

SOCIAL DEPENDENCY IN ETHIOPIA AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR LEARNING *

Haile Woldemikael

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The Ethiopian social setting, like that of any society, exhibits a cultural pattern of great complexity with a long and fascinating history behind it. But fascinating though it is, the present writer is less concerned with the historical evolution of our society than with the consequences for us and for future generations of some of the social customs and attitudes that we have inherited from the past. One such social phenomenon which seems particularly worthy of study is dependency in Ethiopia and its relation to learning.

By 'dependency' is meant:—

- (a) the loss of decision-making by individuals in question of intimate concern to themselves;
- (b) the lack of positive effort by adults to achieve material and psychological self-sufficiency;
- (c) the sense of communal right to the property and time of associates and fellow-men;
- (d) the practice of self-negation in the name of humility;
- (e) reliance on what we are rather than on what we can do.

Our society deprives the individual of the right of decision-making in a number of very intimate questions where the decisions arrived at are of enormous consequence to the individual for whom the decisions are made.

One such question is that of marriage. The great majority of young Ethiopians entering into contracts of marriage do so without their personal consent having been sought or obtained. Here, then, is an extraordinary paradox: young people are expected to act rationally when the concern and well-being of society is in question; they are required to be law-abiding citizens and to live within the social norms prescribed — or take the consequences; they are recognized as adults and held responsible for their actions; and at the same time they are denied any responsibility in a matter of the very greatest importance to their personal happiness and well-being, the choice of a marriage partner. Society assumes that young men (and women) do not know what is good for them, but

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that what the senior members of the society choose for them is necessarily good. The judgment of the young is totally discounted, while the elders are credited with omniscience.

The marriage customs in some communities of the province of Shoa indicate the extent to which the role of young men entering marriage has been minimized.¹

Community	Parental Choice of mate	Choice of mate by male partner	Choice shared by male partner & parents	Choice by female partner
1. Sheboka (Selale)	1	—	—	—
2. Guragie (Chebo)	1	—	—	—
3. Kembatta	—	—	1	—
4. Merahabete	1	—	—	—
5. Kere TAA	1	—	—	—
6. Gebre Guracha (Selale)	1	—	—	—
7. Goha TSION (surrounding)	1	—	—	—
8. Yaya (Selale)	1	—	—	—
9. Moret (Teguletina Bulga)	—	1	—	—
10. Asagirt	—	1	—	—
11. Salla Dingay	—	—	1	—
12. Alaba	—	1	—	—
13. Zewag	—	—	1	—
14. Wondo Genet (Haikoch)	—	1	—	—
15. Shashemene (surrounding)	1	—	—	—
16. Adami Tulu	—	—	1	—
17. Sodo	—	—	1	—
18. Shenkora	1	—	—	—
19. Argoba	—	1	—	—
20. Kereyn	1	—	—	—
21. Menz	1	—	—	—
22. Debre Sina	1	—	—	—
23. Meskan	1	—	—	—
	13	5	5	0

The table reveals that in approximately 56% of cases it is the parents who make decisions; in 22% of the cases decisions are shared between the parents and the male partner; while in only 22% of the cases are decisions made by the male partner. The female partner in the marriage makes no personal decision whatsoever. Obviously, then, young people in rural Ethiopia — certainly many in Shoa and probably throughout the Empire — learn to depend on their parents and relatives for their choice of life partners.

Another area where young people are prohibited from making personal decisions is the area of religion. Young people are expected simply to take over the

¹ The information in the table comes from reports submitted to the Education Head Office on social customs of the various communities.

religion of their parents, regardless of their personal inclinations. Our culture not only expects young men to fall unquestioningly into line, but also fails to give any positive instruction concerning the religion which the young are expected to adopt, and as a consequence a number of essentials are either completely forgotten or greatly neglected. Among these essentials may be counted not only the personal experience of conversion to the faith, but the debate and struggle that takes place in the psychic life of the individual confronted with choice. The debate generated by the demand for personal commitment tends to increase the role of the individual in making decisions. It is not only the act of decision-making that is important here but also the mental exercise leading up to that decision, whatever it may be. In the process the individual concerned develops different shades of perspective, probes into the nature of the subject presented to his attention, forms hierarchies of values, and attains greater exposure to the subject of his concern — in short, he develops his intelligence by exercising it.

