruling family of Gojjam and well known warlord during the time of Iyasu II⁵³ and ruled Gojjam for some brief periods.⁵⁴

Scholars mentioned different factors for the establishment of towns. Writers like Crummey attribute the importance of the church for the establishment and growth of towns. Unfortunately, there are towns in Gojjam like, Dima, Märčula Mariam, and Däbrä Wärq which developed as a town of established churches. Other scholars, on the other hand, argued that towns are established following their strategic importance for administration. Towns of this kind have top to down structure where kings established as their centers. Accordingly, in Gojjam, administrative seats like Dämbäča, capital of *Däjzmač* Goshu and Bičäna capital of Goshu's son *Däjzmač* Birru served as market centers.⁵⁵ Dämbäča and Bičäna beyond being centers for administration, they connect trade activities of the province with the Baso and international commercial center at Mätäma, on the Ethio-Sudanese boarder and Massawa and Tajura on the Red sea.⁵⁶ Abdusamad H.Ahmed described the nature of Baso in his work stating;

“Baso, has a unique feature from the above as it is established from bottom to up as a center of mercantile activities. Baso which preceded Däbrä Markos, had the

⁵² Informants: Ibrahiem Aliyu, Misganäw and Hassän.

⁵³ Informants: Abäbä Dämelé, Misganäw and Dässié.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*; Aschale Walelign, “Trade and Market In Baso-Libän *Wäräda* of Gojjam c.1800-1991”, (MA Thesis, Bahi Dar University, History, 2016),p.14.

⁵⁵ D.Crummey, “Addis Ababa's Precursors: Towns in Christian Ethiopia in the Eighteen and Nineteen Centuries”, *Paper Presented for the Centennial of Addis Ababa*, Nov.1986,p.31; Abdusemed H.Ahmed, “Baso: The Commercial Capital of Gojjam 1841-1889”, *4th Seminar of Department of History*, Hawasa, 1987, p.2.

⁵⁶ Abdusemed, 1987,p. 2.

*characteristic and function of a town and its origins and development should be viewed as a representative of the process of urbanization in Gojjam. By the Nineteenth century, it was the center of the burgeoning trade of Gojjam”.*⁵⁷

Baso was the center of trade and commerce which facilitates both inter and intra regional trade. Most of the merchants attracted to the market of Baso were Muslims. Charles T. Beke, visiting the town of Yäjubié, one and half kilometer to the north of Baso market, in 1841 noted that, “...the great number of the inhabitants of Yäjubié are Mohammedans, but those who are Christians live promiscuously among them...”⁵⁸ According to him, merchants brought slaves, ivory, gold and spices from south west part of Ethiopia to the market of Baso.⁵⁹ Artisans of Baso, Christians and Muslims produced necessary goods for surrounding villages. For example, blacksmiths made iron hoes, valuable commodities needed by the agricultural population. The Iron comes from Gudru to the south of Abay River. Tanners produced leather materials like *Aguaza* (carpents), *Jändi* (leather used for sleeping) and *Anqälba* (leather used by women to carry their babies on their backs). Weavers produced *shema* (woven cloths). They produced on special order by individuals residing at Yäjubié and Baso.⁶⁰

On the weekly market of Baso, craftsmen display their works in their respective *mädäbs* (market seats arranged in row). Traders sold mostly *Endod* (phytolallado dencandra), *Enqoqo* (embelia schimperi), *kosso* (hagentia Abyssinia), *matäb* (thread ties around the neck), needles, mirrors and spices.⁶¹ The products and materials which are offered by the seller to the market undergo critical examination by the buyer before the latter agreed on terms. Buyers say *šet šet* (sell sell) when they thought the amount offered to the seller is enough and sellers say *giza giza* (buy buy) when they believe the amount allocated for the products and goods are proportional. Handshakes and kiss of hands were common when the buyers and sellers reached on common agreement.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p.3.

⁵⁸ Charles T. Beke, *Letters on the Commerce and Politics of Abyssinia and Other Parts of East Africa*, (London,1852), p.16.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Abdusemed, 1987,p. 5.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p, 6.

Custom officials were appointed by the Gojjam province rulers to collect taxes from the Baso market.⁶² The market was structured in stall. The existence of stall in the market center enables tax collectors to identify the type of good and the seller easily. Export commodities reaching Baso from south west Ethiopia was taxed by *Nägaderas*. The custom officials of Baso were one among the sixth most important officials with *Nägaderas* title in Ethiopia. Därita, Däbareq, Gondär, säkota and Adwa were among the most important officials with *Nägaderas* title.⁶³

Brokers of Baso facilitated the sale of slaves at Yäjubié. They received four bars of *amolé* form both buyers and sellers. Each slave was expected through brokers with critical examinations. Once the slave had been brought to the market center, buyers looked the teeth and count the number of teeth that the slave grown, check hands, legs and eyes. Male slave were ordered to walk, run and lift weights. A girl slave was examined for her beauty which includes among others nice appearance, straight nose and light colored.⁶⁴ Once slaves reached at Baso, buyers and sellers together with brokers did the following activities.

*The slaves were arranged in a line, commencing with the youngest and increasing according to their size and age. At the middle of them, the person who owns them walks guarded by his two or three domestic slaves armed with spears and swords. The owner ordered his procession to walk and pass through the market place, the owner holding forth in a kind of song, the good qualities of his slaves and the high price that they have been offered for them. The intending purchaser having ascertained there is no defect in the facilities of speech, hearing etc...that there is no diseases present , and that the slave does not snore in sleeping, next proceeds to examine the person; the mouth and the teeth first inspected and every part of the body afterwards. The slave is then made to run a little away to show that there is no defect about the feet and after this the broker mediated buyers and sellers to reach on equal terms about the price of the slave.*⁶⁵

Bahru did not escape without mentioning the importance of Baso commercial center in the Ethiopian long distance trade of the nineteenth century. According to him Baso was the transit market place for merchants who come from the southwestern part of Ethiopia to the northern

⁶² Beke,1852,pp.17-18

⁶³ Beke,1844,p.19.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ L.W.Hollingsworth, *A Short History of the East Coast of Africa*, (New York: St. Martine's Press, 1960), pp.121-122.

outlets and vice versa. It connects Bonga in kaffa, Säqqa in Jimma, Assandabo in Horo-Gudru with Darita in Bägemeder and Mätäma in the Ethio-Sudanese boarder.⁶⁶



Source: Bahru Zawde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1974*, (Addis Ababa, 1991), p.23.

In addition to Baso, Yäwuš, a small place in the north eastern part of Yäjubié, was served as a center of market. It is found in the mid-way that traders from Baso passed to Bičäna, Däbrä Wärq and Moṭa. Besides its center of trade, Yäwuš had been served as the seat of Tädla Guallu of Gojjam before the shift of seat to Mänqorär, the later Däbrä Markos.⁶⁷ Mordacchi Abir

⁶⁶Bahru Zäwdé, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1974*, (Addis Abäba: Addis Abäba University, 1991), pp.21-22; Abdusämäd H. Ahmääd, "Gojjam: Trade and Politics In Gojjam 1882-1935", (MA Thesis Addis Abäba University, History, 1980), pp.24-26.

⁶⁷ Beke, 1844, pp.17-21; Anädäd Wäradä Mastawäqia Şefät Bét, "Tintawi Yäwuš ena Däjazmač Tädla Guallu" *Bämil Res Yätägajä Mätşehét*, 2008, pp.25-26.

stipulated that in the 1800s Basso was a meeting point of the many Oromo caravans coming from all over southern Ethiopia and the larger caravans of the Muslim merchants of northern Ethiopia. Abir clearly describes that there was trade in slaves and in the 1840s the number of elephant tusks passing annually through the market of Basso was nearly 3,000.⁶⁸

However, king Menelik II's southward territorial expansion in the second half of nineteenth century was, however, affected the trade activities of Baso market vigorously. This was because following the defeat of *Negus* Täklä Haymanot of Gojjam by *Negus* Menelik II at Embabo in 1882, *Negus* Täklä Haymanot lose interest to trade with the area south of Abay where he drink bitter defeat. This historical event forced *Negus* Täklä Haymanot to look another way to connect with the center, Addis Abäba. Subsequently, Gojjam's inlet and outlet relation were shifted to Däjän. This subsequent shift made Baso to lose its importance. Besides, the outbreak of the great famine in 1889 caused major political, economic and social upheavals in the country which apparently affected trade. Later on, the construction of Abay bridge by the Italians during the occupation period had paramount consequence on the market of Baso as it totally shifted the trade and commerce of the province to Däjän. To this end, the importance of Baso had declined.

Since its incorporation to the Christian kingdom in the Fourteenth century, Gojjam was a prominent political unit in the Ethiopian State with its provincial rulers held the title of *Nägaš* up to the period of Emperor Iyasu I (r.1682-1706).⁶⁹ Because of the geographical difficulties for the Christian kings centered at Šäwa to control and administer all parts of Gojjam to the late 16th century, it was mainly the eastern part of Gojjam that seems to have been under the strict control of the medieval monarchs.⁷⁰ Later on, the shift of political center from Šäwa to the Lake Ṭana region in the late 16th century proved the incorporation of the western parts of Gojjam to the Christian high land kingdom. The medieval kings attacked western Gojjam from the direction of Lake Ṭana. During the Gondärine period, the Gondärine kings exercised more effective control over Gojjam than the kings of the medieval period. One of the indications of this effective control was the appointment of rulers of Gojjam by the ruling monarchs of the Christian kingdom ever since the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Mordacchi Abir, *Ethiopia: The Era of the Princes*, (London, 1968), p.87.

⁶⁹ Tadesse,1972, pp.190-191 ; Abäbäw, pp.8-9.

⁷⁰ Tadesse, 1988, pp.14-16.

⁷¹ Guidi,pp.68-70.

However, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, new political developments happened in Ethiopia in general the Gondärian courts in particular. In Ethiopia, during this time the powers of the monarchy were begun to decline. Such decline helped the nobility and land lords to involve in the Godärian court which was eroded with trouble and unrest. This event later culminated what is commonly known as the *Zämänä Mässafent*. The power in the center had been decline and a succession of weak kings ruled the kingdom.⁷² As a result of this, nobilities and land lords of different provinces strengthen their power and controlled large territory.

The one who used this condition as a gift was Wäldä Abib of Gojjam. In the first quarters of 18th century, he held a title of *Däjazmač* and became the governor of Gojjam.⁷³ Wäldä Abib was succeeded by his son Yosédéq. Yosédéq was appointed as governor of Gojjam in 1753 by Empress Mentewab and her son Iyasu II with the title of *Däjazmač*. *Däjazmač* Yosédéq was active in the political court at Gondär. To buy his allegiance, Empress Mentewab beyond his *Däjazmač* title gave her daughter *Wälätä* Isra'él II in marriage.⁷⁴ *Däjazmač* Yosédéq soon established the autonomous local dynasty of Gojjam which continued up to the removal of the last hereditary ruler *Ras* Hailu Täklä- Haymanot in 1932.⁷⁵

The son and successor of *Däjazmač* Yosédéq, *Ras* Hailu I (r.1757-1795), united Gojjam by controlling the whole area from Dänegäl Bär ,south of Lake Tana in the west to the bend of Abay river in the east. *Ras* Hailu I made Bičäna and Zewa as his capital. For most of his reign he made Bičäna his capital where he built a palace. Compared to his predecessors and successors he ruled Gojjam for a relatively long period of time. His reign in Gojjam was characterized by peace, stability and cultural revival. He died in June 1795 at his second capital, Zewa.⁷⁶

⁷² Abäbäw, p.10; Donald 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.

⁷³ Abäbäw,p.11.

⁷⁴ Täklä Iyäsus, pp.45-46.

⁷⁵ Ibid.p.11; Alula, p.21; Denser Nigatu “The Court System of *Ras* Hailu Täklä- Haymanot of Gojjam, 1901-1932”, (MA Thesis, Bahir Dar University,History, 2018),p.18.

⁷⁶ Denser,p.18; Abäbäw,p.11; Täklä Iyäsus, pp.48-49.

However, the periods after the death of *Ras* Hailu I had been characterized by intensive struggle and frequent conflicts among his descendants in Gojjam.⁷⁷ As a result Gojjam, which was united under *Ras* Hailu I began to be divided and administered by different nobilities. It was divided as Gojjam proper, Agäw Meder and Damot. Gojjam proper encompassed Eastern part of Gojjam consisting of the district of Bičäna, Moṭa and Däbrä Marqos. During this period Baso-Libän was a sub-district under Däbrä Marqos. Damot encompassed to western part of Gojjam and Agäw Meder comprised the areas of Agäw speaking peoples to the boarder of the Sudan.⁷⁸ Lords of the respective divisions were struggled each other for supremacy and with the Yäjju dynasty rulers during the Era of Princes.⁷⁹

Ras Hailu was succeeded by his son *Ras* Märed. He ruled Gojjam from 1795-1799. During these periods, he was strongly opposed by *Däjazmač* Zäwdé Selṭan of Damot, *ras* Hailu's vassal and son-in-law who married *Wäyzäro* Denqenäš Hailu, *ras* Märed's sister. *Ras* Märed wanted *Däjazmač* Zäwdé to be his vassal as were in the days of his father. However, *Däjazmač* Zäwdé refused his idea and continued to exercise his administration over Damot. *Däjazmač* Zäwdé was considered as the founding father of Damot ruling house and forefather of Adal Tässäma. *Däjazmač* Zäwdé was believed to have an Oromo origin and political power through his wife Denqenäš since had had no prominent family background to justify his claims and ambitions.⁸⁰

Rulers from the lines of *Ras* Märed intended to expand and control their territory as far as Damot. On the other hand, rulers of Damot who descended from *Wäyzäro* Denqenäš, *Däjazmač* Zäwdé's wife claimed to rule Gojjam. Thus, the power struggle among the descendants of *Ras* Hailu I which lasted to 1874 started.⁸¹ *Ras* Märed was optimistic for the peasantry. He ignored and prohibited the unlawful exploitation of the peasantry by the nobility and soldiers. This policy of *Ras* Märed was not satisfied the nobility who were deep involved in exploiting the peasantry. *Ras* Märed died in 1799 while fighting with *Ras* Wäldä Gäbrél of Tegré⁸². Tension grew soon

⁷⁷ Denser ,p.19.

⁷⁸ Denser ,p.19; Alula,p.20;Tämäsgän Gäbäyähü, "The Peasant Land Reform and Property Right in Ethiopia: The Experience of Gojjam Province 1974 -1997" , *Journal of African Studies and Developments*, V.5/6, 2013 ,P.145.

⁷⁹ Abäbaw,p.15.

⁸⁰ Waläliñ,p.33.

⁸¹ Abäbaw,p.12.

⁸² Täklä Iyäsus, p.52;Deneser ,p.20; Abäbaw,p.12;

after his death between the nobility and soldiers on one hand and the mass peasantry who enjoyed freedom from unlawful exploitations in the period of *Ras Märed*, and became victims of maximum exploitation following his death.⁸³

The power struggle continued through the times of *Däjač Gualu*, the Son and successor of *Ras Märed*. *Däjač Gualu* tried to take over *Däjač Zäwdé*'s territory by forming political alliance with *Yäju* lord *Ras Gugsä* and *Däjač Éleyas* of *Agäw Meder*. At the beginning of the war *Däjazmač Gualu* and his allies, defeated *Däjazmač Zäwdé* and looted his capital *Dämbäçä*. However, *Däjač Zäwdé* by reorganizing his army and striking the coalition of *Däjač Gualu* and *Däjač Éleyas*, scored victory at the battle of *Säntära* near *Däbrä Markos*.⁸⁴ Moreover, *Däjač Zäwdé* planned his soldiers to be accompanied by heard of cattle to increase their number and to create tension on his rivals. Accordingly, the soldiers of *Gualu* saw from distance and retreated. Because of his victory over *Gualu*, the people of the region enshrined their appreciation to *Zäwdé* as: ደጃች ዘዉዴ ጎጃሞችን በ ሜዳ ከብቻ አሸነፏቸው :: Literarily, *Dajjač Zäwdé* defeated the *Gojjam* by the herds of cattle.⁸⁵

Däjazmač Zäwdé was succeeded by his son *Däjazmač Gošu* and *Däjazmač Gualu* was succeeded by his son, *Däjazmač Tädela* and became the governor of *Damot* and *Gojjam* proper respectively. They continued the power struggle and rivalry of their predecessors. *Däjač Gošu* was powerful and acquainted with higher military skill and leadership *Däjač Tädla*. To this end, *Däjač Gošu* was successful in expanding his territory to *Gojjam* proper without considerable stiff resistance. The challenge for *Däjač Gošu* was not *Däjač Tädla*. It was rather his Son *Birru Gošu*.

In 1838 *Däjač Berru* took over *Gojjam* from his father *Däjač Gošu* by force. *Däjač Gošu* died at the battle of *Guramba* in 1852 while fighting with the forces of *Däjač Kassa*, the later Emperor *Téwodros II*. *Däjač Kassa* captured *Däjač Berru* in 1854 and imprisoned at *Isir Amba*, near the town of *Gondar* where he died in 1868.⁸⁶ Following this *Däjazmač Kasa* appointed *Däjazmač Tädela Gualu*, who had been a fugitive, as a governor of *Gojjam* under the supervision of *Ras*

⁸³ Abäbäw,p.12;

⁸⁴ Waläleñ,p.33; Fekede Bekele, “Administrative History of Gozamen *Wäräda*, 1941-1991”, (MA Thesis , Addis Abäba University, History, 2001), p.6.

⁸⁵ Alula,p.23; Täklä Tsadik Makuria , *Yä Itopia Tarik: Kä Aşé Libnä Dingel Eskä Aşé Tewodros II*, 6 edition (Addis Ababa: Qedus Giorgis Printing Press,1961),p.308.

⁸⁶ Abäbaw,p.13; Deneser,p.20; Alula,p.28.

Engeda.⁸⁷ *Däjač* Kassa did not imprisoned Birru Gošu only, but also Yalémetu Gošu, Yelma Gošu and Tässäma Gošu.⁸⁸ Following the imprisonment of the descendants of *Däjač* Gošu, the power struggle in Gojjam declined.

Däjač Tädla shifted the political center of Gojjam from Dämbäča to Yäwuš and Mänqorär area. The proximity of these two areas to mountainous fortresses of Jebbäla and Mutära near Baso-Libän *wäräda* was considered as the prime factor for such change. According to informants, the mountainous fortresses of Jebbäla and Mutära had been served as a store for weapons and prison place for war captives and those who refused the administration. Traditions claimed that the selection of Yäwuš as a political center was associated with the existence of spring water which gives mercy for the sick. Informants argued that the spring water is the holy water of Yäwuš St. Mikaél. For instance, the surrounding community narrates in tradition as follows:

*ከ ደጃዝማች ተድላ ቤተሰብ አንድ ሰው በ እብድ ውሻ ተለክፎ
ይታመማል።አንድ አባት የታመመውን ሰው የውሽ ሚካኤል ፀበል
ቢያስጠምቁት እንደሚደን ይነግሯቸዋል። ከዚያም ተጠምቆ የታመመው ሰው
ተፈወሰ።ከዚህ በኋላ ደጃዝማች ተድላ ለ ቤተ ክርስቲያኑ እና ለ አካባቢው
ሀዝብ ልዩ ትኩረት ሰጡ። መኖሪያቸውንም በዚህ አድርገው ድሃውን
ማህበረሰብ እሁድ እሁድ ሰብስበው ግብር ያበሉ ነበር።*

*One of the families of *Däjač* Tädla Gwallu was sick as he was beaten by a mad dog. The abbot informed them to baptize him at the holy waters of St. Mika'él in Yäwuš. Then, the baptized person was recovered from illness. Admired by the event, *Däjač* Tädla Gwallu gave special consideration for the church of Yäwuš St. Mikaél and the community. Thus, Tädla lived permanently and invite 'geber' which is food and drink for the poor every Sunday.⁸⁹*

This behavior of *Däjač* Tädla was loved by the host community. When *Däjač* Tädla died in 1867, the community felt bad and even did not believe his death. The poor people who had been invited 'geber' every Sunday mentioned their sadness by the following poem:

*አልሞተም ይላሉ ደጃዝማች ተድላን፣
አሁን እሁድ ሲደርስ የምናየውን።
They said *Däjač* Tädla is not died,*

⁸⁷ Deneser,p.20; Alula,p.29; Täklä Iyäsus, p.63.

⁸⁸ Deneser,p.20.

⁸⁹ Walälegñ, p.37.

*That we would assure when Sunday comes.*⁹⁰

The people of Yäwuš assured the death of *Däjač Tädla* with time when his burial ceremony was done at Yäwuš St. Mikaél church. Once the people of Yäwuš express their grief as:

ውሃ ዋና እንኳ አላውቅ ዋ ምን ይበጀኝ፣

ጌታው የውሽ ገቡ የዳ ጥላውኝ።

የውሽ የቀበሩት ደጃዝማች ተድላን፣

ይነሳ ነበረ አብማ ቢሆን።

I have no skill to swim, what would be my fate?

My Sir (Tädla) had left me alone at Yäda (Small River at Baso-Libän)

Why people buried him at Yäwuš?

*He would rise if they buried him at Abema (a church in Däbrä Markos).*⁹¹

Moreover, Yäwuš was a center of trade and commerce in the long distance trade. It was connected with Baso and served as a pass way to Moṭa and Däbä Wärq. Charles T. Beke's account entails us the he resided several days in this town during 1842 and witnessed that merchants from Baso preceded to Moṭa via Yäwš.⁹² The death of *Däjač Tädla* brought another power struggle between his sons Negusé and Dästa. Immediately after the death of his father, Negusé took the throne with the title of *Däjazmač*. *Däjazmač* Negusé was cruel by his behavior and the nobility conspired against him transferred the throne to Dästa with *Däjazmač* title in 1868. Fierce rivalry between the two continued but *Däjač* Dästa succeeded in strengthening his control over Gojjam.⁹³

Adal Tässäma who descended from the line of *Wäyzäro* Denqnäš become the rival of *Däjač* Dästa to the regional throne.⁹⁴ Adal's military power was not strong and he never directly confronted *Däjač* Dästa. After the death of Emperor Teoderos II at Mäqdälla, Emperor Täklä Giyorgis, the former Wagšum Gobäzé took the imperial throne. *Däjač* Dästa was reluctant to acknowledge the authority of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis.⁹⁵ As a result he marched to Gojjam and defeated *Däjač* Dästa. Frustrated by his defeat *Däjač* Dästa retreated to Jebbäla fortress in Baso-Libän. Later on Adal succeeded in capturing *Däjač* Dästa and presented to the emperor before

⁹⁰ Oral Informants: Alemaw Zäwdu, Ayälä and Tariku Zägäyä

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Beke, 1843, p.17.

⁹³ Abebew, p.14.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

his derarture from Gojjam. Satisfied by what Adal did, Emperor Täklä Giyorgis made him governor of Gojjam in general with the title of *ras*.⁹⁶

Emperor Täklä Giyorgis captured *Däjač* Dästa and took to Adwa to confront Kassa Merča the later Emperor Yohannes IV. Kassa Merča defeated Emperor Täklä Giyorgis and freed *Däjač* Dästa after the battle of Assäm. In 1874, Emperor Yohannes IV made a campaign to Gojjam to get the submission of Gojjam.⁹⁷ *Ras* Adal refused to acknowledge the emperorship of Yohannes IV and retreated to the mountain fortress of Jebbäla. Emperor Yohannes IV's attempt to storm Jebbäla and capture *Ras* Adal was unsuccessful. *Däjač* Dästa, who came with Emperor Yohannes IV was assigned as the ruler of Gojjam. Yohannes IV ordered the conversion of Muslims to Christianity. For instance, in the Libän territory of Kork he issued all Muslims to eat meat slaughtered by Christians. Those who refuse were brutally killed. Muslims of Baso-Libän in general and Kork in particular were angered by the emperor's action and show their disappointment by the following poem:

ታላቅ ታናሽ ውድቆ ኮርክ አደባባይ
ያለለብ ስጋ ይጣፍጣል ወይ።

*Even though quality meat is provided in Kork Adäbabay
It is not testy without willingness of one's heart.*⁹⁸

Soon after the emperor left Gojjam, *Ras* Adal came out from the fortress of Jebälla and fought war with *ras* Dästa at a place called Angätä in June 1874.⁹⁹ *Ras* Adal scored victory and regains his position. After some periods, *Ras* Adal recognized Yohannes IV crowned as Täklä Häymanot, *Negus* of Gojjam and Käffa in 1881.¹⁰⁰ He shift the political center from Yäwuš built to Mänqorär, later renamed as Däbrä Marqos.¹⁰¹ This political agreement ended the power struggle among the descendants of *ras* Hailu Yosédéq and marked the beginning of long lasting stable administration in the province of Gojjam.

⁹⁶ Täklä Iyäsus, pp.80-81.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Yersaw Taddelle, "A History of Awäbäl *Wäräda*: East Gojjam 1941-1991", (MA Thesis, Bahir Dar University, History, 2013), p.10.

⁹⁹ Zäwde Gebre Selassie, *Emperor Yohannes IV of Ethiopia: A Political Biography*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p.45.

¹⁰⁰ Bayru Tafla(ed), *Chronicle of Yohannes IV 1872-1889*, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag gmbh, 1977), p.153.

¹⁰¹ Bahru, pp.44-45.

Negus Täklä Häymanot died in 1901.¹⁰² *Däjazmač* Seyum the later *Ras* Hailu II succeeded him. However, *Ras Bitewädäd* Mänegäšä Atikäm rebelled against him and took Damot and Agäw Meder. *Däjazmač* Seyum was unhappy by the division of Gojjam in to different administration units.¹⁰³ Between 1902 and 1906, he was imprisoned by Emperor Menilik for his secret plan to avoid *Ras Bitewädäd* Mänegäšä Atikäm.¹⁰⁴ His brother, *Ras* Bözabeh succeeded *Däjazmač* Seyum as the ruler of Gojjam proper. However, he was also dissatisfied like his brother and made an ambition to take the province of *Ras Bitewädäd* Mänegäšä Atikäm. Yet again, like his brother, his plan was exposed and arrested in Šäwa at Afeqära.¹⁰⁵

Emperor Menelik II, appointe *Fitawurari* Tässäma Gäberä Hiwät, *Grazemač* Wäldä Yohännis and *Bašä* Wäledä Mariäm as governors of Gojjam. However, the people of Gojjam were dissatisfied as he undermined the long aged tradition of Gojjam that was ruled by its own hereditary rulers and Šäwan administration style was new with the people of Gojjam. Finally in 1906 *Däjazmač* Seyum released from prison and took position as a governor of Gojjam proper.¹⁰⁶ A year after, he got the title of *Ras* by the support of Empress Tayitu he, changed his name to *Ras* Hailu II. In 1910, *Ras Bitewädäd* Mänegäša Atikäm was died and in 1911, *Lij* Iyasu allowed *Ras* Hailu II to administer the whole parts of Gojjam province.¹⁰⁷

Ras Hailu II and *Lij* Iyasu established strong alliance and friendship. To this end, *Ras* Hailu II attempted to escape *Lij* Iyasu from his prison at Fičé to Libän, a sub-district of Baso-Libän *wäräda* which connects Gojjam with Šäwa and the southern Ethiopia. *Lij* Iyasu left Šäwa across Abay River via Šämälägäbo ford to Libän for fugitive life. He reached in the low lands of Komié in Libän and stayed in a natural cave which is still called Iyasu cave (አያሱ ቀሻ) and drinks water from nearby stream which the local community referred Iyasu stream (አያሱ ምንጭ) for some times. Iyasu asked the local chief of Komié, *Qänñazmač* Mäkonän Jibé to bring him to Däbrä Markos. However, when Iyasu marched to the north via *Bétä Negus*, *Qänñazmač*

¹⁰² Abebaw, p.15;Denser,p.23.

¹⁰³ Denser,p.23.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Täklä Tsadik Makuriya , *Yä Etyopia Tarik:Nubeya (The History of Ethiopia :Nubia.)*, (Birhan and Selam Printing Press: Addis Abeba,1973) , pp.76-77.

¹⁰⁷ Denser,p.24.

Mäkonän Jibé betrayed him and transferred to *Däjazmač* Gässäsä Bäläw, the governor of Baso-Libän.¹⁰⁸ Then after, *Lij* Iyasu was taken to the emperor and imprisoned at Gara Muläta in Härär. *Ras* Hailu II was angered by the situation in Libän and mentioned his feeling as:

*አንተ ማን ነህና እናንተህ ማን ናችሁ፣
አውራውን በመንገድ የከለከላችሁ።*¹⁰⁹

*Who are you? (Referring Gässäsä Bäläw) and What you are? (Referring vassals)
Those who banned the move of the king.*

Oral sources narrate that when *Lij* Iyasu had been captured in Libän, he condemned Libän as *ሊበን ወንድ ልጅ ይወለድበሽ እንጂ አይደግበሽ* (which literally mean Libän let male should be deliver but should not be grow). Because of this condemn in Libän people fought each other and killing were common since then. Later on to solve the continuing unrest through the advice of elders' people celebrated the funeral ceremony/*täzkar* of *Lij* Iyasu at *Bétä Negus qäbälé* in recent times.

The guarantee of Agäw Meder to the Sudanese border which is rich in gold and other minerals to *Ras* Hailu II enables him to accumulate huge wealth. Oral sources assured that *Ras* Hailu II was actively participating in Baso Market.¹¹⁰ He taxed both buyers and sellers. He was cruel in taxation and considered as the second richest feudal lord next to Hailä Sellassé I.¹¹¹ *Ras* Hailu II was imprisoned in 1932 by Emperor Hailä Sellassé I. This brought an end to the Gojjamé traditional ruling class and the province was administered by the direct appointees of the emperor from Šäwa. *Ras* Imeru Hailä Sellassé, a Šäwan noble and cousin of the emperor replaced *Ras* Hailu II. However, the Italian occupation interrupted his rule over Gojjam.¹¹²

In October 1935, Italy aiming to revenge the historic defeat that she faced at Adwa, invaded Ethiopia. Accordingly, without organized and stiff resistance, Italy controlled Addis Abäba in

¹⁰⁸ Informants : Gétnät Tliahun, Dässié Almaw and Fäntaye Hunyaläw.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Bahru, p.144.

¹¹² Yirsaw, p.15.

May 1936 and started its five-year rule.¹¹³ Obviously, similar to the other sections of Ethiopia, Gojjam in general and Baso-Libän in particular fall under the Italian administration.

Prior to the Italians under Pietro Badoglio entered Addis Abäba, in July 1935 Emperor Hailä Sellassié ordered provincial governors to recruit and prepare resistance forces and defend their country from the Italian fascists. *Ras Imeru* Hailä Selassé, the then governor of Gojjam, recruited more than one thousand peasants and trained at Däbrä-Marqos.¹¹⁴ *Ras Imeru* in the meantime declared mass mobilization of the people of Gojjam against their enemy. The people of Baso-Libän by accepting the order of the *Ras Imeru* began to prepare themselves with traditional weapons like wäçäfo, albine, carbine, mouser, machine gun, pistol and grenades. During this period, the *wäräda* was ruled by *Fitawrari* Gässäsä Bäälläw. When, *Fitawrari* Gässäsä Bäälläw captured *Lij* Iyasu at Libän, the Emperor rewarded him as governor of Moṭṭa and promoted to *Däjjazmač* of Moṭṭa.¹¹⁵

This decision of the emperor to appoint *Ras Imeru* dissatisfied many Gojjamé rulers which include among others include *Däjjazmač* Gässäsä Bäälläw. *Ras Imeru* lost popular support from the Gojjamés. For instance, when he issued mass mobilization order in 1935 had got an army less than the forces of *Däjjazmač* Gässäsä Bäälläw. *Ras Imeru*'s commanders *Däjjazmač* Gässäsä Bäälläw, *Däjjazmač* Mängäša Jämbäré and *Däjjazmač* Nägaš Bázabeh led around twenty five thousand troops. But, most of the troops were under *Däjjazmač* Gässäsä Bäälläw who comes from Baso Libän and Moṭṭa.

Understanding that many of the troops were under his leadership, *Däjjazmač* Gässäsä, who was dissatisfied by the appointment of the Šäwan aristocrat over Gojjam, wanted the governorship of Gojjam instead of *Ras Immeru*. On 3 December 1935 *Däjjazmač* Gässäsä was returned to Gojjam from the camp of *Ras Imeru* with a greater force and leaders under him like *Fitawrari* Tamrat Agäw, *Fitawrari* Dästa Wändé, and *Qäññazmač* Bäällay Mäšäša and allied with

¹¹³Paul B. Henz, *Layer of Time: A History of Ethiopia*, (Addis Ababa, Shama Books, 2000,),pp. 216-217; Alula,p.36; Bahru,pp.155-157.

¹¹⁴ Alula,p.36.

¹¹⁵Yohannes Birhanu, "The Patriots in Gojjam 1936-1941: A Study of Resistance Movement", (B.A. Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History, 1972),p.2; Muluken Yizengaw, "A History of Resistance Against the Italian Occupation in Moṭṭa Awrajja", (MA Thesis , Bahir Dar University,History,2018),p.54.

Italians.¹¹⁶ The reason for the defection of *Däjjazmač* Gässäsä from war front is reflected in the Gojjamé tradition as:

ጣሊያን መጣ ደንገት
ሀዘቡን አሉት ዝመት
ውረድ አሉኝ ሰቲት
እኔ አልሄድም ሰቲት
ሸዋ እንደበላ ይሙት።
The Italians have come suddenly
The people were mobilized
They were told to march to Sätit
But they said 'we will not go to Sätit'
*Let the Šāwans die for they were the ones who have eaten.*¹¹⁷

On 18 December 1936, *Abunä Qérelós* wrote a letter to the people of Gojjam to excommunicate *Däjjazmač* Gässäsä. A section of the letter reads: “Hearing that Gässäsä Bälläw had revolted siding with the Italians, I sent you my letter of condemnation in order to save Orthodox Gojjam from destruction and warning the *balagär* and the soldiers who returned from the battle front not to accept Gässäsä and the Priests not to bury him when he dies and yet you have still kept him in Gojjam...”¹¹⁸

Then the forces of *Däjjazmač* Gässäsä mainly from Baso- Libän fought with the forces of *Ras Immeru* who remained in Gojjam for maintaining peace. Then, the Šāwan forces from Sälalé numbered from fifteen to twenty thousand came to help *Ras Imeru*’s army under the commandership of *Afä Negus Arägay*, *Däjjazmač Täsfa*, *Fitawrari Webešät* and *Qäññazmač Sahelélé*. The two forces fought at Wänqä, near Ambär where they created damage and grievance in Gojjam which the local people referred “Yä [Oromo] Gize”.¹¹⁹

The Italians support *Däjjazmač* Gässäsä Bälläw’s army and sent arms via Bällay Mäsäša who left the camp of *Ras Immeru* with Gässäsä.¹²⁰ The Italians used this historical incident as an advantage and opened a propaganda that their intention was to keep peace and promised prosperity for Gojjamés. Achile Starace, the Italian commissioner entered to Däbrä Marqos on 6

¹¹⁶Yohannes, pp.3-5; Muluken,p.55.
¹¹⁷Informants: Ayälä and Tariku
¹¹⁸ Muluken,p.54.
¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* ;Informants : Gétnät , Dässié and Fäntaye.
¹²⁰ Muluken, p.54.

June 1936.¹²¹ Soon the *Mesläné* and *Çeqa Šum* were appointed to deal with the people.¹²² Accordingly, Ayaléw Gässässä, the son of *Däjjazmač* Gässäsä Bälläw was appointed as *Mesläné* of Baso-Libän, which was a vice residence under Däbrä Markos.¹²³ Ayaléw's appointment by Achile Starace as *Mesläné* of Baso-Libän was considered as a reward for his father's collaboration to the Italians and putting a ground for the continuation of Italian collaboration in the *wäräda*.¹²⁴

Ayaléw continued his loyalty to the Italians. He arrested those peoples of the *wäräda* who intended to fight the Italians. However, many people had participated in the guerilla war led by *yä gobäz aläqa* who was responsible for mobilizing and lead the people of the *wäräda* to attack the enemy. *Graazmač* Yidäg Nigussé was active in organizing the people around Libän against fascist rule. The geographical location of *Graazmač* Yidäg Nigussé's Libän to the vicinity of Abay desert helped him to escape from the continuous attempts of Ayaléw Gässässä against him. *Graazmač* Yidäg together with his loyal Lando Mäšäša (*Aba Sebär*) mobilized the people with courage. *Graazmač* Yidäg got wider acceptance throughout Libän and some of his vassals' state:

በለው በለኛ በለው በለኛ፤
ይደግ ንጉሴ የጦሩ ዳኛ።
Let you say fight let you say fight
*Yidäg Nigussié judge of the War*¹²⁵

The patriotic resistance in Yäjubé was led by two brothers' *qäññazmač* Yimare Dämisäw and *qäññazmač* Abäbä Dämisäw.¹²⁶ Local *bandas* were common in Baso-Libän. To these end noble patriots of Gojjam made consecutive attacks against the forces of Baso-Libän led by *Mesläné* Ayaléw Gässässä. Bälay Zäläqä, the known patriot of Gojjam made a place of Çämoga at the western edge of Baso-Libän as his battle ground. Bälay collected troops from Awabäl, Bičäna and Däjän and attacked Ayaléw Gässässä many times. Since most parts of the then Libän was

¹²¹ Alula,p.42.;Seltene Seyum, "A History of Resistance in Gojjam ,Ethiopia: 1936-1941", (Ph.D. Dissertation, Addis Abäba University, History 1999), p.94.

¹²² Näbeyu, pp.22- 25.

¹²³ Seltene,pp.97-98.

¹²⁴ Informants : Gétnät and Dässié

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Informants: Dässié, Tibäbu Yirdié and Mihret Käbbädä

under *Graazmač* Yidäg, Bälay gave concentration to western edge of Baso, Çämoga.¹²⁷ In Ethiopia, the Italians favored the Muslim communities so as to weaken the unity among their Christian bothers. This was a mechanism deployed to extend their occupation and colonial interest in Ethiopia via divide and rule strategy. To make it happen, the Italians constructed many mosques in Ethiopia.¹²⁸ Accordingly, it was during the occupation period that Yäjubié mosque was constructed in the *wäräda* under discussion.¹²⁹ Similar with other parts of Gojjam, the Italians tried to get assistance from the historically marginalized societies in the *wäräda* for long, which includes artisans, tanners, weavers, and smiths by giving recognition for them.¹³⁰ However, they were not successful.

The Italian and British rivalry in the Second World War, made Britain to help Ethiopia. The joint British and Ethiopian military operation of 1940-1941 caused heavy casualties and disaster on Italy. According to various sources, Gideon Force under Major Orde Wingate conducted a campaign towards the Ethiopian province of Gojjam drove the Italians together with Local Patriots.¹³¹ Subsequently, Hailä Selassié arrived at Däbrä Marqos on April 6 and was applauded by Wingate as well as the influential local patriots of the province.¹³² The event marked the liberation of all parts of Gojjam including Baso-Libän from the Italian rule.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ John Abbink, “An Historical-Anthropological Approach to Islam in Ethiopia: Issues of Identity and Politics”, *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol.11, No.2, 1997, p.117. Available on URL: [10.1080/13696819808717830](https://doi.org/10.1080/13696819808717830), retrieved on May 27 2020.

¹²⁹ Informant: Tibäbu.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ Alula, p.56.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p.64.

CHAPTER TWO

Baso-Libän From 1941-1974

2.1. Administrative Reforms

Emperor Hailä Sellasé I after his return made attempts to bring change in his administration. The emperor issued many decrees and proclamations which are supposed to bring modernization but in actual fact they were the methods to establish more intensive centralized government in the country. This was evident when the emperor directly involved in the appointments of *Ṭäqalay Gizat*, *Awraja* and *Wäräda* governors in all over the country.¹³³

The joint armies of Ethiopia and Britain drove the Italians out of Ethiopia and soon recognized the independence of Ethiopia from fascist occupation in 1941. After emperor Hailä Sellasé returns from exile via Därä Markos, he appointed Nägaše Bäzabeh as a ruler of Gojjam and ordered all notable patriotic leaders to stay in their respective territories until new arrangement were setup.¹³⁴ However, the patriots were not willing to accept the rule of Nägaše Bäzabeh and in many cases they oppose him.¹³⁵ Lack of coordination among patriots for the demand of power over the province after liberation help the emperor to have direct access and control over Gojjam.¹³⁶

The first attempt of administration reform under the imperial regime was made in 1942. This was the proclamation for administrative reform which was intended to divide the country in to sub national and local government administrative units. Accordingly, proclamation number 1 of 1942 divide the country in to three administrative units called *Awraja*, *Wäräda* and *Mesläne*.¹³⁷

¹³³ Addis Hiwot, *Ethiopia: From Autocracy to Revolution*, (London, 1975), pp.87-88.

¹³⁴ Näga Ayälä, "Centralization versus Regionalism in Ethiopia: The Case of Gojjam 1932-1969", (Senior Paper, HSIU, Political Science and Government, 1970), p.55.

¹³⁵ Näbeyu Eyasu, "Administrative History of Gojjam:1941-1974", (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, 2004), p.38.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Nägarit Gazétta*, "Administration Regulation", Proclamation Number 1 of 1942.

As a result of this administrative regulation, the State was reorganized into twelve *Awrajas*, sixty *wärädas*, three hundred thirty nine *meslänés* and one thousand one hundred seventy six *meketel-meslänés*.¹³⁸

In 1942, Gojjam was one among the twelve provinces of the state. Hailu Bäläw was appointed as the governor of Gojjam province as a reward for his effective mobilization and leading quality of patriots in the five years of occupation period and his allegiance to the throne.¹³⁹ Here it is necessary to understand the criterion for the appointment of higher officials in the period under discussion. Sources indicate that allegiance to his imperial majesty was the prime and most important prerequisite for the political appointment than leadership quality. This was clear when most patriots lack trust and dissatisfied by the emperor's action including the outstanding personnel of the occupation period, Bälay Zäläqä.¹⁴⁰

Be it as it may, Hailu Bäläw reorganized his domain Gojjam in to seven administrative *wärädas*. These were Däbrä Marqos, Bečäna, Moṭa, Däga Damot, Qola Damot, Agäw Meder and Baher Dar *wärädas*. He made Däbrä Marqos his political seat and the town served as the capital of the province.¹⁴¹ Baso-Libän was made as *mesläné* under Däbrä Marqos *wäräda*. Within Baso-Libän *mesläné*, two *meketel meslänés* namely, Baso *meketel mesläné* and Libän *meketel mesläné* were established. *Fitawrari* Tässäma Hailu was in charge of governing Baso-Libän *mesläné* who later on replaced by *Fitawrari* Antäneḥ Negusié. *Grazmazč* Wodaju Tägäne was appointed as governor of Baso *meketel mesläné* and *Qäññazmač* Eneyäw Gäbäyähü, *Qäññazmač* Käbädä Kassa and *Qäññazmač* Zäläqä Guadé were governors of Libän *meketel mesläné* to 1946.¹⁴²

The government introduced monthly salary for each officials of different hierarchy for their service. The following tables show the hierarchial levels and respective monthly salaries of officials of different responsibilities in the 1940s.

¹³⁸ “Yä Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat Yahägär Kefefel,” *Yähägär Gezat Minister Mäšehét*, 1st year, No. 6, 1954, pp.9-10.

¹³⁹ Nābeyu, pp.48-50.

¹⁴⁰ Informants: Zägäyā Tämäsgeḥ, Ayaléw Abäbä and Bälay Ewnetu.

¹⁴¹ Nebeyu, pp. 49-50; NALA, Folder **h.†**.10.14, File No.189, *Yä Gojjam Ṭäqlay Gezat Yähägär Agüzaz Ena Asetädadär Serateñoče Sem Zerezer*.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

Table.1. The Salary of different officials of Baso-Liban in 1940s.

No.	Name of the Official	Position	Salary	
			Birr	Cents
1.	Fitawrari Anänäh Negussé	Baso-Liban <i>Mesläné</i> Governor	80	00
2.	Liqa Ṭäbäbet Tägäñä	<i>Mesläné's</i> secretary	40	00
3.	Mäkonän Gässäsä	Baso <i>Meketel Mesläné</i>	40	00
4.	Kassa Säwagäñähu	Baso <i>Meketel Mesläné</i> secretary	30	00
5.	<i>Qäñazemač</i> Enyäw Gäbäyäh	Libän <i>Meketel Mesläné</i>	40	00
6.	Mäkonän Häilu	Libän <i>Meketel Mesläné</i> secretary	30	00
7.	<i>Qäñazemač</i> Zäläqä Guadé	Libän <i>Meketel Mesläné</i>	40	00
8.	Čäkol Alamräw	Libän <i>Meketel Mesläné</i> secretar	30	00
9.	Wädaju Tägäñä	Baso <i>Meketel Mesläné</i>	40	00
10.	Mulunäh Enyäw	Baso <i>Meketel Mesläné</i> secretary	30	00

NALA, Folder ከ.ተ, File No.62.10.14, *Yä Gojjam Ṭäqalay Gizat Yägäre Agäzazena Yä Astädadär Säratñoče Sem Zerzer.*

In 1946, the government issued a new regulation on the administrative structure of the country.¹⁴³ In the same year, *Däjjazmač* Käbädä Tässäma replaced Hailu Bäläw. The new regulation made slight changes from the 1942 proclamation. According to the new regulation, the country was divided in to thirteen *ṭäqalay Gezats*, eighty seven *Awrajas*, three hundred eighty

¹⁴³ *Nägarit Gazéṭta*, “Administration Regulation”, Proclamation Number 6, 1946

seven *wärädas* and one thousand eighty six *mikitel wärädas*.¹⁴⁴ However, following the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia in 1952, the numbers of *ṭäqlay gizats* were raised to fourteen.¹⁴⁵ *Ṭäqlay Gezat* (governorate general) became the highest level of the provincial administrative hierarchy. *Ṭäqlay Gezat* was followed by *Awraja* (sub-province) as the second tier of administration. The former *mesläne* was changed by *wäräda* and constituted the third level of administration. *Wäräda* was further divided in to *meketel wäräda* and maintain the lowest unit of administrative level.¹⁴⁶

By the 1946 arrangement, Gojjam was taken as *Ṭäqlay Gezat* with seven *Awrajas*, thirty five *wärädas* and one hundred one *meketel wärädas*. Däbrä Markos was given *Awraja* status comprising Baso-Libän *wäräda* under it.¹⁴⁷ During this time, Baso-Libän *wäräda* was divided into four *meketel wärädas*. These were Yädug, Dogäm, Yätuläma *Däräba* and Yämeça *Däräba meketel wärädas*.¹⁴⁸ Oral sources narrates that after few years, Yätuläma *Däräba* and Yämeça *Däräba mekteel wärädas* were changed in to Kork and Yägäläw *meketel wärädas* respectively.¹⁴⁹ *Balambaras Gäla Hiruy*, *Häilu Šebäše*, *Ṭasäw Bäqällä* and *Qäñazemač Gétačäw Šefäraw* were the leaders of the four *meketel wärädas* respectively.¹⁵⁰

The *meketel wärädas* were further divided in to *Däbres* and *Goṭes*. Accordingly, there were 21 *Däbres* and 11 *Goṭes* in Kork *meketel wäräda*, 19 *Däbres* and 46 *Goṭes* in Yägäläw *meketel wäräda*, 19 *Däbres* and 4 *Goṭes* in Yädug *meketel wäräda* and 18 *Däbres* and 3 *Goṭes* in Dogäm *meketel wäräda*.¹⁵¹ The main reason for such division was not the purpose of decentralizing power to subnational and local administrative units, it was rather a means to have effective control in each levels of administration and assuring administrative convenience for the centralization policy of the emperor. The period between 1941 and 1974 had been manifested by successive reforms and policies targeting centralization and consolidating the power of Emperor

¹⁴⁴ *Yagär Gezat Minister Mäšehét*, 1st year, No. 1, 1954, p.21.

¹⁴⁵ John Markakis, *Ethiopia: Anatomy of Traditional Polity*, (New York: St. John's University Press, 1974), p.289.

¹⁴⁶ Yersaw, p.36.

¹⁴⁷ Mahari Yohannes, "Däbrä Markos *Awraja* Gojjam Local Administration: The Role of Traditional Elements", (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Political Science, 1970), pp.20-21; Däbrä Markos University Archival Center (here after DMUAC), Folder No.17, File No . ሰ.አ. 17, *Agär Astädadär Minster Selä Wäsän Kelel*

¹⁴⁸ DMUAC, Folder No.17, File No . ሰ.አ. 17; Informants: Mogäs Girma, Abié Ayale and Dässié Mänsur.

¹⁴⁹ Informants: Mogäs, Abié and Dässié .

¹⁵⁰ NALA, Folder ሠ1/71, File No.17.1.11, *Gojjam Keṭlä hägär Asetädär Seläseratäñoče Guday*.

¹⁵¹ Mahari, pp.72-73.

Häilä Sellassié I. This could be substantiated by the direct involvement of the emperor in the appointments of governors of *ṭäqalay Gezats*, *Awrajas* and *wärädas*. Governors had responsibilities of maintaining peace and order, collecting taxes and dispense judiciary activities and serve as good agents of the administration.¹⁵²

From 1946 to the outbreak of the Ethiopian revolution in 1974, Baso-Libän *wäräda* has been ruled by Lulé Gässäsä, Antänäh Nigussié, Admasu Gugsa, Gässäsä Yilma and *Qännazmač* Bezunäh Käbädä. Lulé Gässäsä was the son of *Däjjazmač* Gässäsä Bälläw, the former collaborator and governor of Baso-Libän *wäräda*. Lulé Gässäsä, after he had been disposed from power in 1953, he served as *Aṭebya Dañña* of Gänät *goet* for some periods.¹⁵³

In addition to the above mentioned proclamations on administrative arrangements, Municipality proclamation was introduced to made towns administered and run by a mayor. Prior to the approval of the Municipality proclamation an investigative committee was organized to check the status of towns. Accordingly, the investigative committee made a visit to towns under Gojjam *ṭäqalay gizat*. As a result many towns were decided to be under municipal administrations which among others include Yäjubié, the center of Baso-Libän *wäräda*.¹⁵⁴ To this end, the municipalities' proclamation was issued in 1945 gave legal ground for municipalities and define the responsibilities of the mayors. *Baša Wäledä Kassa* was believed to be the first mayor of Yäjubié town.¹⁵⁵

In 1947, a new proclamation was issued to establish *Aṭebya Daññas*.¹⁵⁶ The establishment of *Aṭebya Dañña* was considered as necessary for the local community so as to get quick responses for matters which directly matches with the provisions under the new proclamation. In line with this, informants noted that *Aṭebya Daññas* were elected by the local peoples and have strong attachment with the host community which in return helps them to pass proper decisions in their jurisdiction.¹⁵⁷ *Aṭebya Daññas* were responsible for maintaining law and order and ensuring justice and settling disputes through reconciliation at the lower level of the administration

¹⁵² Markakis, pp.290-293.

¹⁵³ Informants: Zägäyā, Ayaléw and Bälay.

¹⁵⁴ *Nägarit Gazéṭta*, "The Municipalities Proclamation", Number 74, 1945.