Deprivation of the opportunity to make vital personal decisions has certain negative consequences both for the individual concerned and for his attitude to the religion in question.

To deny a man the exercise of choice means, among other things:—

- (a) a refusal to recognise that he is, in the fullest sense of the word, a person;
- (b) a refusal to recognise that he is capable of rational decision;
- (c) a refusal to recognise that he has certain rights;
- (d) a refusal to allow him the adventure of analysis and the discovery of new meaning and validity for himself.

Thus absolved from the necessity of grappling with questions of religious belief, he tends to accept the negative self-image which society offers him and to look upon himself as an unknown, untried individual equally lacking in experience and potential, (the dangers in his meekly accepting this social role is a theme which will be touched on later).

An attempt was made to gauge the difference with regard to the amount of information possessed between those who had simply inherited their religion and those who had made a personal decision in the matter. Elementary questions (see appendix B) were prepared, and these were answered by ninety grade 12 and college students. The following results were obtained:—

Type	No.	Average Score
Those who had made personal commitment	55	44
Those who had inherited	35	40
Those who took religion seriously	62	44
Those who did not take religion seriously	28	33

The table indicates that the average score for those who claimed to have made personal decisions regarding their religion is higher than the average grade scored by those who did not make personal decisions, but simply inherited their religion. The difference in score between those who regard religion seriously

and those who do not is substantial, with those regarding religion seriously scoring much higher than those who do not.

The writer examined the same question from another angle. Grades scored by students professing the major Christian religions, Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant, were compared. In so doing the writer assumed that differences exist among the three churches with regard to, among other things:—

- (a) The degree of personal choice,
- (b) The extent of instruction given to young people.
- (c) The place of authority in matters of religion.

Students achieved as follows:—

Type	Number	Average Grade
Orthodox	50	34
Catholic	23	42
Protestant	17	66

The distribution of zero scores among the papers answered by students from the three denominations was measured and the following results were obtained:

Among Orthodox students, for every six persons taking the test, one person scored zero, and for every eight Catholic students who sat for the test, one scored zero, while there was none (no score of zero) for Protestant students. In the light of the assumptions made above, both the average scores achieved by the different groups and the frequency of zero among them indicate the importance of personal decisions. (One could raise objections on the ground that young people are too young to make intelligent decisions at this early stage, and too partisan to their parents' religion to objectively examine and accept others later. Such objections are legitimate only to a degree. There is no doubt that young men are susceptible to the social environment and learn a lot by imitation. The argument is not in favour of inducing children to make decisions, but rather in favour of giving them objective information concerning the religion and advising them to postpone decisions one way or another until such time as those concerned are ready for making decisions. But this is a digression).

Orthodox students who have been given the least instruction or no instruction concerning the Christian religion and who were expected simply to inherit their parents' religion scored the lowest, and the frequency of zero was the highest.

Catholic students, who were given positive instructions but who were expected to accept the authority of the church without questioning, scored above Orthodox Christians, and the frequency of zero was lower than among Orthodox students, while Protestant students, who were given positive instructions and who were also encouraged to make personal decisions, scored the highest, none scoring zero. This paper may not be taken as an adequate ground for conclusive argument in favour of personal decisions, but it perhaps indicates the place of personal decisions in terms of achievement.

Traditionally, choice of occupation has been another area where personal preferences count for little. Young people follow in the footsteps of their parents, the son of a farmer becoming a farmer, the son of a potter becoming a potter, the son of a governor becoming a governor, and so on. Not that Ethiopian society has invariably blocked vertical mobility for such as are daring enough to step outside the social bounds prescribed — after all, Tewodros became King of Kings on his own initiative — but, as a rule, our society lays more emphasis on what a man inherits than on what he is or does. What he inherits, it should be noted, is not limited to occupation or property, but in keeping with the saying, 'Yabat ida lelij maew' (Father's debt is son's debt), is extended to include diseases and disabilities. Thus, lepers' children, regardless of the circumstances of their upbringing, are always lepers: this is a law of nature.