¹⁵⁵ Informants: Mogäs, Abié and Zägäyā

¹⁵⁶ *Nägarit Gazéṭta*, Proclamation t about *Aṭebya Daññas*, Number 90, 1947; NALA, Folder. ከ.ተ, File No. 62.1.03.06, *Selä Aṭebya Daññoč Yätäderägä Ačhier Ṭinat*.

¹⁵⁷ Informants: Zägäyā and Ayälä; Mehari, pp. 49-50.

hierarchy. *Aṭebya Daññas* power was limited to investigating and delivering justice for crime of not more than twenty six birr.¹⁵⁸

Gult gezhes in some occasions become *Aṭebya Daññas*. This create problem on the administration system where most of the *gult gezhes* were persons having relation with officials in the *meketel wäräda* and *wäräda* level. This was evident in case where the appointment of *Aṭebya Daññas* reached to the emperor stating:

ካውራጃ ገዥዎች እስከ ምክትል ገዥዎች የግል ዝምድና ወዳዩ ይልቁንም በገንዘብ ብልጫ የሰጠውን በመምረጥ የታዘዙትን ካለመፈጸማቸው ይልቅ ለራሳቸው በየጉልበታቸው የአጥቢያ ዳኛ ለመሆንና በወኪል ለመስራት ለዘዎች ድልድል ስላቀረቡ፤¹⁵⁹

From the awraja down to meketel wäräda, governors were not implementing the rules and orders of electing Aṭebya Daññas. They were rather electing their relatives and those who offered money for their interest. More over by using their grip, they were trying to be Aṭebya Daññas and work through representatives.

Besides the problem in the election and appointment stage *Aṭebya Daññas* were involved in corrupt practices by putting aside their duties and responsibilities provided under the proclamation. They receive money in cash and in kind there by injuring justice. According to informants Muslims and outcasts were victims by the decisions of *Aṭebya Daññas*.¹⁶⁰ Even besides receiving money and other treasures, they pass decision based on the social structure of the community which clearly neglects the above mentioned sections of the community.¹⁶¹

Below *Aṭebya Dañña*, *Čiqa Šum* was established. *Čiqa Šums* (village chiefs) were established to maintain peace and order at village level. They were appointed from the members of the village based on their allegiance to the *Aṭebya Daññas* and *wäräda* governors. Any development activities by the local people without the willingness of the administrators from the lower *Čiqa Šum* to the *wäräda* governors were null and void. This could be substantiated by the controversy between the Baso-Libän *wäräda* governor and *Ato* Azmära Tamrat, local business men who wish to involve in development activity inside the *wäräda*.

¹⁵⁸ NALA, Folder . ከ.ተ. 62.1.03.06.

¹⁵⁹ DMUAC, Folder, File No .፳፬ . 66, *Aṭebya Dañña be Gojjam Selämaquaquam*.

¹⁶⁰ Informants: Zägäyā , Ayälä and Bälāynäš Alamrew

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*.

የባሶ ሊባን ግዛት በበጎ ፍቃደኝነት ላይ ተሰማርቶ በማደርገው የልማት ስራ የወረዳው ገዥ ያላግባብ ስራዎችን ያደናቅፋል። በማለት አቶ አዝመራው ታምራት ለግርማዊ ንጉሰ ነገስት እንዲደርሳቸው የጻፉትን ማመልከቻ በማያያዝ ተፈጻሚ እንዲሆን...¹⁶² (literarily expressing a letter sent to his imperial majesty by Ato Azmāraw Tamrat, a volunteer who engaged in development works in Baso-Libän for the refusal of Baso-Libän governor against him considering his activity as an obstacle.

2.2. Land Tenure

In agrarian countries like Ethiopia, the issue land was and still critical. Since most of the Ethiopian societies are agrarian, they strongly attached to land. Thus, this section attempts to investigate and describe the land tenure system of Baso-Libän *wäräda* under the imperial regime of emperor Häilä sellassié I. It was the question of land that resulted for the wider popular oppositions against the imperial regime.¹⁶³

In Gojjam in general and Baso-Libän *wäräda* in particular, the society's socio-economic and political structure was associated with the right over land. Tämäsgän Gäbäyähü, in his work entitled "Power, Church and the *Gult* System in Gojjam" noted that the issue of land in Gojjam had been sensitive, important and complex due to the history, group interests and the economic and social conditions of the people.¹⁶⁴ Under the imperial regime, land was divided among three entities. These were the state, the church and the *Balabates*. These entities were not cultivators rather they gave land for the tiller and exploit the production.

In post occupation period various land arrangements were evolved and developed in Gojjam. Among these *rest* and *gult* were the dominant tenure systems in the province. Allan Hoben in his work *Land Tenure among the Amhara of Ethiopia: The Dynamics of Cognatic Descent* perpetuates that land is the most important input for any civilization which has bases on agriculture. According to Hoben, the entire society of Gojjam in general and Baso-Libän in

¹⁶² NALA, Folder ከ.ተ.60.2. File no.12.

¹⁶³ Dessalegn Rahmeto, *The Peasant and the State: Studies in Agrarian Change in Ethiopia 1950s-2000*, (Addis Ababa University Press, 2009), p.37.

¹⁶⁴ Temesgen Gebeyehu, "Power, Church and the *Gult* System in Gojjam, Ethiopia", *Asian and African Studies*, Vol.25, No.1.2016, p.52.

particular is expressed over land holding system.¹⁶⁵ Similar to most parts of the northern Ethiopia, there were two land tenure systems in Baso-Libän. These were *Rest* and *Gult*.¹⁶⁶

Gult was an administrative right over land or fief holding right.¹⁶⁷ It was granted to members of the ruling elite for their service and loyalty to the state. In Baso-Libän, those who granted such rights were called *Balägult* (*gult* owner).¹⁶⁸ *Balägults* of Baso-Libän *wäräda* had the right to collect tax from peasants who cultivated the land belongs to their *gult*. *Balägults* had both administrative and judicial responsibilities over their respective territories.¹⁶⁹ *Balägults* were exempted from tax for their service. In Baso-Libän *wäräda* there were ninety six *balägults* who were selected and assigned in the four *meketel wärädas*. Among these, twenty of them were in Kork *meketel wäräda* twenty eight in Dogäm, twenty five in Yägäläw and twenty three in Yädug *meketel wärädas*.¹⁷⁰ Since it was created by the state, *gult* right was temporary and it could be overtaken.¹⁷¹ *Gult* rights were not inheritable or not necessarily hereditary.

Rest refers the possession of land through clan or lineage. Unlike *gult*, it is a hereditary ownership of land.¹⁷² During the imperial regime government officials had land as a *rest* through their families. For instance Lulé Gässässä had *rest* land in gänät *goet*.¹⁷³ Tämäsgän Gäbäyähü in his work entitled “Land Tenure, Land Reform and the Qäläd System in Ethiopia 1941-1974”, describes that individuals having *rest* right usually called *balärest* are not the owner of the land rather they have only possession right of use not right for sale.¹⁷⁴ Märed W. Aragay on his part stipulates that *rest* never assured absolute ownership of the individual over land for it was considered as a common property of individuals of the same descent and no one can sell it.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁵ Allen Hoben, *Land Tenure among the Amhara of Ethiopia: The Dynamics of Cognatic Descent*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1973), p.4; Tämäsgän, p.55.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ Informants: Zägäyä and Ayälä

¹⁶⁹ Hobben, p.5.

¹⁷⁰ Mehari, p.75.

¹⁷¹ Tämäsgän, p.55

¹⁷² Yirsaw ,p. 21;

¹⁷³ Informants: Zägäyähänd and Zäläläm Täsefa .

¹⁷⁴ Temesgen Gebeyehu , “Land Tenure, Land Reform and the *Qäläd* System in Ethiopia 1941-1974”, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 2011, p.568.

¹⁷⁵ Mered.W.Aragay, “Land Tenure and Agricultural Productivity 1500-1850”, *Paper Presented for the 3rd Annual Seminar of History*, Bahir Dar, 1985, p.10.

In many areas of Baso-Libän *wäräda* particularly in places found in the *qola* areas, peasants had been involved in deforestation activities. Once they clean forests, they use the land for whatever they want. For instance, they may use it for agriculture and animal husbandry. Those who occupied the area were regarded as *aqeñe or wanna abat*.¹⁷⁶ These newly occupied lands by *aqeñe or wanna abat* were transferred to the next descent through blood relation. What was expected from *rest* holders were paying taxes. *Rest* right was not universal and inclusive for all sections of the society in the period and area under discussion. In Baso-Libän *wäräda rest* holders were called *Yäçäwa Zär* (descendants of the well-mannered).¹⁷⁷ Other sections of the society in the *wäräda* mainly the outcasts and Muslims had no *rest* land.¹⁷⁸ The *rest* right practice in Baso-Libän *wäräda* had promoted *mofär zämät erša*. *Mofär zämät erša* is described as plough in very distant places from their locality or residency. A person may get *rest* land from his/her relative lived in far distance. Thus, in order to cultivate the land, it is imperative to the *rest* holder to move far distance which the local people refer *mofär zämät erša*.¹⁷⁹ According to informants *mofär zämät erša* helps *rest* holders to cultivate different crops in different climatic zones.¹⁸⁰

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church was the beneficiary of the *gult* system. *Gult* right was given to the church by the government for its indispensable role in country's politics since history. In Gojjam most churches and monasteries had their own lands. Accordingly, the church of Lemeçem Giorgis, Yäberna Giorgis and Çänqoläte Mariam monastery in Baso-Libän *wäräda* had been granted such rights by the imperial government.¹⁸¹ These lands had different names like *semon märét yämäsqäl märét* and *yäqes märét*.¹⁸² Proclamation No. 2 of 1942, for example, stated that *semon* land was originated and developed from the government grant to the churches.¹⁸³ Priests and the clergy were not taxed for their service.

¹⁷⁶ Informants: Zägäyä , Ayälä and Zäläläm.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁷⁸ Informants: Zäläläm and Bälaynäš .

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*.

¹⁸⁰ Informants: Zägäyä ,and Ayälä.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*

¹⁸² Tämäsğän, 2016, p.64.

¹⁸³ *Nägarit Gazéta*, Proclamation No. 2 of 1942.

2.3. Taxation and its Challenge

Taxation was the other arena that the imperial regime gave due consideration. In the period under discussion to the outbreak of the 1974 revolution, many regulations and proclamations were issued concerning taxation. Accordingly, in 1942 the government introduced a new land tax proclamation policy. As per the proclamation, all landowners in the *wäräda* should pay tax according to the fertility of the land they owned.¹⁸⁴ To this end, in Baso-Libän *wäräda*, a committee comprising *çeqa šum*, selected leaders of the locality, and one priest from the church was established to examine and registered the land.¹⁸⁵ The committee was responsible mainly to pleat information about the land owners of the *wäräda* and its fertility and finally to impose the amount of tax accordingly up on the cultivators.¹⁸⁶ The committee divides the land in to three categories. These were *läm* (fertile), *lämtäf* (semi-fertile) and *täf* (non-fertile). Besides, the committee identified rest, *gult* and *semon* lands.¹⁸⁷ The amount of money to be paid per *gaša* for each type of land was fifteen birr, ten birr and five birr respectively.¹⁸⁸

Previously *gult* owners had the authority to collect tax and acquiring a portion of it for their service to the state in respective villages.¹⁸⁹ However, the new land tax proclamation makes clear that the government began to put aside *glut* owners from such activities.¹⁹⁰ The restriction of *glut* owners from their former intermediary role was a planned action of the emperor to centralize its administration. Moreover, the government as part of its centralization policy issued the collection of tax to be carried out by the salaried individuals.¹⁹¹ In strengthening this idea Alula Yohannes demonstrated that most of the land tax proclamations issued between 1941 and 1944 were targeted for the centralization of the administration by reducing the power of the *balägults* in the administrative affairs of the locality.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁴ *Nägarit Gazéta*, “A Proclamation to Provide for a Tax on Land,” Number.8 of 1942

¹⁸⁵ Informants: Bälaynäš , Mogäs and Abié.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*; NALA, Folder h.†.62, File No.1.o3.16, *Selä Märét Geber Mašašaya*.

¹⁸⁸ Proclamation Number.8 of 1942

¹⁸⁹ Informants: Mogäs and Abié.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ Hoben, p.212.

¹⁹² Alula, pp.67-68.

The decision of the government to banned the role of *gult* governors from collecting taxes and the declaration of land in every *wäräda* to be directly administered by individuals from the top¹⁹³, rose public discontent and oppositions in all over the Gojjam in general and Baso-Libän in particular. Gäbru Taräqä in his work entitled *Ethiopia, Power and Protest: Peasant Revolts in Twentieth Century* investigates that between 1942 and 1944 popular unrests were common in all over Gojjam opposing land measurement, registration of individual holdings and fiscal reforms. This was because the land reform of the period was perceived as a problem for the historical kinship land holding system.¹⁹⁴

The widespread public unrest forced the imperial government to reconcile the issue. To this end the state revised the administrative structure and some reforms were introduced. Among the reforms *gult* governors had given responsibility in collecting tax with the support of the *çiqa-šums*.¹⁹⁵ However, in many cases the role of the *çeqa-šums* were overrun by *gult* governors. This was because *gult* governors had administrative experience and most importantly they secured the support of the owners of *rest*.¹⁹⁶

The people continued to refuse most of the land tax proclamations and refuse to pay tax. The government sent officials to persuade the people in order to pay tax. For instance, officials sent to Baso-Libän *wäräda* tried to convince the people to by promising the land that the people owned would belongs to the respective owner if they pay tax. However, the people watched this propaganda with care and consideration.¹⁹⁷ The government instead of revising and ensuring effective and efficient land tax proclamation, considered the refusal of the people to pay tax as lack of revenue and decided to exempt the land tax from 1941-1959 in all over Gojjam Province.

በጎጃም ጠቅላይ ግዛት የሚገኘው ህዝባችን የሚፈለግበትን ከ1941 ጀምሮ ያለውን ውዝፍ ግብር ለመክፈል እንዲቃተው ስለተረዳን ፣ በዚህም ምክንያት የደረሰበትን ችግር ለማቃለል እስከ1959 ዓ.ም ያለውን ውዝፍ ምህረት አድርገንለታል። ሁለተኛ ባለፈው ጊዜ አዲሱ የ ጥቅም ታክስ በስራ ላይ በሚውልበት ጊዜ የሰራው አፈፃፀም ባስከተለው አለመግባባት ከህግ ውጭ ለተሰራው አድራጎት ከ ዳኛ ርቀው

¹⁹³ *Nägarit Gazéta*, “The Land Tax Proclamation”, Number. 64, 1944
¹⁹⁴ Gäbru Täräqä, *Ethiopia, Power and Protest: Peasant Revolts in Twentieth Century*, (Lawrenceville: The Red Sea Press, 1991), p.166.
¹⁹⁵ Alula, p.68.
¹⁹⁶ Informants: Mogäs and Abié
¹⁹⁷ Hoben, p.212.

የተቀመጡ ቢኖሩ ፤ ከባለገጋራቸው እየታረቁ እስከ አንድ ወር ድረስ እንዲገቡ በመንግስት በኩል ያለውን ምህረት አድርገንላቸዋል።¹⁹⁸

Our people, who are found in Gojjam, were unable to pay tax since 1941. Therefore, to minimize the problem we have exempted the tax to 1959. In addition to this there were misunderstandings when the new tax proclamation was implemented and something was done illegally. Those who were far from court because of this problem are excused by the government and they can join the community up to one month upon reconciliation with their enemies.

In 1946, Häilu Bäläw was replaced by *Däjjazmač* Käbbädä Täsäma and his initial intention was to improve the taxation system in Gojjam. To do so, he mobilized his officials to the rural areas and involved in persuading the peasants about the advantages of the new land tax proclamation. Besides creating know how on the peasantry, the officials of *Däjjazmač* Käbbädä Täsäma remembered most peasants of Gojjam province in general and Baso-Libän in particular about their failure to pay appropriate tax compared to the fertile land they owned. Peasants consider his attempt of introducing such measurement was an attempt to rearrange their land to the Šäwan chiefs. *Däjjazmač* Käbbädä Täsäma restructured the political map of Gojjam and this resulted in a basic change on the administrative structure of the province. Following the proclamation number 28 of 1946 the status of *wärädas* were directly transformed in to that of *awrajas*.¹⁹⁹ By this reform the power of *gult* governors were reduced and to avoid their discontent, the governorate general ordered them to take one-third of the tribute collected from the peasantry and to send the remaining to the central government.²⁰⁰

Insecurity and violence expanded in all over the Gojjam province. The continued violence challenges the *awraja*, *wäräda* and *mikitel wäräda* governors in performing and administering their respective domains. The central government sent *Ras* Abäbä Aragay, the then Ministry of Interior to Gojjam and the *wäräda* under discussion to discuss and solve the problems peacefully. It was because of such challenges that the central government reinstalled Hailu Bäläw by disposing the Šäwan chief *Däjjazmač* Käbbädä Täsäma. The appointment of Hailu Bäläw was seen as the restoration of the Gojjamé rule and perceived to bring stability.²⁰¹ However, this was not successful and the government attempt to collect land tax from all the

¹⁹⁸ NALA, Folder, ከ.ተ.62. File No.17.

¹⁹⁹ *Nägarit Gazéta*, Adiministrative Proclamation, Number 28 of 1946

²⁰⁰ Gizachew, pp.26-29.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* p.31.

wärädas under Gojjam province remained ineffective. Strengthening this idea, Peter Shewab noted that between 1944 and 1967 the government was not issued any effective measure despite the fact that the revenue from Gojjam remained inadequate.²⁰²

In 1960, *Däjjazmač Šähäyu Inqu Sellassié*, a Šäwan noble governor was appointed as a governor of Gojjam Province. The Gojjamés in general and the people of Baso-Libän in particular did not accept the appointment of *Däjjazmač Šähäyu Inqu Sellassié* over Gojjam from the beginning. This was because of his allegiance to the emperor, the people fear that he may impose and obliged to pay heavy taxation and overtaken their land.

In 1967 the government declared new Agricultural income tax. Proclamation No.255 of the Agricultural income tax obliged peasants to pay tax based on the agricultural produce harvested.²⁰³ Thus, for the implementation of proclamation No.255 the government sent tax assessors to each *wäräda* including Baso-Libän to estimate the harvest and impose tax on peasants and land owners.²⁰⁴ The proclamation added fuel on the existing oppositions and peasants strongly refused it and according to informants it put a stepping stone for the 1968 peasant opposition all over the province. The government later issued agricultural income tax which amounts one birr and fifty cents on all peasants without considering their income. This was taken as the immediate factor for the peasant uprisings in the province and *wäräda* the under discussion.²⁰⁵

In Baso-Libän, the people refused to accept the proclamations and provide necessary support to land assessors. Frustration grew among the peasants when the government issued subsequent land decrees between 1960 and 1967 which guarantees Muslims and land less tenants to own land.²⁰⁶ The declaration made land lords confused and considered these measures as a danger on their traditional right of tenure and social status.²⁰⁷ For instance, according to archival documents there were thirty nine farmers who strongly opposed to pay tax to the government in Baso-Libän *wäräda*. Their case was taken to the provincial court obliged them to pay including the interests for their delay. The provincial court's decision to the *wäräda* states:

²⁰² Peter Schwab, "Rebellion in Gojjam", *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol.4, No.2, 1970, p.250.

²⁰³ *Nägarit Gazéta*, Agricultural Land Tax Proclamation, Number.255 of 1967.

²⁰⁴ Schwab, p.250.

²⁰⁵ Yirsaw, p.29.

²⁰⁶ *Nägarit Gazéta*, Land Reform Proclamation, 1967.

²⁰⁷ Informants: Ibrahim, Dässié and Abié.

በባሶ ወረዳ አስተዳደር የ እርሻ ስራ ታክስ ግብር የሚፈለግባቸው ግብር ከፋዮች በፍቃድኝነት ባለመክፈላቸው በ ፍርድ ቤት ተከሰው ሲከፍሉ ባዘገዩበት ተጨማሪውን የ መቀጫና የዳኝነት ገቢ ገንዘብ በፍርድ ቤት ውሳኔ በማሰጠት እንዲያስከፍሉ...²⁰⁸

In Baso wäräda Administration tax payers because of their unwillingness to pay agricultural income tax they were accused and paid the imposed amount and the wäräda officials have to make hem to pay the penalty for their delay and the court expense through legal action.

The above source indicates that the people of Baso- Libän wäräda's refusal to pay tax. To this end the governor brought the case to the court for decision. However, the court decision was null for the people soon engaged in rebellion in many places of the wäräda.²⁰⁹

Maladministration and corruption were among the factors for the outbreak of rebellion in Baso-Libän wäräda. Däjjazmač Šähayu Inqu Selassé was unable to maintain peace and effective administration in Gojjam and Baso-Libän wäräda. The people showed their dissatisfaction against Šähayu's regime since his appointment and notified to the central government.²¹⁰

Between 1963 and 1964, the imperial government issued decrees on the registration of fire arms. This action was considered as a move towards disarming the people in the province and area under discussion and weakening the power of the Gojjamè in favor of Šäwan political interests. The other factor, which probably gave further stimuli to the uprising in Baso-Libän wäräda in particular and the province in general was fire arms registration fee. Peasants who owned fire arms were expected to pay two birrs for registration.²¹¹ In Baso-Libän wäräda a considerable number of individuals refused to register their rifles considering their firearms are their property to protect themselves from enemy. Nevertheless, Šähayu brought selected local militia groups from Šäwa and gave responsibility to disarm the people. This action of Šähayu was derived from his belief that local officials were not loyal to him and the implementation of the state policy in general. The Šäwan militias continued to disarm the people using whatever means which in return promoted the development of strong opposition against Šähayu's administration.²¹²

²⁰⁸ NALA, Folder 62, File No.12.

²⁰⁹ Informants: Mogäs and Bälaynäš.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ Proclamation on Registration of Firearms.

²¹² Informants: Mogäs and Abié.

Following the new Agricultural Income Tax proclamation, peasants all over the province were engaged in open resistance against the government. In 1968 rebellion started in Däga Damot and Moṭa *awrajas*. Peasants from these *awrajas* agreed to elect their leaders and not to present agricultural products to markets.²¹³ The resistance movement was intensified towards Däbrä Marqos *awraja* under which Baso-Libän *wäräda* is found. Informants remembered that peasants from Baso-Libän *wäräda* were organized under the elected *Yägobäz Aläqas*. Şähayu was unable to control the uprising and appealed to the emperor. To this end, the Emperor sends his mission under the leadership of Kiflè Ergätu.²¹⁴ Kiflè Ergätu with his fellow members traveled to different parts of the province and opened discussions with the people. In this occasion the people of Baso-Libän *wäräda* under Gässässä Yilma meet them at Yäjubié and raised the peasant's problem.²¹⁵

However, the delegates after discussing with the peasants of the Province in general verified that the government tax proclamation is necessary and it could not be averted.²¹⁶ As a result of this, Peasants engaged in uprisings and the people of Gojjam in general and Baso-Libän in particular demonstrated the failed attempts of the mission by the following poem:

*ኩታ ነጠላዎን አልብሽ ስሰደዉ
ተመልሶ መጣ ርስቲን ሊወስደዉ።²¹⁷*

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

The province wide uprising in Gojjam resulted for the dismissal government officials of different hierarchies. For instance, in Baso-Libän *wäräda*, Gässässä Yilma was replaced by Tadässä Zäläqä.²¹⁸ At the provincial level, Şähayu was removed from his positions and replaced by a new *indärasé Däjjazmac* Däräje Mäkonäne.²¹⁹ The removal of Şähayu was the result of continuous peasant opposition and the Gojjamé expresses their happiness as:

²¹³ Gebru, p.178.

²¹⁴ NALA, Folder No.150/5, File No. 52, "From Tafässä Ṭäbqè to *Dajjazmac* Kiflè Ergätu, Gojjam *Agär Gezat*", 1976.

²¹⁵ Informants: Bälaynäš .

²¹⁶ *Ibid*; Zägäyā and Zäläläm .

²¹⁷ *Ibid*.

²¹⁸ *Ibid*.

²¹⁹ Gebru,p.192.

መላው የኅዳም ሰው እንኳን ደስ ያላችሁ
ሀምሌ አስራ ስድሳት ቀን ጸሀይ ወጣላችሁ።²²⁰
Congratulations, to all the Gojjamè
On July 16, the sun [Şāhayu] rose for you.

The countrywide opposition by the peasants, the students, taxi drivers together with paramount external factors, finally weakened the imperial regime and marked the end of the Solomonic legend of leadership. Following this, in 1974 the popular revolution brought new regime in the Ethiopian history.

2.4. Security Challenges

After the return of Emperor Hailä Sellassé from exile, he assigned tax collectors in many parts of Gojjam including Baso-Libän so as to increase the government revenue. However, those collectors were collaborators of the Italians during the occupation period and became loyal to the emperor after he returned in 1941. This created dissatisfaction and discomfort over the patriots of the area under discussion. The patriots of Yäjubé led by the two brothers' *qäññazmač* Yimare Dämisäw and *qäññazmač* Abäbä Dämisäw developed dissatisfaction when the government assigned *qäññazmač* Nurié Yassabu and *qäññazmač* Mäkonän whose base were at Yälamgäj as tax collectors.²²¹ Angered by the decision, *qäññazmač* Yimare Dämisäw and *qäññazmač* Abäbä Dämisäw involved in taxing the people at Baso market with force. This creates frustration and instability in the *wäräda*. The two groups were fought each other at a place called *Säño Gäbäya*.²²² By the conflict *qäññazmač* Nurié was shooting by his opponents' bullet and *qäññazmač* Mäkonän was retreated to his base Yälamgäj near the escarpment of Abay. The government sent troops to capture the two brothers. However, they moved to the natural fortress Jabälla and Mutära. The event puts ground for the growth of insecurity and looting. The government issued to solve the problem through negotiation and the two brothers were appointed to administer Libän as a reward.²²³

²²⁰ Nega, pp.94-95; Informants: Zägäyā, and Ayälä.

²²¹ Informant: Zägäyā

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ *Ibid.*

In northern part of Ethiopia, banditry was a common phenomenon. A *šefta* may come from different situations like deprivation of *gult* rights, inability to pay tax or tribute and blood feuds.²²⁴ Based on the reasons for which individuals turn to banditry, their activities and their devotion to the society's issue, *šeftas* could be divided into two categories. These were social/political *šeftas* and criminal *šeäftas*.²²⁵ Criminal *šeftas* were the common type of *šeftas* in the Baso-Libän *wäräda* during the period under discussion. Criminal *šefta* is manifested by individuals who restored in the massifs and bushes after committing criminal acts and violating the established laws. *Šeftas* who belongs to this category were simply highway men or robbers who come out from a hideout and looted, plundered and stole the properties of peasants such as cattle, crop, weapon, etc., and killed people (usually passengers) indiscriminately (either individually or in-groups) driven by greed's and strived for personal enrichment. On the other hand social/political *šeäftas* are those individuals who stand apparently to alleviating the prevalence of problems their community often encountering from the ruling system.

In the context of our country, different government systems designated/gave different term to call bandits or *šiftas*. For-instance, during the monarchy the *šeftas* were often called by the name *wäslata* and *wärobäla*.²²⁶ Unlike, the monarchy, during the *därg* regime the name of banditry was called by the names *Wänbädi*.²²⁷ During this period, the life of the inhabitants of Baso-Libän *wäräda* was exposed to insecurity and threat. This was because, *šeftas* committed murder, theft animals, looting individual properties and burning the hoses of supposed enemies. The imposition of many declarations by the imperial regime most particularly related with land, dissatisfied the people. This event later marked for lack trust on the government. To this end, most of the government regulations were violated by the people. Such violation makes the government to be ineffective and weak at each levels of the power hierarchy. The aforementioned factors help *šeftas* perform what they want.²²⁸ The local communities were not volunteers to expose *šeftas* to the government either fearing the possible attacks by *šeftas* relatives or lack of trust on the government.

²²⁴ Yirsaw, p.30.

²²⁵ Gebrekidan Hadera, "History of Banditry and Insecurity in Lay Gayint Woreda from 1941- 1991", (MA Thesis, Bahir Dar University, History, 2019), p.18.

²²⁶ Informants: Zägäyä and Zäläläm.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*; NALA, Folder h.፳ 4/71, File No.17.1, *Selä Gojjam Keፋlä Hägär Şäፋeta*.

²²⁸ Informants: Zägäyä and Gétenät.

According to informants, the geographical location of Basso-Libän, bordering the Abay River, helped *šeftas* to operate their activity freely. The areas around Komié and Zemié and Gobätema in Libän and Zämbol Yäçara in Baso were the common places of *šeftas* during the imperial period.²²⁹ As per the sources of local informants, there were wide spread illicit trafficking from the *wäräda* across the ford of *Šämälägäbo* to the Gudru Oromo places of Dägoma, Kačesé and Mäkodimma. *Šeftas* sent theft properties of the local community to the above places and vice versa. It was and still is difficult to capture *šeftas* operating in these places. In case when the government sent troops to capture them, they cross the Abay River and spent some periods with their Gudru Oromo friends.²³⁰

The tradition of Gojjam in general and Baso-Libän in particular is widely known by the praise and courage of *šeftas*. When a person lost confidence by the government against his problem, he opted to be *šefta*. For instance, revenge for murder (*dämmäläše*) was common phenomenon among the people of Baso-Libän. This was because, the government release prisoners who were accused of murder with in short period of time. To this end the person involved in revenge and becomes *šifta* and brought insecurity and frustration in the *wäräda*. Many of the poems, proverbs and folklores of the *wäräda* instigate the courage of being *šefta*. For example:

በሬውን ስረቀው ፣ ቤቱን አቃጥልበት አስቀምጠው በአመድ፣

ሲጨንቀው ፣ ሲጠበው ያደርገናል ዘመድ።²³¹

Rob away his cattle, burn his house

When his life is distressed, he will make us his relative.

ተስካር ያላወጣና ደም ያልመለሰ፣

እንደ ሴት ቀሚስ ለበሰ።²³²

He who failed to execute täzkar and avenge his enemy

Yet considered as female.

According to Nebyu, in the year 1969, 1970 and 1971, 428, 369 and 459 criminal cases were reported to Däbrä Markos *awraja* which includes Baso-Libän *wäräda*.²³³ Besides, personal cases, the different land reform decrees of the regime forced the peoples of the *wäräda* to be *šeftas*. According to informants most of the opposition s against the central government during this period were organized and led by *šeftas*. The political *šeftas* of the *wäräda* motivated the

²²⁹Informants: Zägäyā and Zälalām.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ Informants: Zägäyā and Alemnew.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ Nebyu, p.108.

people not to accept the oppressive land tax decrees. The government was carless and passive against criminal *šeftas* since their inclination to politics is limited.²³⁴

The government established police force in the province under the Ministry of Interior. Accordingly, a total of 106 police forces were assigned in Däbrä Markos *awraja* among which eight polices were sent to Baso-Libän *wäräda*.²³⁵ The main objectives of these police men were bringing criminals to the court and maintaining law and order in *wäräda* and *awraja* levels. The police men have established relations with responsible bodies at the local level like *aṭebya daññs* and *Çeqa Šums*.²³⁶ Moreover, besides establishing police force, *Léba Adaññs* were formed with the objective of controlling robbery and protecting the spread of *šeftas*. Between 1950 and 1960 Yänéwondem Gošu was in charge of *Léba Adaññ* responsibility. *Léba Adaññs* and government officials conduct joint operation to capture *šeftas*. To this end, *šeftas* targeted to revenge government officials. For instance, in the 1960s the house of *Qaññazmač* Bäqälä Täsefayé, the governor of Kork *meketel wäräda* and *Balamaras Zägäyä Däseta*, the governor of Dogäm *meketel wäräda* were burnt by *šeftas*.²³⁷

The government beyond establishing police forces, *Naç Läbaše* was introduced in 1961.²³⁸ Peasants with military experiences and loyal to the government policies and rules were elected. The *Naç Läbaše* was given labour service by peasants for their service.²³⁹ Furthermore, to sustain peace and stability in the *wäräda*, the government by discussing with the local community used *Afärsata* or *Awçaçeñ* as one of the traditional method of identifying criminals.²⁴⁰ Whenever community refused to expose *Šeftas*, local militias were ordered to be distributed among each houses of the peasantry. The peasantry in return obliged to feed the militias. When peasants fear the continuing feedings of militias, they collect and conduct that *Afärsata* or *Awçaçeñ* in front of the *aṭebya daññas* or governors of *meketel wäräda*.²⁴¹ However, *Afärsata* affected the daily activities of peasants since it demands the gathering of people even in

²³⁴ Informants: Zägäyä ,and Ayälä and Zäläläm

²³⁵ Mahari, p.56.

²³⁶ Nebyu, p.104.

²³⁷ Mahari, p.59.

²³⁸ Yirsaw, p.33.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁰ Informants: Zägäyä, Ayälä and Zäläläm.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

mainor cases. Understanding the effects *Afärsata* on pesants, the emperor ordered for the termination of it 1962.²⁴²

²⁴² NALA, Folder, ከ.ተ, 62.1, File No.06.10, *Selä Afärsata ena Afärsata Hunéta Yäwoጥa Awaj*, 1955 E.C.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Baso-Libän From 1974-1991

In this chapter, the major reforms undertaken by the *Därg* regime in Gojjam in general and Baso-Libän *wäräda* in particular after coming to power in 1974 will be discussed with due considerations. The 1975 land proclamation and the response of the peasantry, the Development through Cooperation Campaign and its significance for the growth and development of the society, Peasant Associations and their role in the Agricultural developments and the aspects of resettlement and villagization are some of the important issues that are described under this chapter.

It is important to recall that because of many factors, in the middle of 1974, Ethiopia has been engulfed by mass oppositions. Peasant uprisings in many parts of Ethiopia, the students' movement by raising the issue of land to tiller were among the many factors contributed for lack of legitimacy of the emperor.²⁴³ During the student's opposition period, students from Baso-Libän *wäräda* who had been attending their secondary education in Däbrä Markos demonstrated against maladministration and corruption committed by *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda* governors.²⁴⁴ Opposition from teachers, taxi drivers over the oil crises had also negative impacts on the imperial regime. Following this event, the imperial regime of Hälie Sellassie I and his throne which claims its origin from the King Solomon and Queen Šäba had been ended up.²⁴⁵

In 1974, the Provisional Administrative Military Council (*Därg*) took power.²⁴⁶ The *Därg* dismantled the former governors of *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda* and replaced by new officials.²⁴⁷ Many officials who had been serving the imperial government were disposed from power. However, the administration structure continued only *Ṭäqelay Gizat* was changed to *Kiflä Hagär*.

²⁴³ Bahru, p.215.

²⁴⁴ Ewnetu, pp.55-57.

²⁴⁵ Bahru, pp. 228-234; Andargachew Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1987: A Transformation from an Aristocratic to a Totalitarian Autocracy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.34-36.

²⁴⁶ Marine Ottaway, "Social Class and Corporate Interests in the Ethiopian Revolution", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.14, No.3, 1976, pp. 472-74; *Nägarit Gazéta*, "Proclamation to Provide the Establishment of Provisional Military Council in Ethiopia", 1974, Proc. No.1; Solomon Ashagrie, "A History of Farta *Wäräda*, 1935-1991", (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History, 2011), p.78.

²⁴⁷ Negusie Ayele, "The Ethiopian Revolution", *Journal of African Activist Association*, Vol. XII, No.3, 1983, pp 38- 39.

3.1. Land Reform

The question of land had been an area of contention in the history of Ethiopia at large and the Gojjamié people at most. After long period of resistance and struggle, the radical distribution of land to the land less peasants were evident in 1975 when the *Därg* government proclaimed the public ownership of all rural land of the country.²⁴⁸ According to the proclamation, all rural lands of the country was considered as public property and owned by the wider public at large.²⁴⁹ By doing so the *Därg* attempted to answer the question of land and ensure equitable distribution of land among peasants.²⁵⁰ The *Därg* opted to change the historic land tenure system dominated by land lords and *balägults* by the implementation of “Land to Tiller”²⁵¹ in Gojjam in general and Baso-Libän *wäräda* in particular. The *Därg* realized the need for a radical policy measure regarding land in order to uproot the landed aristocracy from the rural areas to win over the support of peasants, thereby consolidating its power.

The new land proclamation clearly stipulates restriction on *rest* holders not to own land more than ten hectares. The restriction made possible for confiscation of *rest* holders land more than the declared limit and the radical distribution of land to the land less tenants.²⁵² Muslims and other previously marginalized social classes got the opportunity to access land. It is remembered that in pre-revolutionary Ethiopia, Muslims were considered as subjects of the empire-state. They were regarded as a minority and were not allowed to own land in the northern part of the country, including Gojjam and Baso-Libän *wäräda*.²⁵³ Now, the reforms and subsequent measures of the *Därg* brought important and far-reaching changes in the socio-political and religious status of the Muslims of Gojjam in general and Baso-Libän in particular. The

²⁴⁸ *Nägarit Gazéta*, “A Proclamation to Provide Public Ownership of All Rural Lands”, 1975, Proc. No.31; Steven Davies, “The Political Economy of Land Tenure in Ethiopia”, (PhD Thesis, University of St Andrews, 2008), p.137-138.

²⁴⁹ John M.Cohen and Peter H. Koehn, *Rural and Urban Land Reform in Ethiopia*, (University of Wisconsin Madison, 1977), p. 4.

²⁵⁰ *Nägarit Gazéta*, “A Proclamation No.31, 1975; Siegford Pausewang, *Peasant, Land and Society: A Social History of Land Reform in Ethiopia*, (London: Verlag,1983), p.105.

²⁵¹ Paul Brietzke, “Land Reform in Revolutionary Ethiopia”, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.14,No.4, 1976, p.652;Michael Chege, “ The Revolution Betrayed: Ethiopia 1974-1979”, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol,17,No.3. 1979, p.336; Allan Hoban, “Social Anthropology and Development Planning: A Case Study in Ethiopia Land Reform Policy”, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. X, No.4, 1972, pp.561-562.

²⁵² Warriner, D, “A Report on Land Reform in Ethiopia”, *Paper Prepared for the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa*, (Addis Ababa, 1970), p.52.

²⁵³ Temesgen Gebeyehu, “Peasants, Land Reform and Property Right in Ethiopia: The Experience of Gojjam Province, 1974 to 1997”, *Journal of African Studies and Development*, Vol.5 No.6 2013, p.151.

proclamation also assured land belongs to salaried individuals to be confiscated and controlled by *Qäbälé* Peasant Associations.²⁵⁴ The details of Proclamation No 31/1975 expresses that all rural lands are public properties and distribution of land to the tillers; prohibitions on transfer of use rights by sale, exchange, succession, setting a limit of ten hectares for a family.²⁵⁵ The power of administering land was vested on the Ministry of Land Reform and Administration through Peasant Associations at the grass root level.²⁵⁶ The proclamation abrogated the landlord-tenant production relationship and thereby heralded the end of feudal tribute and corvee services to the land-owning class.²⁵⁷

Scholars argued that the land reform measure of the *Därg* enabled the government to get support from the rural mass and showered its criticism of committing coup *d'état* against the emperor and put a stepping stone for the transformation and dissemination of the ideas of revolution to the country sides.²⁵⁸ The proclamation issued that any person who is willing to cultivate land can be allotted rural land sufficient to maintenance and that of family.²⁵⁹ The decision not only challenged landlordism but also abolished feudal administration and guaranteed land for the oppressed tenants since history and brought change in the nature of landownership.²⁶⁰

Like many parts of Gojjam, the age old feudal dominated land tenure system has been abolished and the new land redistribution process began to be implemented in Baso-Libän *wäräda*. The reform got wider acceptance in Baso-Libän *wäräda*. According to the sources obtained from informants Muslim communities who had been living at Yäjubié, Yänseča, Däjat and Kork gained land at this period. Besides, outcasts of the *wäräda* were also granted land. The land landless peasants expressed their feeling as;

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*; *Nägarit Gazéta*, 1975, Proc. No.31.

²⁵⁵ Atakili Beyene, "Land Tenure and its Challenges to Agricultural Development: A Case Study of a Smallholder-Farming System in Tigray, Ethiopia", *In Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Ethiopian Economy*, Volume II, (Addis Ababa, 2004) p.,59.

²⁵⁶ Temesgen,2013, p.150; Marina Ottaway, "The Ethiopian Land Reform: From Political Change to Economic Development", *In Proceedings of the Eight International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol.II, 1989, p. 389.

²⁵⁷ Alula Abate and Tesfaye Teklu, "Land reform and Peasant Associations in Ethiopia: Case Studies of Two Widely Differing Regions", *Northeast African Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (Michigan State University Press, 1980), p.10.

²⁵⁸ Andargachew, p.85.

²⁵⁹ *Nägarit Gazéta*, 1975, Proc. No.31.

²⁶⁰ Bahru, p. 243; Warriner, D, "A Report on Land Reform in Ethiopia", *Paper Prepared for the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa*, (Addis Ababa, 1970), p. 52.

**እንግዲህ ጠሬ እንኳን ደስ አላችሁ
የመሬት ክብርቱ ተወገደላችሁ።²⁶¹**
*Congratulations all the farmers,
 The land owners are rejected.*

The proclamation challenged *Mofär Zämät Erša* in Baso-Libän *wäräda* which had been conducted by *rest* owners by travelling distant places. The establishment of *Qäbälé Gäbäré Mahbärt* (*Qäbälé* Peasant Associations), the geographical extent of *Qäbälés* was demarcated and strongly affected *Mofär Zämät Erša*. *Qäbälé Gäbäré Mahbärt* and students played a significant role for the implementation of such policies of the *Därg* by persuading the people.²⁶²

The *Därg* reform was not free from oppositions from the very beginning and soon encounters stiff resistance. Initially, the government faced opposition from Urban based students with clandestine political groups. They were usually referred as leftists.²⁶³ Leftist organizations like the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Party (EPRP) put pressure on the *Därg* using *Zämäčä* students which intended to bring gap on the implementation of government programs and erode the relation between the government and *Zämäčä* students. The other opposition against the programs of the *Därg* comes from the beneficiaries of old regime which includes land lords, judges and local governors of the abolished imperial regime. They were usually known as the rightists.²⁶⁴ They created a serious problem on the implementation of *Därg’s* revolutionary measures. Available archival documents demonstrated that there was strong opposition from the people of Baso-Libän *wäräda* against the land reform measures of the *Därg*. This could be substantiated with the letter from the *wäräda* Police to the provincial Police department stating:

የባሶሊበን ወረዳ ህዝብ የአገሩን ጦር አክትቶ በርስታችን እንሞታለን በማለት ተማምሎ ሊከበን ስለሆነ 400 የችኮዝ ጥይት ስምብ ሁለት መትረያስ እንዲላክልን ሲሉ የወረዳዉ ፖሊስ ጠይቀዋል።²⁶⁵
The people of Baso-Libän wäräda have mobilized the local militia and stated that they will die for our rest and surrounded us. Thus, we need 400 pistol bullets and bombs, two machine guns, and this was requested by wäräda Police.

²⁶¹ Informants: Tibebe Yirdie, Saidu Dawid and Umar Hussen.
²⁶² Täfära Hailä Sellasié, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1991: From A Monarchical Autocracy to A Military Oligarchy*, (Michigan University: Kegan Paul International, 1997), p.152.
²⁶³ Tämäsängän Gäbäyähü, “Peasant Resistance Against the Ethiopia Revolution: The Case of Gojjam, 1975-1978”, (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History, 2005), pp.11-12.
²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
²⁶⁵ DMUAC, Folder 11፡፡. File No.. *Gojjam Keflä Hägär Abiyotawi Police Selä Ṭor Mäsaria.*

The above source elucidates the refusal of land lords of Baso-Libän *wäräda* against the redistribution of land to the mass peasantry as a threat to their old age land ownerships. Most of them refused to give lands and frustrated peasants who had given the land. Yibré Aliyu is a Muslim in Yänseča *qäbälé* and remembers the tension there when the *Därg* through elected committees started to take away land from landowners and redistribute it to the landless peasants including him. He stated that the Amhara communities of feudal origin sent a message frequently notifying not to plough the land which previously belongs to them unless they will commit murder and burn their houses.²⁶⁶ This was happened because the *Därg* other than dismantling the top *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda* governors did not bring tangible structural change in the administration system of the *wäräda* and in many cases former landowners took significant positions at the lower level of local administration. To this end effective implementation of policies and declarations were challenged at the grass root level.²⁶⁷ Besides, the landlords, the Church played an important role in instigating opposition against the *Därg* polices of land reform by considering the socialist government as a threat to religion and religious institution in Gojjam in general and Baso-Libän *wäräda* in particular.²⁶⁸ This view was confirmed when church lands not tilled directly by the priests were expropriated both in the province and the *wäräda* under discussion.

All in all the *Därg* land reform was one of the basic measures accepted by the people and eliminated many of the basic problems inherent in the pre-revolutionary agricultural system. The reform liberated peasants of Gojjam in general and Baso-Libän *wäräda* in particular from feudalistic bonds and contributed towards a more equal distribution of land.

3.2. Development through Cooperation Campaign

In November 25, 1974 the *Därg* proclaimed Development through Cooperation, Enlightenment and Work Campaign (usually called *Edegät Bähebrät Zämäča*) as one of its revolutionary measure for bringing growth and development by disseminating the idea of revolution from the

²⁶⁶Informant: Yibré. In Baso-Libän and most parts of Gojjam, the term Amhara does not refer the ethnicity, it rather denotes the Christian community. The community is usually separated as Islam and Amhara notifying religious difference than their common ethnicity of being Amhara.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸ Temesgen, 2005, p.13.

previous urban centrism to nationwide.²⁶⁹ To accomplish this task, many students from Universities and high schools and teachers collected and given a mission which is usually called *Zämäčä*. According to sources, the *Zämäčä* students and teachers moved to the rural areas of Ethiopia with full of happiness and chanted revolutionary songs like;

መሄዴ ነዉ ዘመቻ መሄዴ ነዉ ገጠር
ድንቁርናን ላጠፋ ከኢትዮጵያ ምድር።²⁷⁰
*I am to leaving for campaign; I am leaving for the
countryside,
To wipe illiteracy out from the land of Ethiopia.*

The campaigners in Baso-Libän *wäräda* were received the collaboration from the *wäräda* officials and the *näç-läbaš*. The first and for most assignment of the campaigners were an attempt to explain the importance of the campaign and create awareness about the concept of the philosophy of Ethiopia *Tiqdäm*. To this end, they gave more attention on the objective of the philosophy and advocated as its significance to liberate the society in general and *wäräda* under discussion in particular from the yoke of poverty and backwardness. As part of this campaign, educated students were obliged to go to the rural parts of the country and teach the community by organizing and conducting literacy campaign and instructing the people about basic skills in agriculture and health related issues. Campaigners were also involved in disseminating the idea of ethics, issues related with environment and drought. Students simultaneously indoctrinate the socialist ideology and the motto “Ethiopia *Tikdäm*” to the rural society.

In Gojjam in general and Bso-Libän in particular, as part of their campaign students involved in Clarifying the different proclamations of the *Därg* and putting a ground for the regime to be easily accepted by the people, informing the future proclamations that will be set up the *Därg* regime like the land reform, cooperatives and the agrarian reforms, teaching the people about the country’s political and economic orders. Randi Ronning Balsvik mentioned in this regard that the

²⁶⁹ Dawit W/Giorgis, *Red Tears: War, Famine and Revolution in Ethiopia*, (New Jersey: Red Sea Press, 1989), p.27; *Nägarit Gazéta*, “A Proclamation to Provide for the Development through Cooperation, Enlightenment and Work Campaign”, 1974, Proc.No. 11.

²⁷⁰ Informants: Yabrié and Mogäs.

role of students was a huge task of bringing the revolution to countryside and emancipating the peasants from the previous land tenure system and land lords.²⁷¹

Paulos Milkias stipulated that one of the cardinal assumptions of *Zämäčä* was to involve in the practical activities within a community and forming essential ingredients in the formation of a general awareness.²⁷² According to sources, students asked the regime to adopt scientific socialism as a guiding philosophy and proclaim Land to the tiller as a pretext for their campaign. More than 60 thousand students were collected and sent to 437 places of the country sides of Ethiopia. Among these 50 students were assigned to Baso-Libän *wäräda* under the supervision of Yäsgat Mäkuriéw who controls their activity and provide basic necessities like food and shelter by coordinating the society.²⁷³ Students were involved in the different aspects of the society apart from their mission from the center.

The students created a glimpse of insight on the community about the ways to development and made clear that their mission is to transfer the community who were under operation in the past regimes to the bright future. Besides, the students were highly involved in educating the local peasants and shepherds to read and know basic mathematics skills. They tried to create equality among the community by teaching the importance of avoiding bad culture like neglecting of artisans from the community and denying the contributions of them in the local economy. This was clearly mentioned by Randi Ronning Balsvik as “among the great achievements of the *Zämäčä* was a kind of shock injection to the common people’s mentality as to what kind of life and treatment they as human beings had the right to expect”.²⁷⁴ The idea of self-government and participation at different levels of power hierarchy was another task of campaigners.²⁷⁵

Many students who had been assigned different parts of Ethiopia and Gojjam province did not accomplish their tasks. Similarly, in Baso-Libän *wäräda*, among fifty assigned students three

²⁷¹Randi Ronning Balsvik, “Addis Ababa University Under the Shadow of the *Därg*”, 1974-1991, in *Proceedings of the 6th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, ed. by Seven Ege *et al.*, (Trondheim, 2009), p.261.

²⁷²Paulos Milkias, “*Zämäčä*: An Assessment of the Political and Social Foundations of Mass Education in Ethiopia”, *Northeast African Studies*, (Michigan State University Press, 1980), Vol. 2, No. 1. P. 24.

²⁷³Informants: Gétenät and Lulé.

²⁷⁴*Ibid.*; Balsvik, p.264.

²⁷⁵ Informants : Andargié and Limäneh .

of them left the area via Ginde berät to Addis Ababa and Gondar. This was perhaps substantiated by the letter from the *awrajas* and internal administration head office to Gojjam Kiflä Högär notifying :

ዘማኾች የተሰያዩ ምክንያቶችን በመጥቀስ በቡድንም ይሁን በነጠላ የስራ ቦታቸውን በመልቀቅ ወደ አዲስ አበባ መምጣታቸውን የየክፍለ ሃገሩ ፖሊስ ዋና መምሪያዎች ከማመልከት አርተቆጠቡም። በየክፍለ ሃገሩ ከተሰማሩ ዘማኾች ውስጥ 1. ምን ያህሉ ከድተው እንደሄዱ፣ 2. ምን ያህሉ ቦታው ላይ እንዳሉ እንዲሁም 3. ስለጠፉትም ዘማኾች የአጠፋፍ ሁኔታ የተጠናቀቀ ሪፖርት...²⁷⁶
Translated as Zämäčoč, by mentioning different reasons, escape from Kiflä Högär to Addis Ababa individually and in groups. Kiflä Högär governors were not silent from reporting. Now, among the assigned Zämäčoč in respective Kiflä Högärs, it is necessary to report; how many of them left the Zämäča; how many of them remains on their work and the way of escapement for the Zämäčoč who left the area.