The average Ethiopian is expected to bring honour to his father's name ('yabatun sim masterat') in some positive fashion, and he best fulfills this obligation by remaining on the land which he has inherited from his father and becoming 'self-sufficient'. A man who forsakes the ancestral plot, even if he should succeed elsewhere, is blamed for having caused his father's name to be forgotten ('yabatun sim asresa') and thereby loses social esteem. Young people are much more concerned about 'sew min yillegnna' (What will people say?) than with the question of how they should choose to lead their lives. Clearly, the Ethiopian social system works not towards the emancipation of the individual but towards his assimilation.

Social dependence implies abnegation in the material aspects of life as well as in personal rights. Here only two types of material dependence are considered: a) direct dependence in begging; b) 'interdependence'.

Begging has been a social phenomenon for many centuries in Ethiopia. Students at priest schools maintained themselves by begging. The clergy and the sick also begged, the former exploiting the authority of the Church and the latter the power of affliction to enforce their claims. And these were by no means the only groups of beggars in the Ethiopia of the past: chiefs were often surrounded by men who depended on their bounty for material comfort. Besides rewarding distinguished service with gifts of lands and animals, chiefs also distributed food to the deserving.

The main reasons behind this liberality appear to have been:—

1. Begging from a superior is interpreted as a sign of loyalty, for, in Ethiopia, it is unethical to oppose a benefactor. The custom of popping injera into another's mouth (gursha) signifies not only generosity but also peace between the parties. A man who opposes his benefactor is referred to as 'yabelawin ij nekash' (he who bites the hand which fed him), regardless of the grounds for his opposition. Thus, a favourite would find it psychologically necessary to beg, for his omission to do so would tend to lessen his superiors' trust in him.

2. Generosity is also encouraged by the belief that, if a dependent betrays his benefactor, the benefits conferred upon him will bear witness to his betrayal.

In our society, then, we have the institution of begging upheld not only by the destitute but by many who stand in no financial or material need. Begging is imposed upon them by social custom.

The terms 'beggar' is usually reserved for those who have no particular patron or benefactor but who rely on the generosity of the general public. Eighty-eight such street beggars were interviewed in order to determine their attitudes towards certain points of interest. The outcome of the interviews was as follows:

98% of those interviewed professed to be Christians. The average number of dependants of those interviewed was three.

68% claimed that begging was their sole source of income.

34% obtained a supplementary income from begging.

48% were healthy

55% declared they would be willing to work as servants.

45% declared they would not accept a servant's position.

To the question, "Are you proud of yourself?", 75% replied No, and 25% replied Yes. One person mentioned land ownership as a basis for self-respect; others referred to youth, righteousness and the Christian religion.

Asked who was responsible for their status, 98% said God. One blamed the regime and another himself.

'The poor shall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven'. 71% held the statement to be true, the remaining 29% expressed a variety of opinions.

In a study of Addis Ababa vagrants undertaken by the Municipal Department of the Ministry of the Interior, the following results were obtained from the replies of 2046 subjects.

41.5% did not want to undergo job training; 40.6% did not want to work even if given the opportunity; 36% were able-bodied.

From the evidence given above, the following general conclusions may be drawn:—

- (a) Begging is a reasonably lucrative profession which enables the practitioner to support, on average, three dependants. Many beggars show no willingness to take up jobs or to undergo job training.
- (b) Begging is not the preserve of the physically incapacitated; there are many able-bodied beggars.
- (c) Most of the people in the first study felt no personal responsibility for their status.
- (d) Most of the people in the same study believed that the poor — without any qualification — would inherit the Kingdom of Heaven.

The second form of social dependency with which this paper is concerned is 'interdependence'. The word is placed within quotation marks to emphasise the point that, while interdependence is a feature of any society, the term has a more extended meaning than it has elsewhere.

The average Ethiopian has a sense of community with his fellow men, and more particularly with his blood relatives, with regard to such things as his property, his time, his children, his ideas, his beliefs, his expectations and his

ambitions. These are not exclusively personal matters; they are largely communal concerns.

His property, for example, is a source of symbolic comfort and pride to all his relatives in normal times; in time of need it becomes a source of security, for it is the tribe or blood relatives that pay 'Guma' (blood money) and contribute money to the assistance of a relative in financial straits.