One could not deny the fact that *Edegät Bähebrät Zämäča* played crucial role in the expansion and development of education and other facilities to the rural parts of Ethiopia where the majority of the population resides. However, this *Zämäča* was not simply accepted by the people of Gojjam in general and Baso-Libän in particular. For instance in some areas of Däbrä Markos and Baso-Libän the *Zämäča* coordinating offices were closed by peoples who were commonly known as ‘ ‘anti-revolution’’. Demonstrating this issue, the Ministry of Interior wrote a letter stating:

የህብረተሰባዊት ኢትዮጵያ ግዜያዊ ወታደራዊ መንግሥት የዕድገት በህብረት የዕውቀትና የስራ ዘመቻ ጠቅላላ መምሪያ በፃፈው ደብዳቤ 1. በደ/ማርቆስ ምድብ ጣቢያ፣ ሀ. ጎደና ሚካኤል ጣቢያ ለ. ጨምጋ ጣቢያ ሐ. የጁቤ ጣቢያ በአንድ አንድ ፀረ አብዮተኞች እና ፀረ ህዝቦች የ ተዘጉ ጣቢያዎች ጊዜያዊ ስለሆነ ጣቢያዎች በአፋጣኝ ተከፍተው ዘመቻው እንዲካሄድ የቦታዎችን የፀጥታ ሁኔታ እንዲስተካከል...²⁷⁷ *The Socialist Ethiopia Provincial Military Council Edigät Bähebrät Ewqätena Yä Sera Zämäča head office by the letter written on September 28 1968 E.C announced that under Däbrä Markos category, 1st . Godäna Mikaél station, 2nd Çäwoga station and 3rd Yäjubié station; Zämäča coordinating offices were closed by ‘ ‘anti-revolution’ ’ and ‘ ‘anti-people’ ’ Personnel and offices must be opened immediately and security should sustain.*

²⁷⁶ NALA, Folder 17.1, File No. 17.1.11.12.03 , Yä Gojjam Kiflä Högär Astädadär, Edigät Bähebrät Ewqätena Yä Sera Zämäča.
²⁷⁷ Ibid.

Moreover, the leftist groups like the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) were established its network with students which intended to cut the relation of *Därg* with the community via *Zämäčä* students. Some students were involved in activities against the *Därg* which alarmed the *Därg* officials soon.²⁷⁸

To generalize, *Edegät Bähebrät Zämäčä* played significant role in disseminating the idea of socialism to the rural population, to have revolution in rural areas and to implement different agrarian reforms of the *Därg* and expanding literacy among the rural community of Gojjam in general and Baso-Libän *wäräda* in particular.

3.3. *Qäbälé* Peasant Associations

The peasants question had been given due consideration and emphasis by the military government. The 1975 land reform proclamation provides the need for establishing *qäbälé* peasant associations in different levels of administration. According to the proclamation Number 71 of 1975, peasant associations were organized in a minimum of 800 hectares.²⁷⁹ The proclamation, however, banned landowners owning more than 10 hectares from joining the association until land had been redistributed. Despite the legal provisions, some landowners of more than 10 hectares managed to join Peasant Associations in the first round of registration; their life style, treatment of tenants, or close clan affiliations with the peasants earned them preferential treatment for admission.²⁸⁰ *Qäbälé* peasant associations were established in many parts of the country including the *wäräda* under discussion to enable and foster the implementation of policies and regulations of the *Därg*. At the beginning this associations were established for accompanying the land reform regulation set by the government. However, eventually the association replaced the position and role of the *aṭbya daññas* of the imperial government and become the administration units of the military government at the lower hierarchy.

²⁷⁸Tämäsğan,p.59.

²⁷⁹ *Nägarit Gazéṭa*, "Proclamation to Provide the Organization and Consolidation of Peasant Associations", 1975, Proc.No.71.

²⁸⁰ Alula Abate, "Peasant Associations and Collective Agriculture in Ethiopia: Promise and Performance", *Erdkunde*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 1983, (Available on URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25644636>. Retrieved on July 23,2021), p.119.

According to eyewitness accounts, most of the peasants of the *wäräda* were happy to be the member of the association in their respective parishes during the first years of the new regime. Be it as it may, the fact shows that the association became popularized and spread in to every *qäbälés* of Baso-Libän *wäräda*. Hence, the majorities of peasants became members of the associations in their respective parishes.²⁸¹ However, there were individuals who refused to be members of the established peasant associations.²⁸² Each peasant associations in the *wäräda* were led by an elected chairman and a committee.²⁸³ The elected chairperson and executive committees had the responsibility to accomplish the day-to-day affairs of the associations. Apart from this, since these associations were vested with the power to deliver administrative services, they also dispended judicial activities in their respective localities.²⁸⁴ Regarding the multi bounded function and responsibilities of Peasant association Clapham stipulates as follows:

*... has its own administrative headquarters, its judicial tribunal, its shop, and its women's and youth organizations. It provides the structure through which to run aid projects and literacy campaigns, to get out the crowd for obligatory demonstrations, and to enforce the military conscription. Its armed guards police the streets at night, enforce the curfew, and help to make Ethiopian cities remarkably free from violent crime. The peasants' association provides a similar range of services, with additional responsibilities imposed by the requirements of control over the rural economy. It's most important function is to allocate the basic economic resource, land, among its member families. It may also select families in eroded highland areas for resettlement in the south and west, and serves as the basic unit for the villagization programme.*²⁸⁵

John M. Cohen on his part articulated that, the goals for the establishment of peasant associations by the military government were to maintain some degree of institutional order and implement the policies without considerable difficulties at the lower level.²⁸⁶

²⁸¹ Christopher Clapham, "The State and Revolution in Ethiopia", *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 44, 1989.pp.7-8; Alula, pp.110-111.

²⁸² Informants: Lulé, Andargie and Limaneh.

²⁸³ Alemneh Malase, "*Peasants, Agrarian Socialism and Rural Development in Ethiopia*", (London: West View Press, 1987), p. 54.

²⁸⁴ Alula, p.111.

²⁸⁵ Clapham, pp.7-8.

²⁸⁶ John M.Cohen *etal*, *Revolution and Land Reform in Ethiopia: Peasant Associations, Local Government and Rural Development* , (New York: Cornell University Press, 1976), p.46.

By late 1975, 18,000 peasant associations with a membership of about 4 million peasant households were established. In 1976 the figures reached 24,707 peasant associations with 6.8 million households, and in 1977-78 there were 28,583 peasant associations with a membership of 7.3 million households.²⁸⁷ The responsibility for forming peasant associations rested with the Ministry of Agriculture and Settlement and the Ministry of Interior. They were to be organized in a five-level hierarchical structure. These were of *qäbälé*, *wäräda*, *awraja*, *kiflä-hagär* and the All-Ethiopia Peasant Association in ascending order. Judicial committee was set up at each level to hear and forward appeals.²⁸⁸

Peasant associations were established in different *qäbälés* of Baso-Libän *wäräda*. Accordingly, there were thirty eight *qäbälé* peasant associations in the *wäräda*. Each *qäbälé* peasant association is expected to coordinate administrative functions, agitate and mobilize the people to participate in political and economic activities, and maintain the security of the respective *qäbälés*. QPAs of Baso-Libän *wäräda* were led by an elected chairperson and committee. Every QPA was required to accept and implement the policies ordered by the *wäräda* peasant association. The general assembly of QPAs has the power to determine the proportion of lands to be allotted by size of family, organizational mechanism for distributing land, and examining applications for membership of the Association together with the size and source of the land to be allotted to the new members. The executive committee often proposes the pattern of utilization of the communal farm: type of crops, dates and organization of labour, use of proceeds, and measures to take against absentees.²⁸⁹ According to informants, in the absence of urgent issues, the QPAs in Baso-Libän *wäräda* conducted meetings regularly every Sunday.²⁹⁰

QPAs established judicial tribunal at *qäbälé* level. The local judicial tribunal deals with cases involving land disputes, criminal offences and violations of the association's rules and regulations. According to the proclamation, cases which charges up to one hundred birr were presented to the *qäbälé* judicial tribunal.²⁹¹ The defense squad is the principal arms of the peasant association, used to carry out the decisions of the executive committee, the judicial

²⁸⁷ Alulaand Tesfaye, p.12.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.11.

²⁸⁹ Alula, 1983, p.121.

²⁹⁰ Informants: Lulé and Limäneh.

²⁹¹ *Nägarit Gazéta*, "Proclamation to Provide the Organization and Consolidation of Peasant Associations", 1975, Proc.No.71

tribunal and the general assembly. Since clear regulations are lacking, members of the defense squads and the executive committee frequently compete for power in the peasants associations, even if it appears that the security service is subordinate and responsible to the executive committee.²⁹²

QPAs were empowered to distribute land on the basis of equity, considering both the size of family and quality of the soil.²⁹³ Moreover, QPAs were responsible to manage and assort land to the Peasants to keep and administer all resources of the people such as soil, water and forest resource. The forest coverage in Mečeg *qäbälé* of Baso-Libän *wäräda* is considered as the major contribution of QPAs. Besides this, the QPAs of Dändägeb in the *wäräda* under discussion attempted to use the Yäda River for irrigation and plant sugarcanes, potato and cabbages. The QPAs also used Yäda River to mill by making it to rotate the turbine.

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

In Baso-Libän *wäräda*, the land distribution was performed by *Yämärét Komité* who was elected from members of peasant associations in 1979. Hereafter, the *Yämärét Komité* assessed the ownership of land in the *wäräda*. Peasants who owned excess land were forced to leave and redistributed to the landless peasants.²⁹⁴ Those peasants who were previously excluded from owning land and now given land expressed their satisfaction and gratitude to the *Yämärét Komité* as:

*የቤት መስሪያ መሬት ሳይለኝ አባቴ፣
አንድ እግር በቆሎ ሳትለኝ እናቴ፣
ዘጠኝ ገመድ ሰጠኝ የመሬት ኮሚቴ።²⁹⁵
My father did not give me a land to make house;
My mother didn't afford me single maize;
But, that Yämärét Komité affod me nine gämäd land.*

²⁹² Alula and Tesfaye, p.18.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*,p.16.

²⁹⁴ Informants:Andargie and Limäneh.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*;Emawayesh.

However, *Yämärét Komités* with poor technical knowledge and sometimes with the corruption of committee members provided a poor base for equality of land holdings. The peasants who dissatisfied by the activities of *Yämärét Komité* expressed their feeling as follows:

*እር ተው ኮሚቴው ተው በሀቅ ስራ፣
ትመክጠራለህ በአብዮቱ ካራ።²⁹⁶*

You the committee members, you should work justly!

Otherwise, you will be eliminated by the revolutionary knife.

According to informants one of the crucial problems of the QPAs was variety in the duration of work and intensity of individual participation among the members. In this context, Ayälä Abatnäḥ, who was the chairperson of Yänseča QPA demonstrated the absenteeism of members of the association and stipulated that many measures were undertaken to solve the problem. However, the kinship relation among the committees challenged the decisions. The issue was further exacerbated in the times of the distribution of proceeds. There were common procedures of distribution which has been set by the peasant associations of the top hierarchy. These were the rental rate for oxen, the proportion of complete attendance and the penalty fees for absentees' deductible from their respective share.²⁹⁷ But in most Peasant Associations of Baso-Libän *wäräda* and Yänseča *qäbälé*, it was difficult to perform time-work rate and all members were entitled with equal share regardless of their participation in field activities.²⁹⁸ Above all in practice, QPAs were unable to achieve the intended goal particularly in development works. They severely lacked technical and administrative experts.²⁹⁹

3.4. Cooperatives

The *Därg* urged to introduce policies and strategies which could bring the transformation of the life of rural peasantry. To this end, the government introduced various agricultural inputs like fertilizers, insecticides, pesticides and special seeds. The government proclaimed that establishing cooperatives of many kinds is necessary to foster the effectiveness of peasant associations. For instance, proclamation number 138 of 1978 demands the establishment of

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁷ Alula Abate, p.126.

²⁹⁸ Informants: Emawayesh and Tasew Zeleke

²⁹⁹ DMUAC, Folder No. 0045, File No. 85, *Yä Gojjam Kiflä Hagär Yä Gäbärêwoch Mahibär Şihifät bêt, Lä Säbatu Awrajawoch Yä Gäbärê Mahibär Şihifät Bêt*

different cooperatives along the rural and urban centers.³⁰⁰ Following this proclamation, producers cooperative, service cooperative, thrift and credit cooperative and housing cooperatives were established in different parts of the country where peasant associations had been functional.³⁰¹

3.4.1. Producers Cooperatives

Baso-Libän *Wäräda* had been considered among few areas with high potential of agricultural production. Therefore, to enhance the way they cultivate and develop peasant agricultural produce, the state was dedicated to render support the peasants. It is evident that, throughout the first decade of its rule, the government involved in introducing development programs by giving enormous concern on associations and collectivization as solutions to promote production. As a result, producers' cooperatives were established as agricultural institutions as a means to scale up productivity by the state.³⁰²

Producers Cooperatives (PCs) were established to develop and transform collective farming in rural areas. It was commonly known as *Amrače*. The government formed PCs subordinate to peasant associations.³⁰³ The rationale behind the establishment of PCs was to bring change and sustainable development on production by working in collaboration than plough separately. It was intended to bring common development and ensuring socialist principles.³⁰⁴ By doing so the PCs aimed to bring communal way of life in the society and transforming to middle class society. The idea of collective farming had been introduced as the government's economic philosophy and considered as a way to sustain Ethiopian socialism.³⁰⁵

In Baso-Libän *wäräda* PCs were established in many *qäbälés* like Kork, Dabzem, Yägäläw, Dänedägäb and Yäjubié. Farmers were obliged to members of PCs in their respective *qäbälés*. The executive committee of QPAs was empowered to supervise and control the progresses and expansion of PCs. Peasants who refused to join PCs were alienated from any services delivered

³⁰⁰ *Nägarit Gazéta*, "Proclamation to Provide the Organization of Cooperatives", 1978, Proc.No.138.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

³⁰² *Ibid.*

³⁰³ Michael Stahl, "Capturing Peasants Through Cooperatives: The Case of Ethiopia", *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol.44. 1989, p.30.

³⁰⁴ Yirsaw, p.51.

³⁰⁵ Dessalegn,p.466; *Nägarit Gazéta*, "Proclamation to Provide the Organization of Cooperatives", 1978, Proc.No.138.

by the QPAs. To influence and increase peasant membership of producers' cooperatives, *wäräda* officials used different techniques to persuade and attract those who refused to join the association. For instance, in the *wäräda* those peasants, who were members of producers' cooperatives, were given priorities in the support they wanted to have from the *wäräda* officials.

The 1978 proclamation of "Rural Land Use Fee and agricultural Activities Income Tax Amendment" clearly stated that "a farmer who is a member of cooperatives shall pay birr 5 and a farmer who is not a member shall pay birr 10".³⁰⁶ This was an intention to make peasants join producers' cooperatives. *Qäbälé* officials involved in persuading the peasants to join PCs in the way that they would get access to farm lands, financial loans, and high price for their production and modern farm inputs like fertilizers and seeds. To accomplish this task, officials from the *wäräda* by discussing with QPAs, gave fertile land to the peasants who formed PCs. Thus, seeking fertile land for cultivation, peasants involved the cooperatives.³⁰⁷ Moreover, leaders of the cooperatives by using excessive power recruited and sent Sons of non- member farmers to the national military campaign. Thus to save their Sons peasants joined the association.³⁰⁸ Revolutionary peasants were selected and trained about the need to establish agricultural cooperatives and activities that should be done under the cooperative like afforestation, soil conservation and cattle breeding.

In 1979, the government introduced Cooperative Development Program (CDP) to help the PCs both materially and ideologically. According to CDP, PCs were established by a minimum of three farmers by bringing their lands together. CDP identified three stages that PCs pass through. These were *mälba*, *wälba* and *wäländ* respectively.³⁰⁹ However, it was the first stage *mälba*

³⁰⁶ No. 77/1978, Sub Art.1 and 2.

³⁰⁷ DMUAC, Folder No.AGR, File No. 157, *A Report of Gojjam Province Agricultural Development to the Ministry of Agriculture*, 1970 E.C.

³⁰⁸ Informants: Limaneh , Yibré and Ayälä.

³⁰⁹ The first stage, or *mälba*, the members would use their land in common, but maintaining individual ownership of oxen and farm implements; in the second stage or *wälba* the peasants would pool not only land but also oxen and implements, retaining private control only on kitchen plots and small animals; in the third stage, or *wäländ*, several producers' cooperatives would join to create a large unit capable of providing all services to its members. For detail see Marina Ottaway, "The Ethiopian Land Reform: From Political Change to Economic Development," *In Proceedings of the Eight International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, vol. II, 1989, p. 393.

described as except lands other properties were privately owned, was introduced in the PCs of Baso-Libän *wäräda*.

However, establishing producers' cooperatives and making large number of peasants under the umbrella of this association by the state in the *wäräda* was no successful. Many peasants preferred to abandon the association and favored to farm in isolation. The PCs of Baso-Libän *wäräda* was challenged by many factors. Among others, landowners who owned fertile lands previously had refused to work with the former tenants who held lands lack fertility as compared with the former. The PCs also encounter controversies among members with their work potential. Some of its members were lazy and discouraged other hard workers from using their maximum effort at work and production activities. The tension even reached as far as the division of the members as revolutionary and feudal or *Adhäri*. As per informants, the government other than resolving such groupings intended to impose the proclamation without the consent and willingness of the people.

3.4.2 Service Cooperatives

Service Cooperatives were the other polices introduced by the *Därg* in most parts of the rural parts of the country to deliver peasants quick and proper service in their locality. According to Michaél Stahl, service cooperatives were established by three to ten peasant associations, depending on the size and distance of *qäbälé* peasant association.³¹⁰ Accordingly, the thirty eight peasant associations of Baso-Libän *wäräda* established five service cooperatives. These were Kork, Yäjubié Yälamgäj, Yägäläw and Yäsebäče service cooperative centers.³¹¹ The Service Cooperatives established in Baso-Libän *wäräda* by the combination of seven to eight peasant associations. All of the service cooperatives were named after QPAs established there.³¹²

Providing necessary services to members was the major function of the Service Cooperatives. Another function of the SC was the purchase of grain from peasants in the member peasant associations. The service cooperatives of Baso-Libän *wäräda* were responsible for helping the peasants to boost their agricultural produces and improve the way of living. They provide fertilizers like Dap and Urea to the producers' cooperatives. Since the service cooperatives were

³¹⁰ Stahl, p.29; Proc.No 138 of 1978.

³¹¹ Informants: Yibré and Umar.

³¹² *Ibid.*

led by officials loyal to the government policies, individual farmers who were not the members of producers' cooperatives did not get such services. Cooperatives provide pesticides and insecticides to the peasant associations to enable them produce more products.

Service Cooperatives distribute commodities like soap, sugar, oil, coffee, sickles, salt, match, umbrella, razor blade, nails and cotton clothes at lower price to its members. Furthermore, these cooperatives were entitled to buy and sell the products of peasants to secure them from the possible exploitation by merchants. However, the local officials who were assigned as committees of the service cooperatives made differences in the distribution of commodities to the peasants, usually favoring kinship and other types of relations.³¹³ Besides, the committees themselves were corrupt and theft the commodities from the station which commonly known by the community as *Agäleget*.³¹⁴ Peasants reflected their sorrow and dissatisfaction by the committees using widely known poems like;

*በእናት ሀገር ጥሪ እየተመሃኘ፣
በደርግ ኮሚሽን እየተመሃኘ፣
ኮሚቴው ስኳሩን ጠጥቶት ተገኘ።³¹⁵*
*In the name of the motherland,
In the name of the Därg Commission,
The committee was found having drunk the sugar.*

The service cooperatives bought grain such as wheat, teff, barely, oil seeds, peas, chickpeas, and lentils from peasants by on fixed prices and sold them to Agricultural Marketing Corporation (AMC). The Agricultural Marketing Corporation (AMC) was established in the whole of the country, including Baso-Libän in 1976 with the aim of buying grain at fair price from the peasants and later on re-sells it in times of shortage of grain to the masses.³¹⁶ For instance, in Baso-Libän *wäräda*, wheat was bought at a price of birr 30 per quintal and sold at a price of birr 35. Hence, the SC earned birr 5 as a profit from each quintal. As far as the success of service cooperatives in Baso-Libän *wäräda* was concerned, it facilitated artisans and weavers to produce

³¹³ Informants: Zägäyā , Ayaléw Abäbä and Bälay.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ Nägarit Gazéṭa, Proclamation No. 105 of 1976, “Agricultural Marketing Corporation Establishment Proclamation”; Alemayehu Lirensó, “Grain Marketing in the Post 1974 Revolution: Policies Problems and Prospects,” Taddese Beyene (ed.), *In Proceedings of the eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. I, (Addis Ababa, 1984), p. 392.

traditional cloths such as *gabi*, *Gojjam Azänä* and *kačamanié Foča* and distributed to its members with lower price.

The shops of the cooperatives were well organized and administered by salaried workers. As a result, they were efficient in providing good service to their members as and they were profitable. Besides, the payment for membership that ranged from 5-10, according to the size of the household, served as another source of income for the service cooperatives. Members of the service cooperatives buy commodities with lower price and sold in town shops with high price. This helped the members to earn profits.³¹⁷

By the end of the 1980s, however, the profitability and reputation of these institutions from the public deteriorated. Some of them failed even to open their shops in their fixed working days. The rest failed to deliver all the necessary commodities and satisfy its members as expected. The amount and variety of commodities, which was available in, stokes of these associations radically diminished and apparently, the prices were increased. Finally, customers lost confidence in their associations and began to return to the shops in the town. The government also forced members of the SC to sell some of their products to the cooperative for military consumption. Those who refused to do so were obliged to go to military front or imprisoned. Moreover, the intensification of corruption in these institutions played pivotal role for their failure of the service cooperatives in Baso-Libän *wäräda*.

3.5. Villagization

The government assumed that increasing agricultural productivity could be realized through the formation of advanced cooperatives. To this end, the government agitated peasants to join producer cooperatives, and also provided such institutions moral and material support in order to attract the peasants to be members. Nevertheless, the attempt to convince peasants to join producer cooperatives voluntarily was a failure. Therefore, the *Därg* proclaimed new program called villagization (*Mändär Mesräta or Säfära*) as one means of expanding communal farms.³¹⁸

The *Därg* believed that the scattered rural villages were a hindrance to the development of social services and infrastructure by the state. Thus, the program was intended to bring communities

³¹⁷ Zägäyā and Ayaléw .

³¹⁸ Clapham, p. 175.

who formerly lived in scattered form to one and putting conducive environment for the provision of different services. It was also aimed at creating common peasant leadership and establishing harmonious relation among peasants their by solving the socio-economic and political problems of the period.³¹⁹ In underdeveloped countries like Ethiopia it is difficult to provide many services and only can be provided if they established cluster settlement.³²⁰

The official objectives of villagization program launched by the ministry of Agriculture (MoA) were extension of service to increase agricultural productivity, modifying land use patterns and conserving natural resources, facilitation of schools, clinics, water supply, roads and electricity and strengthening of security and self-defense. The value of villagization also stated as,...

*የመንደር ምስረታው ጠቀሜታ ከረጅም ጊዜ ግብ አኳያ ሲታይ መሬትን ለእርሻ፣ ለመኖሪያ ቤት፣ ለግጦሽ እናለመሳሰሉት በመከፋፈል በአግባቡ ለመጠቀም እንደሚያስችል ይታመናል።*³²¹

translated as, it is believed that the long term value of this villagization program is arranging the proper land use pattern as for settlement area, grazing land and farm land.

In June 1985, the National Coordinating Committee for villagization was formed, and issued its socio-economic and political objectives. It allowed the formation of villagization comprising a minimum of thirty households and maximum of 500 households per village, based on the nature of the land of the locality.³²² Based on the above objectives, villagization was set up in Gojjam by villagization coordination committee at different levels like *kiflä hägär*, *awraja*, *wäräda*, and *qäbälé* peasant associations.³²³ The committee soon entered to site selection and checking the place where the village has to be formed. Four phases of villagization were planned in the years between 1985 and 1988.

In Baso-Libän *wäräda*, among the 38 *qäbälés*, 18 of them were located in the newly selected village sites. The rest 20 *qäbälés* were reorganized and villagized in the selected places by the

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

³²⁰ Dawit , p.307.

³²¹ 143DMUAC, Folder No. 65, File No.132, *Bä Ithiopia Hibrätäsäbawit Giziawi Wätadärawi Mängist Yä Gojjam Kiflä Hagär Erša Sera Şihefät Bét*, Tahisas, 1980E.C.

³²² *Ibid.*; John M. Cohen and Nils-Ivar Isakson, “Villagization in Ethiopia’s Arisi Region,” *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3,1987, p. 435.

³²³ EGZAB, “*Yä Gojjam Kiflä Hägär Mändär Misräta Astäbabari Committee Amätawi Report Märäja*”, 1978 E.C., p.2.

committee. The geographical location of *qäbälé* of the *wäräda* made it difficult to accomplish the villagization task as they planned.

According to sources, villagization program failed at the national level due to the failure of the government to provide financial resources and skilled manpower to fulfill its promises in the villages.³²⁴ Villagization resulted for the detachment of peasants from their long living residence and it was the most far reaching structural change implemented in Ethiopia which results for the complete breakdown of the traditional logic of living and producing.³²⁵ Although the local committees tried to teach the people about the program, they were unable to convince peasants who were leaving their original place to which they had strong attachment.

The objectives of the program like the introduction of social services were not realized following villagization. Moreover, it made peasants lives in distant places from their farmland which exposed their fields to attack by wild animals and pests. Furthermore, moving long distance with their farm animals and farm implements was time consuming for peasants.³²⁶ The peasants of Baso-Libän *wäräda* expressed their dissatisfaction by the villagization program using different poems which were widely used in the *wäräda*. For instance;

*እህል ሰጠናቸው፤ ልጅም ሰጠናቸው ፣
የሬሳችን መወጫ ቤታችን ቀራቸው።³²⁷*
*We gave our grain, we gave our Children,
They left the house from which our corpse is going out.*

*ሴቱም አልፈተለ፤ ወንዱም አላረሰ፤
እንደ ቀራ አሞራ ቤት እያፈረሰ።³²⁸*
*The Woman never spin, the Men never cultivate,
As they are busy in destroying Houses.*

*አሻቅቤ ባየው ሰማዩም ቀለለኝ፤
እሱንም ሰፈራ ወሰዱት መሰለኝ።³²⁹*
*When I see above the sky become insignificant,
I think he (the sky) was taken to Säfära.*

³²⁴ Clapham, p. 175-177.

³²⁵ Sthal, p.30.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ Informants: Zägäyā and Ayaléw.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

³²⁹ *Ibid.*

According to informants, they go very distant places to see and keep their crops from the newly established villages which makes busy and difficult to increase their agricultural products. Besides, those who have bitter relation among themselves were ordered to live in the newly established villages. It in the long run creates tensions and instabilities in the village in particular and the *wäräda* in general and resulted for the development of social crimes.

By and large, though the villagization played significant roles in the introduction of many infrastructures and services in the rural parts of the *wäräda*. At the same time it brought many problems in the life of peasants particularly the detachment from ancestral land was worth than anything.

CHAPTER FOUR

Socio-Economic Developments in Baso-Libän *Wäräda*

Infrastructural development was at its mere stage in the country's long history. After the 1980s, relative reforms were introduced in the fields of socio-economic and infrastructural developments providing public and private services for the society. However, it was very low in Däbrä Markos *awraja* in general and Baso-Libän *wäräda* in particular. Lack of these services indicated that the population of the *wäräda* was unprivileged in the same way as other rural areas from the changes that were carried out by the successive regimes. Even though, peasants were exposed to heavy taxation, the governments did not provide adequate services to them and they live continues under mere nature. Indeed, the *Därg* ought to maintain the necessities of the rural population than its predecessors.

Several attempts have been made by the officials of the *wäräda* to bring socio economic developments. For instance on January 17, 1972, the administrative officials of Baso-Libän *wäräda* and the four *meketel wärädas* made a meeting. The meeting was chaired by *Fitawrari* Admasu Nigusu, governor of Baso-Libän *wäräda* and *balambaras* Limäneh Abäbä of Kork, *qäññazmač* Gétahun Šefäraw of Yägäläw, *balambaras* Zägäyä Dästa of Dogäm and Chané Bälay of Yädug *meketel wärädas*. Zäläqäa Wäldä Iyäsus, the head of the municipality of Yäjubé was also attended the meeting. The issues of road, bridge, water, elementary schools and modernizing farming activities were among the important agendas which were raised and discussed. To secure the success of their plan the officials decided to mobilize the community for financial and labour support.³³⁰

For a matter of creating a glimpse of insights about such developments in the area and period under discussion, I tried to describe some of the important transformations and developments of such services in the next few pages.

³³⁰DMUAC, Folder No.250, File No.፳፱/፱.119, A Minute made in Baso-Libän *Wäräda* Administrative office, January 17, 1972.

4.1. Education

Education played significant role in the developments and transformation of the society. It laid the ground for the spread modernization in the society. The introduction of modern education in Ethiopia traced back to the post Adwa period and groups of modern intellectuals started to appear in Ethiopia.³³¹ The state demanded the establishment of modern education because the expanding bureaucracy needed educated officials for services in diplomatic fields as well as the need for different clerks and accountants. Therefore, schools were established by the state which was to serve in producing civil servants.³³² In Ethiopia, the introduction of modern education traced back to the beginning of twentieth century with the opening of Menilik II School in the year 1908.³³³

However, despite its introduction, modern education was not disseminated and expanded to the rural parts of the country where the majority of the population resides for many years. According to sources, it was following the five years of Italian occupation period that modern education had been introduced to some provinces and the government agitated for its consolidation.

In the long periods of the country's history, church education has been served as sources of knowledge by which the people know and understand reading, writing and maintain religious concepts. Church education was the only means of disseminating knowledge and religious and cultural values.³³⁴ It was common in Gojjam province. It was given in all over the nearby churches usually within *qäbälés*.³³⁵ Children's from the *qäbälé* join the church education delivered by *Märegéta*. The *Märegéta* was responsible to teach the children from *fidäl* to *qedasé* levels and shaping the behavior of them.³³⁶ In Baso-Libän, church education had been given in many churches. For instance, Lemeçem Giorgis, Kork Giorgis, Yäberna *Qidus* Michaél, Yänseça Yohannes, Çänqoletç Mariam and Komié Michaél were the most widely known.³³⁷ They played a

³³¹Bahru, p.104.

³³²Meaza Bekele, "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia: Its Foundation, its Development, its Future with Emphasis on Primary Education", (PhD Dissertation, Colombia: Colombia University, 1996), pp.32-35.

³³³Bahru, p.108; Yirsaw, p.66.

³³⁴ Messay Kebede, *Radicalism and Cultural Dislocation in Ethiopia: 1960-1974*, (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008), pp.49-50.

³³⁵Informants: Dessié and Liqämäkuas Bälay.

³³⁶*Ibid.*

³³⁷*Ibid.*

great role in the propagation and development of education in the *wäräda*. Church education was delivered in a small house constructed by inhabitants.

The clergymen engaged in educating people without payment. In return *yä qolo äemariwoče* give labour service to the local *märegéta*. Once, *yä qolo täemariwoče* finished their primary education to *qidasé* level, they join their higher education levels like *aquaquam and qiné* in Dima Giorgis, Wašära Mariam and Märtula Mariam.³³⁸ After completing their education, they returned to their home and delivered service to the *qäbälé* church. Besides church education, Islamic teaching was common in Baso-Libän in *qäbälés* where Muslims reside in. children's of Islamic followers attend Quran education delivered by the local teacher.³³⁹ It is important to remind that Islamic followers were in Baso-Libän since the time of Ali Saïdo. Therefore, at Yäjubié Quran education was given in their Mosques. This was common in Yänseča, Däjat and Kork where significant number of Muslims lived. Informants demonstrated that even many Muslim children were sent to Lumammié and Ṭaba to attend better Quran education and Hadith.³⁴⁰

Formal modern education started in organized manner in Baso-Libän *wäräda* in 1942 E.C. (1949) with the opening of Yäjubié primary school. It was leveled 1-6. At the beginning traditional clerics were involved in teaching students about basic Amharic alphabets. Regarding the expansion of infrastructures particularly schools, the Ethiopian government faced financial constraints in the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, the non-governmental bodies like Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) played a significant role in constructing schools specifically elementary schools.³⁴¹ The Swedish Government Elementary School Building Unit (ESGU) was responsible in giving financial assistance for the establishment of many primary schools in Gojjam in general and Baso-Libän *wäräda* in particular. Kork primary school was considered as an example of the Swedish help.³⁴² This could be substantiated by the Archival documents demonstrating:

³³⁸ *Ibid.*

³³⁹ Informants: Mohammed Kedir, Jibril Awäl and Ibrahim Areru.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁴¹ Bahru, p. 221.

³⁴² Informants: Argaw Taye.

በባሶ ሊባን ወረዳ ግዛት ኮርክ ምክትል ወረዳ አስተዳደር ወስጥ ጥር 21 ቀን 1965 ዓ/ም በአወሮጥላን ስለተሰተነው ወረቀት ጉዳይ በተመለከተ አቶ አምሳሉ ደምለው የተባሉ ግለሰብ ወልደታቸው በገነት የሆነ እና ስራቸው አዲስ አበባ በብስራተ ወንጌል ዜና አንባቢ የሆነ ንብረትነቱ የሚስዮንዎች በሆነ አወሮጥላን መጥተው የሚስዮን ትምህርት ቤት እና ክሊኒክ ለማሰራት ስለበተቱት ወረቀት ከጎጃም ጠቅላይ ግዛት ፖሊስ መምሪያ የተደገ ማጣሪያ ³⁴³
 Translated as on January 21,1965E.C, an alicopter belongs to the missionaries threw a paper in Baso-Libän wäräda, Kork meketel wäräda administration. It was Ato Amsalu Dämläw, a man born at Gänät, near Kork and news reader at Bistratä Gäbrél, Addis Ababa who brought the missionaries to built clinics and schools at kork. An investigation was made by the Gojjam Ṭäqalay Gizat police about this happenings.

It was fact that the *Därg* was better than its predecessors in the expansion of primary education all over the country via its policies of *edigät bähibrät zämäča*. Centers of *edigät bähibrät zämäča* were served as centers for the newly opened schools of the *wäräda* under discussion.³⁴⁴ During the imperial regime, there were only two modern education centers in the *wäräda*. The *Därg* soon expanded the number of schools to thirteen and elementary schools began to expand in different parts of the *wäräda*.³⁴⁵

Table.2. shows the established schools, years of establishment and their grade levels.

No.	School Name	Year of establishment	Grade level
1	Yäubié Primary School	1942 E.C.	1-6
2	Kork Primary School	1966 E.C.	1-6
3	Mečeg Primary School	1972 E.C.	1-6
4	Yägäläw Primary School	1972 E.C.	1-6
5	Yälämäläm Primary School	1972 E.C.	1-6
6	Yädug Primary School	1972 E.C.	1-6
7	Yälamej Primary School	1972 E.C.	1-6
8	Dän Primary School	1972 E.C.	1-6
9	Dogma Primary School	1975 E.C.	1-6
10	Komié Zämié Primary School	1978 E.C.	1-6

³⁴³ NALA, Folder 151, File No. 17.1.11.17.03, *Däbrä Markos Awraja Gizat Report*.

³⁴⁴ Informants: Dessié and Bälay.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid*.

11	Bétä Nigus Primary School	1978 E.C.	1-6
12	Däjät Primary School	1980 E.C.	1-6
13	Dändägäb Primary School	1980 E.C.	1-6

Source: Yä Baso-Libän *Wäräda Timhret Şehfät Bét*, “*Yä Andännña Däräja Timhret Tädäraşenät Ena Tägdarotoče*”, (Yäjubié, 1998), p.6.

At the beginning the society was not happy to send their children to *Askuala* (modern school). For instance, it was first started with seven students in 1942 and thirteen in 1943 and nineteen in 1944.³⁴⁶ Therefore, education was considered as an obligation and local leaders ordered to penalize and arrest peasants who refused to send their children to the newly opened modern schools. In spite of this effort, after grade six the students quite schooling due to various reasons; that is the distance from school to their home and inadequacy of school facilities as well as other materials. Students who finished their primary level were obliged to go to Däbrä Markos for secondary school until 1997 E.C. where Yäjubié secondary school was opened. The Adult literacy campaign was another campaign that the *Därg* established to teach peoples of the rural environment to enable them to read and write (*mäşehäf ena manebäb*). As a result of many youths of Baso-Libän *wäräda* acquired the above mentioned basic skills.

4.2. Health Services

Health service provision centers were non-existent in the *wäräda* to the last years of the *Därg* regime. Traditional medical treatment has been the common practice of the people to solve health related problems. As part of its modernization attempt, the Imperial government intended to establish public health centers in different parts of the country. However, the establishments of health centers were confined to the *Ṭäqelay Gizat* levels of administrative hierarchy.³⁴⁷ Däbrä Märkos hospital which was established in 1957E.C.³⁴⁸ was the only nearby health center for the people of Baso-Libän *wäräda* which is 27 kilometers distance from Yäjubié, the *wäräda* seat and 60 kilometers far from the inhabitants of the Abay Gorge. Besides, the *wäräda* population found

³⁴⁶ Yä Baso-Libän *Wäräda Timhret Şehfät Bét*, “*Yä Andännña Däräja Timhret Tädäraşenät Ena Tägdarotoče*”, (Yäjubié, 1998), pp.2-3.

³⁴⁷ Nebyu, pp.125-126.

³⁴⁸ Ewnātu, p.105.

in the Abay Gorge south of Kork and Yälamgäj were travelled to the neighboring towns of Oromia like Kachisé, Märta, Dägoma where small clinics presented.³⁴⁹ However, only those with economic strength were able to secure health services in the above mentioned places. The people travel long distance with foot carrying the sick person in cases of medical necessity.³⁵⁰

The inhabitants of Baso-Libän *wäräda* who lived in areas like Komié Zämié, Däjat, Zämbol Yäçara, Yälamgäj, Bétä Negus and Gobäñema were challenged by the prevalence of malaria diseases due to its tropical hot low land. Besides, water borne diseases such as, cholera, diarrhea, ameba and others were observed.³⁵¹ This caused serious illness and the Därg regime in its last years issued the establishment of clinics and Yäubié and Kork clinics were opened accordingly. However, they faced lack of professionals and enough medicine and they were unable to provide enough treatment to the people.

4.3. Water Supply

In the developing countries such as Ethiopia the population suffers from lack of clean drinking water. Similarly, the Gojjam population in general and Baso-Libän *wäräda* in particular were challenged by shortage of clean water supply for so long in history. In Baso-Libän *wäräda* the source of water for home utilization in the rural area is mainly obtained from ponds, rivers and streams and water wells.³⁵² Water supply in the *wäräda* during the period under study was insufficient. The district is endowed with the natural source of Yäda, Mar, Gét and Çämoga which are known as tributaries of the Abay River and inhabitants of the *wäräda* used these rivers for drinking and other purposes for a long period. The people did not get sufficient water until the downfall of the *Därg* regime. But it was after 1991 that some improvements were seen in the supply of clean water, when the government was able to build water pipes in *wäräda's* seat Yäjubié and recently in Kork and Yälamgäj developing towns.³⁵³

³⁴⁹ Informants: Ayaléw and Däräje Abatä.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁵¹ Baso-Libän *Wäräda Kominikéšen Şefät Bét*, “Yä Baso-Libän Edgüt Käyät wädä yät”? 1992 , No.p.

³⁵² *Ibid.*

³⁵³ *Ibid.*

4.4. Road Transportation

Baso-Libän *wäräda* is characterized by lack of adequate and organized infrastructure. Transportation service in the *wäräda* was at its infantry stage during the period under study. In the absence of modern transportation and even now a days in some parts of the rural areas of the *wäräda* domestic animals such as, mules, horses and donkeys are largely used to transport commodities and people from place to place.

It is imperative to mention that Baso-Libän *wäräda* had been the center of long distance trade for many years. To this end, it served as a connecting line between Oromia and Amhara regions. According to sources, several attempts had been made to construct roads crossing the Abay River via Baso-Libän *wäräda*. One of the crucial examples of this attempt was the construction of Marta's Bridge (Marta Biger *Deldey*). Marta's Bridge is found in the in komié zämié *qäbälé* at Abay River at special place called Alegié. It is 46 kilometers far from the capital of the *wäräda*. Sources demonstrated that the construction of the bridge was started in 1931 and stopped in 1935.³⁵⁴ It was started by an Italian Musse Kastegna and an Ethiopian Hailu Näbey was served as an expert.³⁵⁵ But, Ras Imiru refused the construction of the bridge to that direction and changed to Däjän.³⁵⁶ The Bridge borders Wälläga, Gojjam and Šäwa provinces.

Contrary to the above narration, oral sources demonstrated that the bridge was started by the daughter of *Atse* Fasilädäs, Marta in the seventeenth century for her desire in connecting the north Ethiopia with south Ethiopia.³⁵⁷ However, its width and length made difficult to finish the bridge. Thus, it named as *Bigre deldey* which locally means unfinished bridge.³⁵⁸ There was another bridge called Šebo *deldey*, found west of Marta's Bridge following in Abay River near its juncture with Gudär River.³⁵⁹ It has 30 meters height from the ground. It has 600 meters length. It was established in 1915 by Italians and gave transport service.³⁶⁰ It was via Šebo *deldey* that trade relations between the Oromo and Amhara people were conducted. However, in

³⁵⁴ Informants: Walä Qärié, Mäkonäne Adamu and Bälestie Andargačäw.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁶ Abie Ayal, "Potential Challenges and Prospects of Tourism Development: the Case of Baso-Libän Wäräda, Amhara Region, Ethiopia", (Gondar University, Tourism Management, 2018), p.38.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

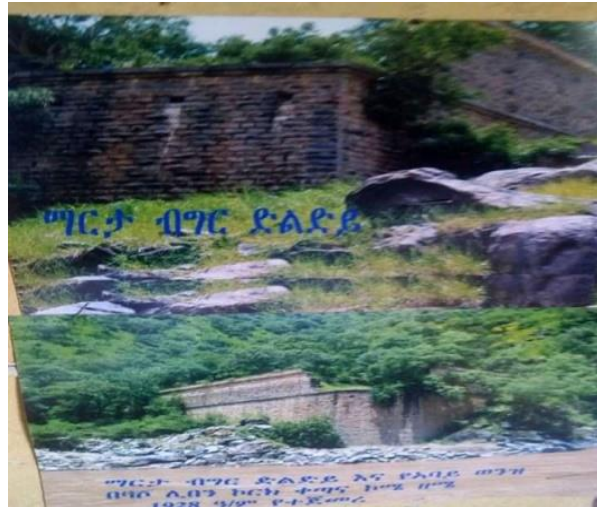
³⁵⁸ *Ibid*; *Yä Baso-Libän wäräda Communication: Natural and cultural Heritage Sites of Baso-Libän*, 2018.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁰ Abie, p.39.

1970s, it was destroyed for unknown reasons.³⁶¹ Though it is out of the scope of the study, in 1994 E.C. an individual named Walä Qärié repair the stitch and used for transporting peoples with fee. Later on the continuing insecurity in the *wäräda* and the bridge's usage as the passenger for many bandits resulted for its breakdown by security bodies in 1997.

Fig.1. The Broken Parts of Marta Biger *Deldey*



³⁶¹ *Ibid.*



Source: Baso-Libän *Wäräda Kominikésen Şefät Bét*. 2011. “Sites of Tourism in Baso-Libän”; photo taken by the researcher, April, 2020.

Archival documents perpetuate that absence of vehicles and roads in the *wäräda* and *meketel wärädas* affected the people in many cases. On October 23, 1975 the administrative official of Baso –Libän *wäräda*, Tadässä Zäläqä, wrote a letter to the *awraja* administration notifying the absence of vehicles and roads and civil servants of *meketel wäräda* were isolated from the central town of the *wäräda*.

*በባሶ ሊብን ወረዳ አስተዳደር እንዲሁም በ አራቱም ምክትል ወረዳዎች የሚገኘው ህዝባችን ወደ የጁቤ ለመምጣት የተመደበ ተሽከርካሪ ባለመኖሩ ያጋጠመውን ችግር በመግለጽ እንዲመደብለት በየ ጊዜው ከማመልከታችን በላይ የመንግስት ሰራተኛው ስላጋጠመው ችግር...*³⁶². *The absence of vehicle casuse problems of transportation in Baso-Libän wäräda Administration and the people in four meketel wärädas could not come to Yäjubié. The wäräda consequatively reported the problem. Now civil servants faced similar problems.*

Moreover, in 1967 E.C. people who were born in Baso-Libän *wäräda* and lived in Addis Ababa requested the public security and administration directorate to conduct telethon in Addis Ababa to collect money for the construction of the road to Yäjubié.³⁶³ However, though they have given permission they were not successful in changing their plan to the ground. Similarly, in 1969 E.C. the *wäräda* revolutionary development committee motivated the local people to pay money as per their willingness to construct the road from Çämoga to Yäjubié and asked the

³⁶² DMUAC, Folder No.ዞን/አስ/0226.250, File No.፱/ቡ/199, A Letter from the Administrative Office of Baso Libän Wäräda to the Administrative Office of Gojjam Province on the Transport Issue. October 23, 1975; See Appendix XIX.

³⁶³ See Appendix XIX.

awraja to print paper for receipt.³⁶⁴ The *awraja* gave permission and print the receipt. However, it remains in vain. Between 1983 and 1994 the *pista* road connecting Yäjubié with Däbrä Markos was constructed. However, it was difficult to transport in the rainy season. It was after the down fall of the *Därg* regime that the road connecting the *wäräda* with Kork *qäbäle* was constructed by the rural roads expansion project.

4.5. Communication and Electricity Services

Communication played a pivotal role in the developments of socio-economic and political affairs of a society. This service consist postal, telecommunication and media services. Historically, the idea of communication service in Ethiopia was traced back to 1894 when Emperor Menilik II first introduced it. Telecommunication service was introduced to Gojjam province in 1936 under Ras Imiru Häilä sellasié.³⁶⁵ Its service was limited to the provincial capital and Baso-Libän like most of the *wärädas* in the province were neglected from such services. According to some sources, in 1975 an assessment was made by the revolutionary development committee and towns supposed to have this service were selected in the province. Baso-Libän was one among these towns. To this end in 1976, telecommunication service was introduced to Yäjubié. However, this service was confined to the center till the down fall of the *Därg* regime. Electricity is another important sector for development. In 1976, the peace mission committee of the *Därg* visited many towns of Gojjam. The mission communicated with the representatives of each *wäräda*. Finally, the mission selected towns for electric guarantee and Yäjubié was one among them. However, the Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority, because of financial constraints could not perform as per the reports of the mission.³⁶⁶ In reality in the period under study, Baso-Libän *wäräda* did not experience hydro electric light rather the people at Yäjubié used generator.

³⁶⁴ See Appendix.

³⁶⁵ Ewnetu, pp.114-115.

³⁶⁶ See Appendix XX.

Conclusion

The study gave due attention to examine the history of Baso-Libän *Wäräda* beginning from 1941 to 1991. It attempted to reconstruct the history of the *Wäräda* giving more emphasis to local developments depending on the oral sources and archival materials. Studying the history of Baso-Libän needs great emphasis and consideration for the area experienced multi-ethnic and cultural interactions since history. Such diverse interactions made difficult to clearly show the origin of the peopling of Baso-Libän *Wäräda*.

The growth of long distance trade in the 19th century led the foundation of markets and towns. It was following such developments that Baso became a center of commerce and exchange. Its geographical location made Baso to be a connection line between the Northern and Southern parts of Ethiopia. However, in the first decade of the 20th century, Däjän became a connection line with the center and Baso began to lose its importance.

In the post 1941 the imperial regime made major changes in the fields of administration and economic spheres. The major aim of re-establishing strong centralized political power and confirming the government's economic foundation was to attend dynamic tasks of existing administrative as well as land related issues. The Imperial government brings consecutive administrative reforms that attempted to control the administrative system in centralized manner. This was also done to facilitate to implementation of the prevailing taxation system in a more organized and simple manner. However, regardless of various reforms, the issue of land was the major problem in Baso-Libän *Wäräda*. Land was controlled by land lords and the majority of the residents lived under tenancy. In addition to this, there was taxation burden on the local inhabitants during the imperial regime. The taxation burden brought various problems in the *Wäräda*. For example uprising, banditry and unwillingness to pay tribute to local government become common. All people of the *Täqlay Gezat* in general and Baso-Libän *Wäräda* in particular expressed their grievance through successive petition to the responsible bodies; *Täqlay Gezat* and *Awraja* in order to reduce tax but their effort remain fruitless. All these problems brought the Gojjam peasants uprising which include the study area.

The overthrow of Emperor Hailä Selasié I by popular pressure in 1974 marked the emergence of succeeding regime, the *Därg*. The *Därg* government started to strengthen of authority by brining various programs which are linked with economically, politically and socially related problems in national level in general and in Baso-Libän *Wäräda* in particular. Among the programs of *Därg*, land reform, peasant associations, cooperatives like, producer's cooperatives and service cooperatives were important. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the *Wäräda* antagonized these policies. While in the implementation of these programs, the government faced objection from local residents, consequently it accounted to the collapse of the *Därg* regime. In general, in both regimes the socio-economic development in Baso-Libän *Wäräda* did not show progress.

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List of oral informants

No.	Name	Age	Interview		Remark
			Date	Place	
1	Abäbä Dämelé (<i>Ato</i>)	47	25/2/2021	Yäsebäč	He was an official of <i>qäbälé</i> peasant association during the <i>Därg</i> regime.
2	Abié Ayale (<i>Ato</i>)	35	26/2/2021	Yäjubié	He is an expert of tourism management in Baso-Libän <i>wäräda</i> and has better understanding about the <i>wäräda</i> .
3	Alämu Aman (Sheikh)	72	26/2/2021	>>	He was a sheikh in Yäjubié Mosque and told me many things about Muslim landholdings and Islamic education.
4	Alämu käbbädä (<i>Ato</i>)	76	1/3/2021	Kork	He was a <i>ballabat</i> during the Imperial regime and his knowledge about Baso-Libän <i>wäräda</i> is considerable.
5	Alemaw Zäwdu (<i>Ato</i>)	59	1/3/2021	>>	He was an official of <i>qäbälé</i> peasant association during the <i>Därg</i> regime and is knowledgeable about the peasant associations.
6	Andargé Adamu (<i>Ato</i>)	75	1/3/2021	Yänseča	He was <i>balä rest</i> in Malgaše and gave me considerable information.
7	Andargé Zäwdu (<i>Ato</i>)	65	3/3/2021	Yälamgäj	He was executive officer of Ethiopian Worker Party at <i>qäbälé level</i> .