Again, the individual's time is not his own, to be ordered as the individual alone decides: it belongs to everyone and everyone has a right to it. So with his children; others may order them about, scold them or chastise them with or without the parents' knowledge, for they belong to the community as well as to the parents.

A man's ideas, beliefs and ambitions are very much community-oriented. If his ideas are positive and wise, it means not only social elevation for the person concerned but also honour for his community and tribe. Whatever a man has is not only for his own private gratification but also for 'leweges kurat', the pride of the tribe also. A man does not refrain from wrongdoing solely because his conscience tells him that it is wrong but because he is concerned about 'sew min yellal', "What will people say?" The wrongdoer brings judgement upon himself, but, much worse, he also brings disgrace upon his relatives.

There is another type of dependency in Ethiopia which often passes for modesty or humility. The Ethiopian is often the instrument (in Ethiopian eyes) of great deeds, but seldom the author of great achievements. He minimizes his own role as a man and with it his sense of mission. Perhaps this can best be illustrated by reference to the stories of the Battle of Adwa. Adwa was a landmark in the history of Ethiopia and of Africa, marking as it did the end of the long-established belief in the invincibility of European armies. For Ethiopia it meant the elimination of the Italian threat for more than three decades. This was not achieved without great sacrifice; thousands of Ethiopians fell on the battlefield, and the world — Ethiopia excepted — hailed the victory as a brilliant feat of Ethiopian arms. In Ethiopia a legend had to be woven into the facts of the battle, the legend in which St. George figures as the true hero of the day, for in the view of the average Ethiopian and of the clergy, it would have been quite impossible for the Ethiopians themselves to have won such a victory. They were merely the instruments. Hence the necessity for the legend.

Yared is generally regarded as the father of church music, but the Church, which owes him so much, makes haste to explain his success by reducing the composer to a mere channel. The legend attributes the inspiration to the pigeons hovering above and denies poor Yared the authorship of his compositions. For how could any man, and an Ethiopian at that, rise to such heights of genius?

Other examples of this minimization of the role of the individual in Ethiopian society can be cited. The Chronicle of King Amdeslon, for example, plays down the role of the army in order to elevate the importance of the King in the battlefield. When the army, a well-organized and disciplined one, takes to flight, crying, "Where is our King? Unless he saves us we are lost," it is the King who, single-handed, retrieves the situation.

The acceptance by the individual of this minimized role has had unfortunate consequences for Ethiopia. Thus, the Ethiopian army was routed at Metemma

in 1889 after winning a brilliant victory over the Dervishes because the Emperor Yohannes IV was killed. For the average Ethiopian the victory was not the victory of the Ethiopian army but the victory of the Emperor Yohannes; with his death there was no one to exploit the initial success.

The death of Menelik II was shrouded in secrecy lest strife and disorder should overtake the nation. It is, of course, possible that this policy of concealment may have averted disorder. What is certain, however, is that it implies a minimization of the role of the people in the management of affairs. The parents who baby a child too long have no one to blame for the consequences but themselves.

Many people believe that the confidence deriving from what we were in the past is an answer to our present and future needs. There is a tendency to look back nostalgically to 'the good old days' and to look upon our past with a veneration which excludes scrutinizing and judgement as almost sacrilegious activities. This reliance on the past is another kind of dependency which seems worth examining. Many people, it is said, objected to the opening of the Holeta Military Academy on the grounds that Ethiopians were naturally trained for war. Some criticised the opening of the Law School, for Ethiopians were naturally endowed with legal subtlety. Others argued that agricultural training was unnecessary since the great majority of our people had been practising agriculture for centuries and therefore knew everything that needed to be known about it. For many people the mere fact of being someone or something is sufficient equipment for the business of life. For some it is the fact of being an Amhara, a Tigre, a Galla, a Gurage, a Somali . . . For others it is the fact of being a Christian, a Muslim, a student, a soldier, a priest . . . For many it is the fact of being an Ethiopian.

There is a good deal of talk about the preservation of our culture, but little is said about which elements of our culture should be preserved and which should be neglected. Our youth are carefully instructed in the importance of loyalty to ancient institutions but they are not told how these institutions may be used in the service of the community. Many of us are proud of our freedom but have no programme for preserving it. Many of us are proud of our religion but know very little about it. We are proud of what we are, though we had no choice in the matter, but not of what we have done to make ourselves better than we were.