8	Argaw Täye (<i>Ato</i>)	73	7/3/2021	Kork	He is a teacher in Kork primary school and has many information about the <i>Edigät bä Hebrät Zämäča</i>
9	AyäläAbatnäh(<i>Ato</i>)	53	7/3/2021	Yänseča	He was the chairman of Yänseča <i>qäbälé</i> during the <i>Därg</i> regime and well informed about the <i>Därg</i> program.
10	Ayaléw Abäbä (<i>Ato</i>)	49	9/3/2021	Däjat	He knows much about the <i>Därg</i> regime.
11	Ayalnäš Dämelé(<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	63	10/3/2021	Yägäläw	She was the secretary of Service cooperatives and has known more about the program.
12	Bäläy Ewnätu (<i>Ato</i>)	74	10/3/2021	>>	He was <i>aṭibya dañña</i> in the imperial period and has significant understanding about the administrative system at the lower level.
13	Bäläynäš Alamrew(<i>Ato</i>)	56	12/3/2021	Lemeçem	She was the wife of <i>aṭibya dañña</i> and knows about the imperial and <i>Därg</i> regime.
14	Bälestie Andargačäw(<i>Ato</i>)	64	12/3/2021	>>	He is from Lemeçem <i>qäbälé</i> and very informative about the <i>wäräda</i> .
15	Däräje Abatä (<i>Ato</i>)	52	19/3/2021	Bétä Negus	He is a farmer and knows much about the <i>Därg</i> regime.
16	Dässié Almaw (<i>Ato</i>)	56	19/3/2021	>>	He was the leader of Youth Association of Bétä Negus <i>qäbälé</i> and has considerable knowledge about the <i>Därg</i> regime.

17	Dässié Berhäné(<i>qés</i>)	78	23/3/2021	Yänseča	He is a Priest in Yänseča Yohannes church and gave me much information about the church land holdings.
18	Dässié Mänsur (<i>Ato</i>)	67	23/3/2021	>>	He was from the family of <i>gult gäzhes</i> and told me about the <i>rest-gult</i> land holding systems.
19	Dässié Walä (<i>Ato</i>)	60	25/3/2021	Komié	He was executive officer of Ethiopian Worker Party at <i>qäbälé level</i> .
20	Emawayesh Ṭelayä (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	55	29/3/2021	Dändägäb	She was the member of Women's Association during the <i>Därg</i> regime and knows well about the different program
21	Fäntaye Hunyaläw(<i>Ato</i>)	79	2/4/2021	Yädug	His knowledge about the imperial regime is considerable.
22	Gétnät Tliahun (<i>Ato</i>)	76	2/4/2021	Yänseča	He was the cashier in the mentioned <i>qäbälé</i> and well acquainted with the <i>Zämäča</i> .
23	Hässän Dawid (Sheik)	59	7/4/2021	Yäjubié	A resident of Yäjubié and knows more about the Muslims of the <i>wäräda</i> .
24	Hussén Aräru (Sheik)	71	7/4/2021	>>	He was a religious leader and has relevant information about the Baso market and trade.
25	Ibrahiem Aliyu (Sheik)	73	9/4/2021	Kork	He is a sheikh and teacher of Islamic religion in Kork and knows about the Muslim education.

26	Ibrahim Aräru (Sheik)	73	10/4/2021	Däjat	A resident of Däjat <i>qäbälé</i> and member of the <i>qäbälé</i> peasant association.
27	Jibril Awol (Sheik)	58	13/4/2021	Yäjubié	A sheik at Yäjubié town with significant information about the two regimes.
28	Käbbädä Tämäsegän (Ato)	53	15/4/2021	Dogäm	He was executive officer of Ethiopian Worker Party at <i>qäbälé level</i> .
29	Lulé Admasu (Ato)	47	15/4/2021	>>	A resident of Dogäm <i>qäbälé</i> and member of the <i>qäbälé</i> peasant association.
30	Limäneh Abäbä (Ato)	68	17/4/2021	Yäjubié	He was the governor of Kork <i>meketel wäräda</i> and has considerable information about the administrative systems and structures of the <i>wäräda</i> .
31	Liqämäkuas Bälay (Aba)	77	19/4/2021	Mečeg	He is a religious teacher in the mentioned place and knows more about the taxation system of the imperial regime.
32	Mäkonäne Adamu(Ato)	54	>>	.>>	He was the chief of the Yägäläw producer's cooperatives. Gives information on the peasant producer's cooperatives.
33	Mihret Käbädä(Ato)	63	20/4/2021	>>	He has been family member of <i>Ĉeqasum</i> . He provides informant on the general history regarding the administrative and social-economic history of the <i>Wäräda</i> .

34	Mihrātu Wändemu(<i>Ato</i>)	71	23/4/2021	Yäjubié	He is the chai person of patriotic association in the <i>wäräda</i> and his information about the struggle against Italian occupation is crucial.
35	Misganaw Alälegn(<i>Ato</i>)	66	23/4/2021	>>	He works in the finance office of the <i>wäräda</i> . His information on taxation and tax collection system in the <i>wäräda</i> during the Imperial and <i>Därg</i> regime is crucial.
36	Misganaw Hailé(<i>Ato</i>)	58	27/4/2021	Dändägäb	He was the secretary of producers' cooperative in Dändägäb and gave me considerable information.
37	Misganaw Tamiru(<i>Ato</i>)	60	28/4/2021	Dän	A resident of Dän <i>qäbälé</i> and member of the <i>qäbälé</i> peasant association.
38	Mogäs Girma(<i>Ato</i>)	57	1/5/2021	Yäjubié	He was in the <i>wäräda</i> for many years serving as government employers. He is a good informant on the <i>Wäräda</i> socioeconomic development.
39	Mohammäd Kädär (<i>Ato</i>)	72	4/5/2021	>>	A merchant at Yäjubié and member of the <i>qäbälé</i> peasant association with significant account about the <i>Därg</i> regime.

40	Saidu Dawid(<i>Ato</i>)	74	5/5/2021	D/Markos	He was an inhabitant of Baso-Libän and knows more about the Muslim communities' conditions in both the imperial and <i>Därg</i> regimes.
41	Tariku Almaw(<i>Ato</i>)	68	6/5/2021	>>	He was <i>näç läbaše</i> in the imperial period and gave me many ideas on the administrative system of the regime.
42	Tariku Zägäyä (<i>Ato</i>)	69	>>	>>	He is a retired government official of the <i>wäräda</i> and told me about the socio-economic developments there.
43	Tasew Z Bäqqlä (<i>Ato</i>)	71	7/5/2021	Kork	He was the leader of Kork <i>meketel wäräda</i> and has significant information about the administration of the regimes.
44	Tibäbu Yirdié(<i>Ato</i>)	84	7/5/2021	Kork	He is one of elder reside in the <i>Wäräda</i> . His knowledge about the history of the <i>Wäräda</i> and its administrative structure crucial.
45	Umar Hussen(<i>Ato</i>)	60	9/5/2021	>>	He is the son of the trader and his knowledge about the Baso market is significant.

46	Walä Qärié(<i>Ato</i>)	57	10/5/2021	Komié	He involved in <i>Qäbälé</i> Peasant Association stage during the <i>Därg</i> regime. His information on the <i>Därg</i> period was significant.
47	Yibré Aliyu (<i>Ato</i>)	84			He is one of elder reside in the <i>Wäräda</i> . His knowledge about the history of the <i>Wäräda</i> and its administrative structure crucial.
48	Zägäyä Tämäsgeṅ(<i>Ato</i>)	67	12/5/2021	Çed Mariam	He was tax assessor in the <i>wäräda</i> . His information on the administrative, taxation in the <i>Wäräda</i> during the Imperial and <i>Darg</i> is significant.
49	Zäläläm Täsefa(<i>Ato</i>)	73	23/5/2021	Yäsebäč	He was a <i>Şefta</i> in the Imperial period and knows many issues about security problems in the <i>wäräda</i> .

Glossary

- Ato* - A civil title given to ordinary people.
- Abba*- Father, title particularly to a priest or a monk.
- Abun*- Bishop.
- Aṭbiya-dañña*- local judge.
- Awraja*- Administrative sub-province.
- Balabbat*- Individual with the hereditary owner of rest land.
- Bitwaddäd*- The highest politico-military title.
- Çeqa-šum*- Village chief
- Däjjäzmač /Däjjäč/* - a military title a step below *Ras*
- Däga*- Zone with cold climatic condition.
- Fitawrari*- a military title below *Däjjäzmač*.
- Gaša*- Unit to measure land, which is equivalent to 40 hectares.
- Geber*- Tribute.
- Grazmač*- Commander of the left, military title.
- Gult*- Non-hereditary right to collect tribute from rest land owners.
- Gult-gäž*- Gult governor.
- Lej* - ‘child,’ - title reserved for sons of the royal family and of the upper nobility.
- Mämher*- Head of monastery.
- Märiḡéta*- A religious title given to the clergy who educate the liturgy.
- Mesläné*- An administrative unit under *wäräda*
- Näç-läbaš*- Local militia.
- Qäbällé*- Lowest administrative unit.
- Qäññazmač*- Commander of the right, a politico-military title above *Gerazmač*.
- Qés* Priest
- Qolla*- Hot climatic zone.
- Ras*- The highest traditional title.
- Rest*- Hereditary rights over land.
- Rest-gult*- Hereditary gult.
- Šäikh*- A religious title given to Muslims.

Šefta- Bandet

Ṭäqalay-Gezat- Province.

Wäräda- administrative unit below awrajjja.

Wäyna-däga- Moderate climatic zone.

Wäyzäro- A civil title given to married woman.

Yägobäz-alläqa- Village chief

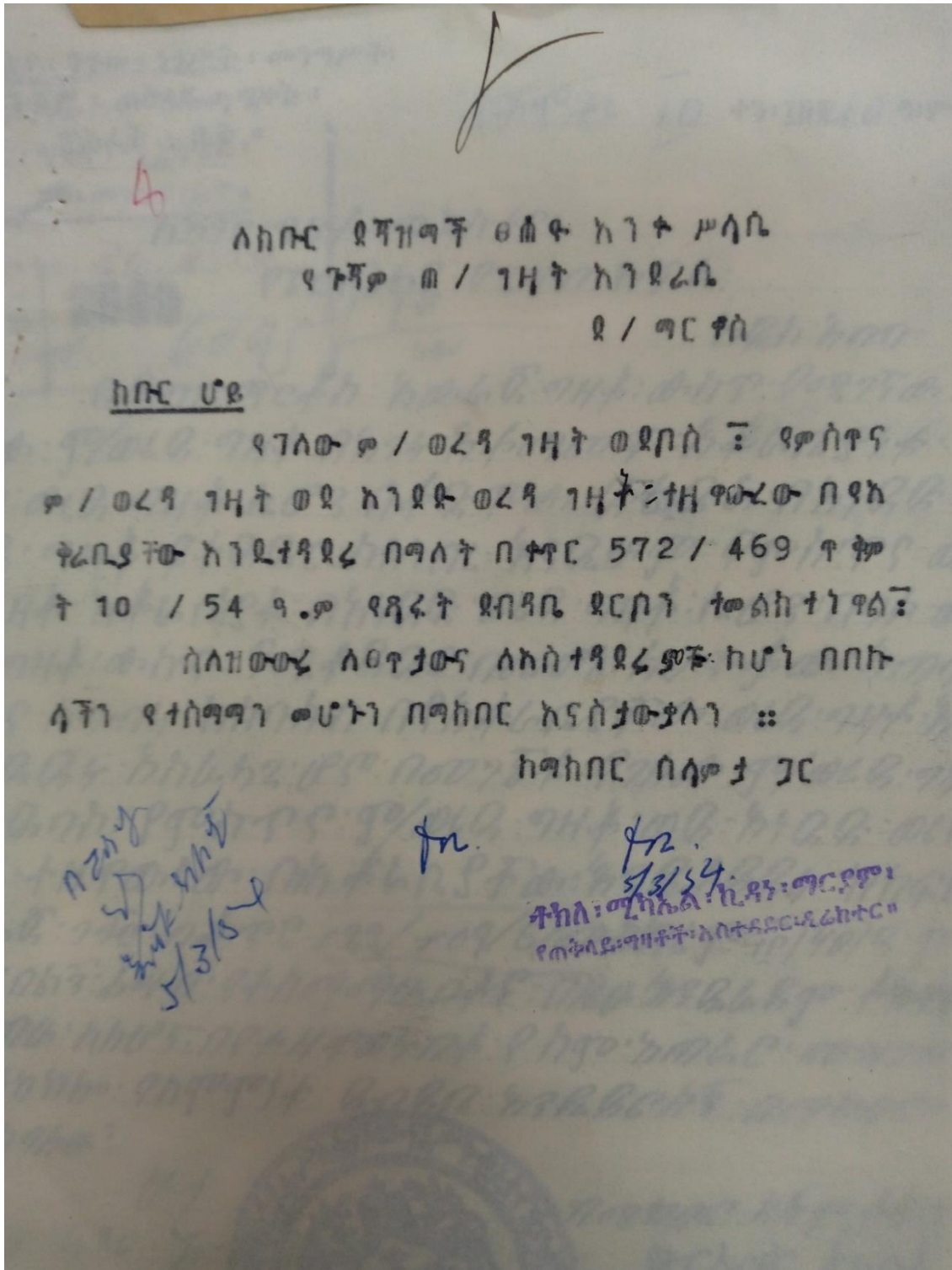
Zämač- Campaigner.

Zämäča- Campaign.

Zämänä-mäsafent- The era of princes, 1769-1855 in Ethiopia .

Appendicies

Appendix-I



Appendix -II

የዓ አገበባ ዘአዎነገደ ይሁዓ
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ሥላሴ አገዚአብሔር ገጽ 17 ሥነ ዘኢትዮጵያ

አ ቀ ጁ

በጉጃው ወቅት ገዛት የሚገኘው ሕዝባችን የሚረገጠን ከ1941 ዓ ም ጊዮር ያለውን ወዘተ ገብር ለመክፈል አገዳጅተው ስለተረገገ ፣ በዚህ ወቅት የረረበትን ፕገር ለማታለል እስከ 1959 ዓ ም ድረስ ያለውን ወዘተ መሥረት አድርገንታል።

ሁለተኛ ባለፈው ጊዜ አዲስ የገንዘብ ታክስ በሥራ ላይ በሚወሰድበት ጊዜ የሥራ አሰጣጥ ባለቤታቸው አለመገባባት ከሕገ ወጭ ለተሠራው አድራገት ከጻፍ ርተው የተወሰዱ ቢኖሩ ፣ ከባለጋራቸው አዳጋሪት እስከ አገዳ ወር ድረስ አገዳገቡ በመገገም በገዳ ያለውን መሥረት አድርገንታል።

የጉጃው ሕዝብ በአገር አቀፍ ስጦታ ተገኝተው የታዩት ገንዘብ ለገንዘብ ስጦታ ለማግኘት ፣ ይህን በመባባላቸው የጉጃው ገንዘብ የተደረገ ስጦታ ማግኘት አይቻልም።

የጉጃው መሥሪያ ቤቅ ህብቻ ሲሆን ሕዝቡ ሠርተና ኮቦር አገረን በሚባል ለገንዘብ ስጦታ ለገብረ በቡ ስላጻዊ ድር ጠገቶች ሆነን የለበንም።

የጉጃው ሕዝብ ኑሮው በአርባ ሳይ የተመሠረተ ሲሆን አሁን አገራችን የሌለው ለገንዘብ ስጦታ በመሰል አገር በዚያው የተደገገ አባቶች ባቶች ወባብ መሥሪያ ቤቅ ዘንግ ሲሆን ፣ በጋራ ገለበትና በዘመናዊ የርባ መሣሪያ አስረፍተን በሠራ ከፈንቶ አልፍ ከገር ተቆ የሚሰጠው በየወረዳና በየቀበሌ አገር ያለው መሥሪያ ቤቅ አስከህን ባይሠራበት ይታያል።

ወደፊት ገንዘብ የተጠፋ በመሰል አገር ተባብሮ የሚኖረው የጉጃው ሕዝብ ወይንጋል ስራ አፈጻጸም የሚገባበት ወይንጋል አስረገገው አርባታ አየተጠጠው አገዳጋይ ይረዳል።



16764/23

8/7

ሐምሌ 11 1961

ለጉዳዩ ጠቅላይ ገዛት ጽ/ቤት
ደብረ ግርድብ

ገርግደ ገጽ ገገሥት የጉዳዩ ጠቅላይ ገዛትን በዝገባ
ሂደት በጠገን አርቶ ለግጥም ወገኖቻችን አገዳሚ በ1941
አሰከ 1959 ዓ.ም ደረሰ ስለአልተከፈለው የመረት ውዝና ገብር
አዋጅ አገዳላብ በግለሰብ በጥር 16172 /23 /ሐምሌ 2 /61 ዓ.ም
የተከፈለ ደብዳቤ ደርሶ ተወልድቶታል፡፡-

የኢትዮጵያ ገጽ ገገሥት ወገን ገገሥት የጽሕፈት ግዴታ ለገር
ጠቅላይ በጥር 2569 /61 /^{አ6}/₁₇ ሐምሌ 5.61 ዓ.ም የተሰጠ
ላገን በነበረው 2. ገጽ ትኩረት ገልጦት በዚህ ጋር አያይዘን
ላባቸንን አናስታውታለን፡፡=====

MWD
10/11/61
10-11-61
ደብረ ግርድብ

በሰላሌ ታ ጋር፡፡-
[Signature]
10/11
ታላ ገብረ ጌዳን
የላገር አገዛት ተ/ዋና ዲሬክተር

የክፍሉ ዓኖች የገዛ ተከላኛ ጭርባሪ ሥልጣን ከላይ በተጠቀሰው መሠረት በከ
ዓይኑ ከወጣ በኋላ በ1943 ዓ.ም ስለክፍሉ ዓኖች አመራረጥ አገዳ ደረጃ ትዕዛዝ ከገር
ጣዳ ገጽ ስምት ለጠቅላይ አገረ ገዢዎች ተሰላፈ።

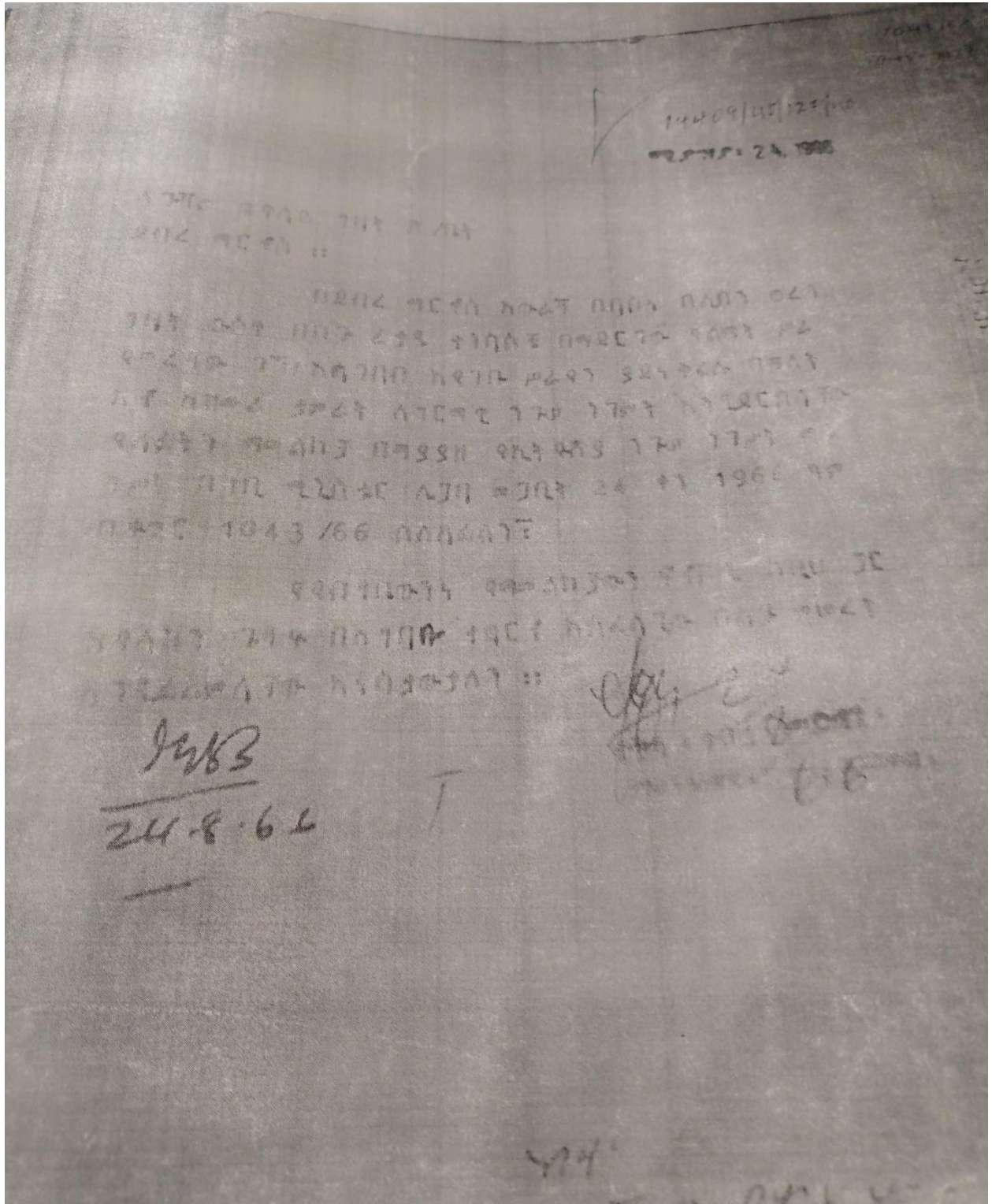
በትዕዛዙ መሠረት የበላ ርስተ ጉልተ የመልከኛና የበላበት ይዘታ ለክፍሉ
ዓኖች ከሌላ የሚለቃ ከሆነ በላርስተ ጉልተ መልከኛው ወይም በላበት ለክፍሉ ዓኖች
ሥራ ያመረጡ። ይዘታቸው ለክፍሉ ዓኖች ጭንቀት የሚጠልጥ ከሆነ በትርፈ ላይ የክፍ
ሉ ዓኖች የሚሆን በበላርስተ ጉልተ፣ በመልከኛው ወይም በበላበት እየተመረጠ ይቀርባል።
የገባር መሪት የሆነ በጭታ ሹም ይታዘዝ የነበረ አገር ክፍሉ ዓኖች በሕዝብ ይመረጣል።
የክፍሉ ዓኖች የወገጃል ጉዳይ መቀጠሉን በሙሉ ለመገንገል ገቢ አይደረጉ የፍትህ ብሔ
ሩን የዓኖች ገቢ አገጣጥሞ ለደመወዛቸው አገጣጥሞ ለሥራ ጣሰኮች አገዳደር ጉልተ
ላቸዋል። የክፍሉ ዓኖች ጸሕፈት የማይችሉ ሲሆኑ በደመወዛቸው ጸሕፈ እየተጠሩ አገዳ
ሠሩ ተፈቅዶላቸዋል።

በ1943 ዓ.ም የተሰላፈው የክፍሉ ጭንቀት አገዳን አዎኝን የሚያበረራ ነው ቢባ
ልም አገዳገዱ አዎኝ ውስጥ የተገለጹትን ሁኔታዎች ይሠርዛቸዋል። አገዳሁም አዎኝ ውስጥ
የሌላ ነገር ይጨምራል። በአዎኝ መሠረት ከርስተ ጉልተ ከበላገባርና ከበላበት በስተቀር
የሌላውን ሥፍራ የክፍሉ ዓኖች የሚመርጡት የወረዳና የምክትል ወረዳ ፍ/ቤት በላሥል
ዳኖችና የአገር ሽግግራዎች ሲሆኑ በክፍሉ መሠረት ገን ጭርባሪ በሕዝብ መሆን ከለበት
በክፍሉ የአገዳ በው ርስተ ጉልተ የበላበት ወይም የመልከኛው ይዘታ ከክፍሉ ዓኖች
ከሌላ የሚለቃ ሲሆን በትርፈ ላይ በላርስተ ጉልተ መልከኛው ወይም በላበት የክፍሉ ዓኖ
ች አገዳሚ መሆን አገዳሙ ተጨማሪ ጸሕፈት በይገባ በደመወዙ ጸሕፈ ተጥሮ ያሠራ የተባ
ለው በአዎኝ ውስጥ ያልተለከተ አዲስ ነገር ነው። የክፍሉ ዓኖች በዓኖች ከሚያገ
ች ገንዘብ አኩሪታውን ለደመወዛቸው ያስቀሩ የተባለውም በአዎኝ ውስጥ የዓኖች ደመወዝ
በፍርድ ሚኒስትር አቅራቢነት በሚኒስትሮች ምክር ቤት ይወሰናል የሚለውን የሚያረጋግ ወይም
የሚሸር ነው። ስለሆነም ሕጉን የክፍሉ ተጠቃሚው ሲሠራባቸው ቆይቷል።

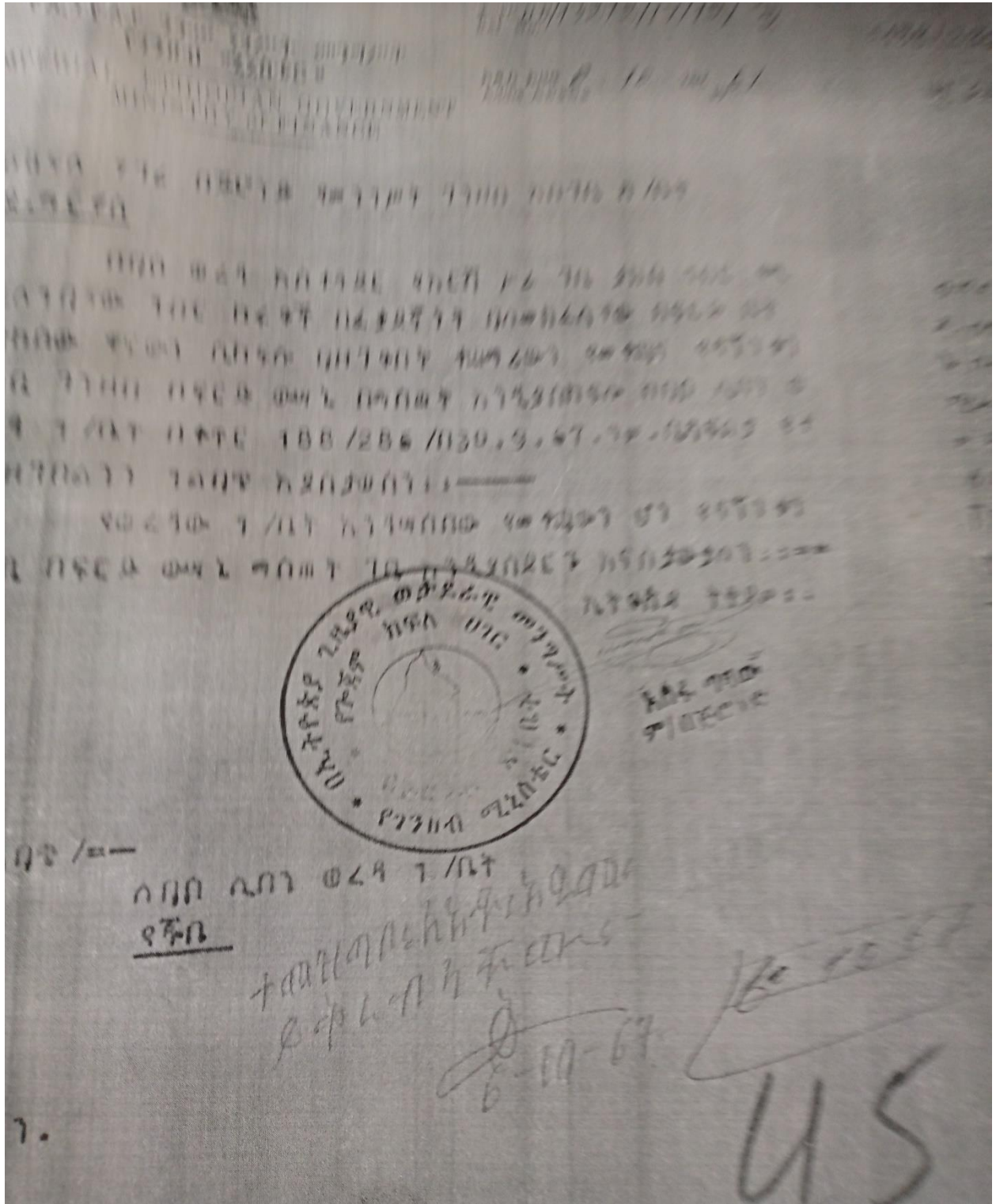
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ፈጠረ በፍርድ ሚኒስትር በአገረ ገዢዎችና በዓኖች መካከል ብዙ መጻጻፍን አስከትሏል።
አከራካሪ ከሆኑት ጉዳዮች ውስጥ ዋና ዋናዎቹ፡

1. የክፍሉ ዓኖች የፍርድ ጣሰራ ሥልጣን፣
2. የክፍሉ ዓኖችን በውክልና ማሠራትና ስለተወካዮቹ ሽግግር ሸረት፣
3. ስለየክፍሉ ዓኖች መኖር ጥቅምና ጉዳት።

Appendix-VI



Appendix-VII



12191628
ቀን: 2019-30
ነገረ.ጽ-ጽ/1767

አድራሻ: ወረቀት: 0/107.
የጽ/ቤት:
ወረቀት: ሃክተገደር: ለህዝብ: ለህዝብ: የግብር:
የግብር: 53: ከግብር: ካዳ: የግብር: ተመሳሳይ
የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: ገንዘብ:
የግብር: የግብር: 1174: የግብር: የግብር: 731111
የግብር: የግብር: 258/569/64: 026-3-67
የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:
የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:
የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:
የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:

የግብር: ግብር
- ግብር: ግብር

ግብር

3

የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:

የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:
የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:
የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:

የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:
የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:
የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:

የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:
የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:
የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:

የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:
የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:
የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር: የግብር:



የኢትዮጵያ ገንዘብ ጥገና ሚኒስቴር

አዲስአበባ Addis Ababa

ገጽ 67

FEDERAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT MINISTRY of FINANCE

አገልግሎት ለሚሰጡ ገቢት ቁጥር 35... የገቢት ቁጥር 35/286... የገቢት ቁጥር 35/286... የገቢት ቁጥር 35/286...

የገቢት ቁጥር 35/286... የገቢት ቁጥር 35/286...



የገቢት ቁጥር 35/286...

ገቢት ቁጥር 35... የገቢት ቁጥር 35/286...

1/19/57

Handwritten header text, possibly a name or title.

Handwritten text, possibly a date or location.

1	Handwritten text	21	Handwritten text	41
2	Handwritten text	22	Handwritten text	42
3	Handwritten text	23	Handwritten text	43
4	Handwritten text	24	Handwritten text	44
5	Handwritten text	25	Handwritten text	45
6	Handwritten text	26	Handwritten text	46
7	Handwritten text	27	Handwritten text	47
8	Handwritten text	28	Handwritten text	48
9	Handwritten text	29	Handwritten text	49
10	Handwritten text	30	Handwritten text	50
11	Handwritten text	31	Handwritten text	51
12	Handwritten text	32	Handwritten text	52
13	Handwritten text	33	Handwritten text	53
14	Handwritten text	34	Handwritten text	54
15	Handwritten text	35	Handwritten text	55
16	Handwritten text	36	Handwritten text	56
17	Handwritten text	37	Handwritten text	57
18	Handwritten text	38	Handwritten text	58
19	Handwritten text	39	Handwritten text	59
20	Handwritten text	40	Handwritten text	50

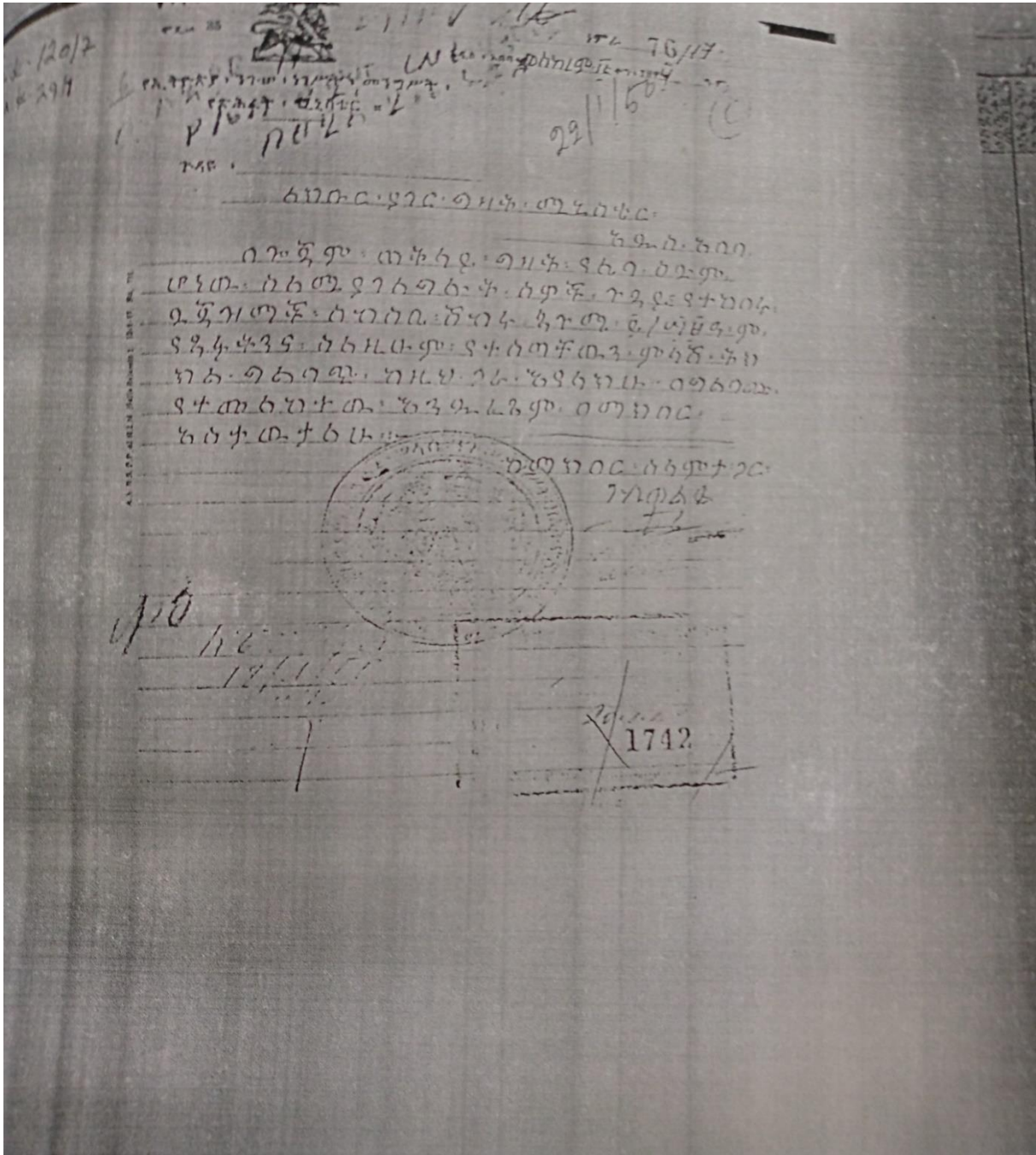
Handwritten text at the bottom of the page, possibly a signature or notes.

Handwritten text, possibly a date or signature.

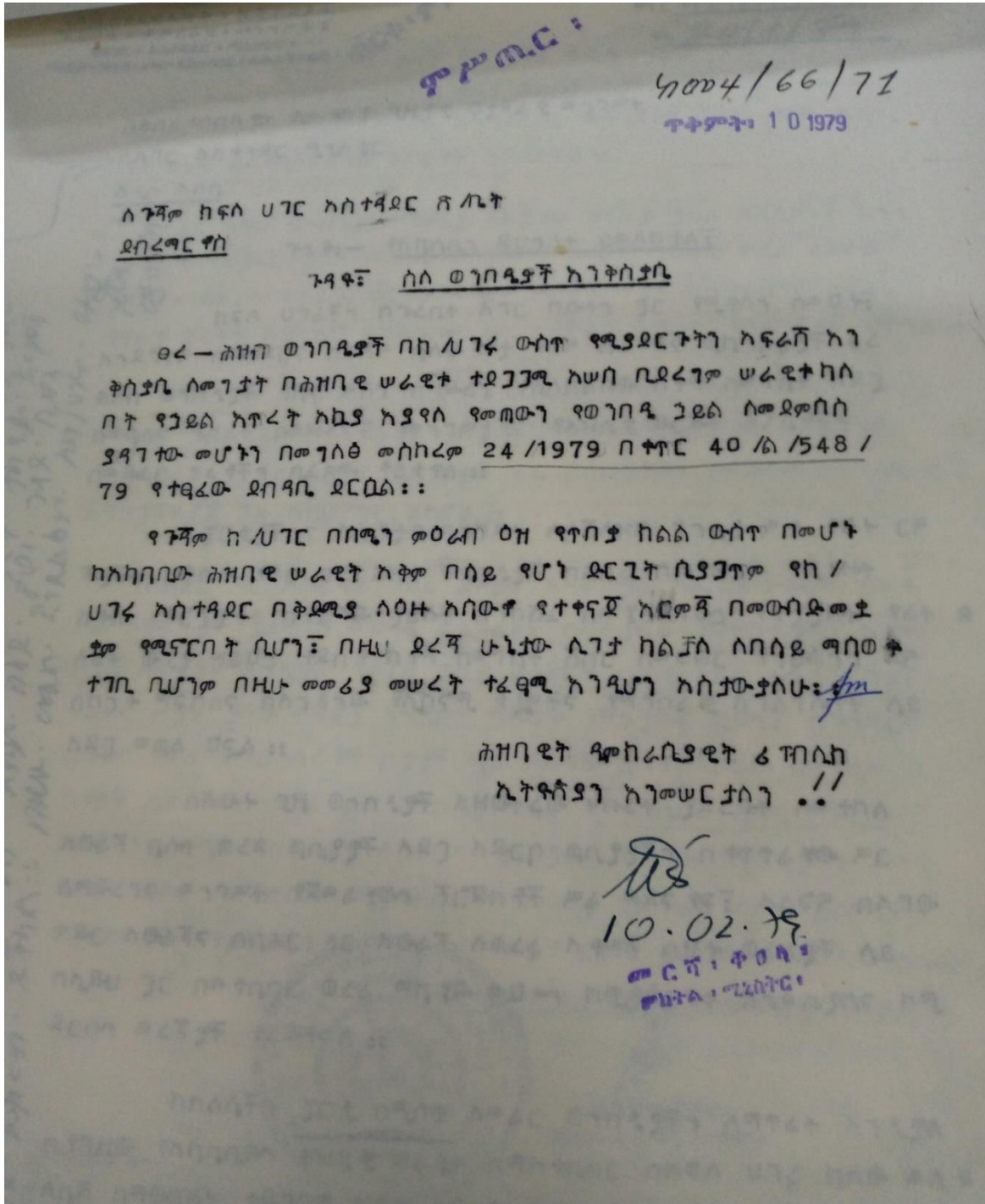
Handwritten signature or initials.

Large handwritten number '4' and other markings.

Appendix-IX



Appendix -X





3491400
1971/1/16/16/17

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY
1285 SPADINA AVENUE
TORONTO, ONTARIO M5S 1A5

DATE OF ISSUE: 12/1/68

12/1/68

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
1285 SPADINA AVENUE
TORONTO, ONTARIO M5S 1A5
DATE OF ISSUE: 12/1/68

DATE OF ISSUE: 12/1/68

12-1-68

14/1/68
1971/1/16/16/17

DATE OF ISSUE: 12/1/68

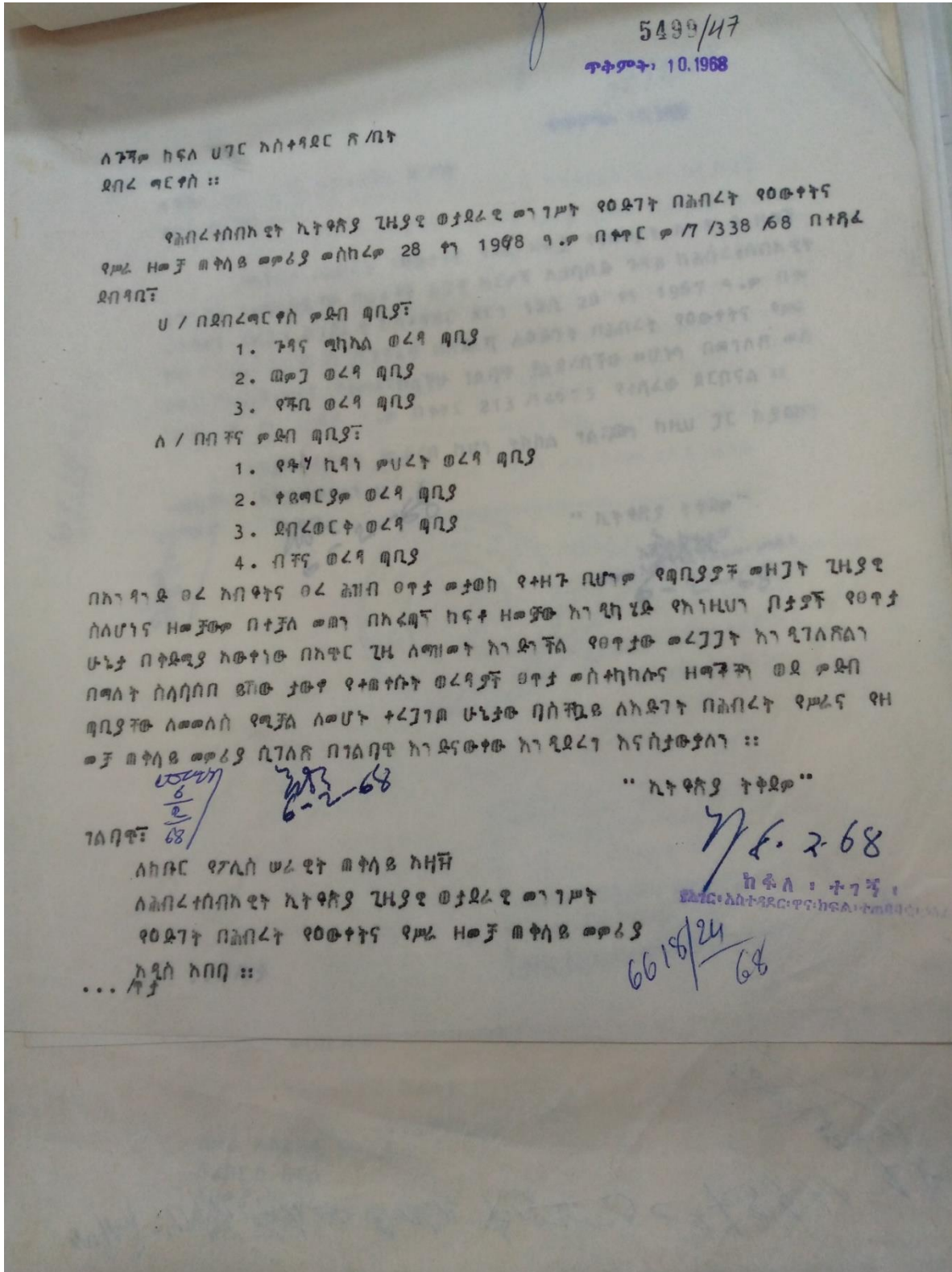
12/1/68

12/1/68

Handwritten text in Hebrew, including a header with a date and a large circular stamp. The text is mirrored across the page.

17392

Appendix-XVI



50693/52

ጥቅምት 5, 1988

አገልግሎት ሰጪ ህገጋዊ አስተዳደር ስራዎች
የሥራ ማረጋገጫ

ዘጠኝ ልዩ ልዩ መረጃዎችን በመፍጠር በቡድን ወይንም በገንዘብ
የሥራ ስጦታውን በመተቃ ወይ ለሌላ አባባ መመዘኛቸውን የሚከፍሉ ህገጋዊ
ጥያቄዎችን በማመልከት አስተባባሪው በሚከፍሉ ህገጋዊ ክፍል
ወይንም ዘጠኝ ወይንም ሌላውን ማረጋገጥ፡-

1. መንግሥት ክፍት አገልግሎት
2. መንግሥት አባባ ላይ አገልግሎት
3. ስለሥራ ስም ዘጠኝ የአጠፋፋ ሁኔታ የተጠናቀቀ

ይህን ዓይነት ስራዎችን በሚከፍሉ ህገጋዊ አስተዳደርና በሚከፈሉት ተወካዮች
በሥራ የሚታዩ ሁሉ ከአገልግሎት አስተባባሪነት ተራ በተጠቀሰው መሠረት ዝርዝር
አገልግሎት ለሚሰጡ አገልግሎት በሥራ ሰጪው ሰው የተሰጠ ተጨማሪ ተጠናቅቆ
በሥራ ላይ ሲገልጽ በገንዘብ ለዕድገት በክብረት የዕውቀትና የሥራ ዘመቻ
አገልግሎት ለሥራ ሰጪው ሰው ለሥራ ስም መደጋገም አገልግሎት ይሰጣል ይህን
ታይታል፡፡ -

አገልግሎት ተቀባይ
አብይ አብይ ስራ
አብይ አብይ ስራ
የአገልግሎት ስም አስተዳደር
ወጥሎ፣ ያህል፣

ገልግሎት

አገልግሎት ሰጪው ሰው ወይንም ሌላውን
የሥራ ስጦታውን በመተቃ ወይ ለሌላ አባባ መመዘኛቸውን የሚከፍሉ ህገጋዊ
ጥያቄዎችን በማመልከት አስተባባሪው በሚከፍሉ ህገጋዊ ክፍል
ወይንም ዘጠኝ ወይንም ሌላውን ማረጋገጥ፡፡

66/8/8
/8

ድህረ ምረቃ ስልጠና ለሰነድ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ
መከፈት ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ
አጠቃላይ ስልጠና ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ
ስልጠና ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ
አጠቃላይ ስልጠና ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ

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የጥያቄ ስልጠና ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ

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የጥያቄ ስልጠና ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ

የጥያቄ ስልጠና ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ ለጥያቄ



15/1/66
ሰነድ

Appendix-XX



የገብረተሰብአዊት ሊትዮጵያ ጊዜያዊ ወታደራዊ መንግሥት
የአገር አስተዳደር ሚኒስቴር
THE PROVISIONAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR

ቁጥር No. 29077/30
 ቀን 19 9. 9.
 19

የሰላክ ተ. ቁ. } 11 34 33 የፖ. ሣ. ተ. ቁ. } 125
 Tel. No. } P. O. Box }

ለሕብረተሰብአዊት ሊትዮጵያ ጊዜያዊ ወታደራዊ መንግሥት
 የሊትዮጵያ ኤሌክትሪክ መብረትና ኃይል ልርጅት
 አዲስ አበባ ::

በጉሻዎ በኖሉ ሀገር በጊዜያዊ ወታደራዊ መንግሥት የተሰጠውን
 መሪያ በመከተል በሌሎችም አለፉት በዓን ዓደርገ አባል የሚረዱ ከ
 ልዩ ልዩ መጠቀሚያ የተወጣው 16 አባሎች የሚገኙበት የሰላክ ተሰባስቦ
 ቡድን በየሰዓቱ በመዘገብ ለገደብ የሥራ ገዢነት መብረት አገዳጅ
 የሚያስፈልጋቸው ከተገኙት መካከል፣ የጣፊ፣ የገብ፣ የገብ፣ የገብ፣
 አባቶች፣ አዳኞች፣ መርዶ ለግርግር፣ አዳኝ፣ የጥቢት ለግርግር፣ ጅጋ፣
 ሲሆኑ አገልግሎት መግለጫ ያለባቸው መብረት ኃይል መረከብ ያለባቸው/
 ናናተ ሰላማቸው፣ በገና ሳገላ ገጠሞች መሪዎች ሆናቸውን የሰደቱ
 ወሳኔ መሆኑን አዳገለገሉ፣ ይኸው ታዲያ አሰራሪዎች የሥራ አርጎች እን
 ዲወብዱ እናስባለን ::

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8
68

13.8.68

17.8.68

የአገር አስተዳደር ሚኒስቴር
 የአውራጃዎችና ወሰን አስተዳደር
 ጽ/ቤት ጋራ


“ሊትዮጵያ ትቅደም”

ገልባጭ ፣
 ለጉሻዎ በኖሉ ሀገር አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት
 ደብረ ግርግር ::

Appendix-XXI

የኢትዮጵያ ጌራ ኃይል ሰጪ ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት
ETHIOPIAN ELECTRIC LIGHT & POWER AUTHORITY

የጽ/ቤት ስም: የጌራ ኃይል ሰጪ ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት ጽ/ቤት 1233
 የጽ/ቤት አድራሻ: አዲስ አበባ ጽ/ቤት 21023
 የጽ/ቤት ስም: ኢትዮጵያ ጌራ ኃይል ሰጪ ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት
 የጽ/ቤት ስም: 11 08 11 - 12



Head Office, P. O. Box 1233 - Addis Ababa
 Cable: Electric Addis Ababa
 Telex: EELPA ADDIS 21023
 Telephone: PBX 11 08 11 - 12

የደንበኞች ጽ/ቤት: የተጻፈበት ቀን:
 Your ref: Your letter dated:

የደንበኞች ጽ/ቤት: 6/4/376
 Our ref: ሚያዝያ 25, 1968
 ቀን:
 Date:

ገብረ ተሰብኦ ወይን ጌራ ኃይል ሰጪ ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት ስም: አዲስ አበባ

ሚያዝያ 16 ቀን 1968 ዓ.ም በቁጥር 29077/30 በገጃም ክፍለ ሃገር ከጌራ ኃይል ሰጪ ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት የተሰጠውን መሪያ በመከተል የሰላም ተልዕኮ ጉዳይ በየሥፍራው በመዘዋወር በደረገው የሥራ ዝግጅት መብራት አንዲገባ የሚያስፈልጋቸው ከኮምፕሌክስ ለጊዜው ለሌሎች ገለበጎች ወይም ድርጅቶች የኤሌክትሪክ መብራት አገልግሎት የሚያገኙትን ከኮምፕሌክስ ስም በመዘርዘር የባለሥልጣኑ መ/ቤት አንዲረከባቸው ያሰበባችሁበት ደብዳቤ ደርሶን ተመልክተዋል፡፡

መ/ቤታችን ቀደም ብሎ በዋሳ ጌራ ኃይል ሰጪ ሚኒስቴር ሃገር የሚገኙ የገጠር ከኮምፕሌክስ ለወደፊት የኤሌክትሪክ መብራት አገልግሎት የሚያገኙበትን መንገድ ጥናት አያደረገ በቀደም ተከተል ተራ ለማሰያዝ በወጣው ፕሮግራም መሠረት - ቀጣይ፣ ደጃጎ፣ ደንበጃ፣ አዳት፣ ጅጋ፣ ፍኖተ ሰላም፣ ቡረ፣ በገናና ዳንገላ ጥናት ተከናውኖ ከተወናቀላቸው ከኮምፕሌክስ ስም፣ መተካካ፣ ደብረወርቅ፣ አብ ቸክላ፣ አሜኑኤል፣ መርቦ ለማርያም፣ የቸባ፣ ለሚኒ፣ ገምጃ ስትና መራዊ ገን ለወደፊት ጥናት ከሚደረገላቸው የገጠር ከኮምፕሌክስ ውስጥ አንዲገቡ ይደረጋል፡፡

መ/ቤት ጽ/ቤት
 ማህተም ላይ ገቢ ለውጥ ማድረግ
 ገር. ማህተም ላይ ገቢ ለውጥ ማድረግ
 6. 9. 68

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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.

Name _____

Signature _____ Date _____