How did this sense of dependence, economic and other, come about? No adequate answer can be given in a paper as short as this, but some basic reasons may be indicated.

Orthodox Christianity with its emphasis on the virtue of alms-giving seems to be the main factor.

Feteha Negest (The Judgement of Kings) devotes a whole chapter (Chapter 16) to justifying dependency. At this point one might also point out the Court's share of responsibility, for Feteha Negest was politically as well as spiritually binding. Here are a few of the many statements in Feteha Negest which support dependency:—

"By giving what he can, man resembles his Creator".

"If you give alms, your deeds will be purified".

"He who has and does not give is like a backslider, a thief and a highwayman".

Feteha Negest even lays down priorities for giving:—

1. to those in trouble;
2. to the hungry;
3. to the destitute;
4. to the thirsty;
5. to strangers;
6. to the sick;
7. to men in prison for their religion.

At another place in Feteha Negest, another set of priorities is given:—

1. to hermits;
2. to those who are persecuted for their faith;
3. to the clergy;
4. to believers;
5. to non-believers.

Feteha Negest merely systematised Biblical doctrine on the subject without offering any new meanings and values to the substance of Christian doctrine.

Another factor which fostered the sense of dependency was underdevelopment. Natural disasters such as long droughts, locust plagues and animal diseases overwhelmed the people and left them destitute. Epidemics decimated the population and left the survivors with little material security. Inter-tribal conflict made the retention of property a precarious business. In a society where nothing could be secure for long, men could not count much on material possessions, and the source of security was found rather in the family, the tribe or, to a lesser degree, society at large. Other people offered the most reliable security. Hence the large measure of interdependence.

How has dependency in its various forms affected our society?

In the first place, interdependence has tended to inhibit innovation and experimentation, for to touch the interests of one was to touch the interests of all. Moreover, the strong sense of loyalty towards one's own tribe, religion or superior tended to canalise all thinking towards the maintenance of the status quo. For this reason the monarchy, when so inclined, has proved the most effective agent of change in Ethiopia.

One of our most damaging customs is the reluctance, not to say refusal, of everyone to take responsibility for anything. Many, like the beggars referred to earlier, accept no responsibility for their station in life. How can he, when his life is not his own but merely part of the life of the tribe or the community? "Ishi nege" is part of the same social outlook. The person concerned refuses to act, partly because he sees himself not as an individual but as a member of a given social group, perhaps a bureaucracy. His preoccupation is not with the action required but with the possible effects of that action upon the group of which he is a member. The fear of acting, the fear of acting as an individual, drives him to take refuge in evasiveness. To-morrow inevitably comes, but there are always more to-morrows!

What are the main effects of dependency upon learning? Clearly, since education aims at the satisfaction of socially felt needs, it will be very strongly influenced by the social environment. One might begin by asking whether enough of our people are aware of what their needs are, whether they are sufficiently committed to satisfying the needs they feel and whether they are going about the satisfaction of these needs, to the degree that they are committed, in the proper way.

The great majority of our people do not see the point of learning. George Santayana's observation that "It was no small part of the extraordinary longing for progeny shown by patriarchal men that children were wealth, and that by continuing in life-long subjection to their father they lent prestige and power to his old age" still obtains in twentieth-century in Ethiopia. Many parents to whom the writer talked about sending their children to school expressed concern about what would happen to them if they were deprived of their children's services. Talking about the Emperor's statement in which he likened those who did not educate their children to criminals, one parent said he would be willing to die if the others who did not educate their children were also killed. Another rejected education for his son on the ground that he could start earning money now instead of wasting his time in going to school. Another argued that too many people were going to school and that his son would not stand a chance of getting a job in the end. So why bother? At present Ethiopia has about half a million children in school, fewer than one eighth of the school-age population. The lack of concern shown for the education and welfare of their children is not simply a result of the average Ethiopian's ignorance; it is also the consequence of a deep-rooted belief that he cannot alter the quality of life for himself or for others. God alone is responsible for the shape of things.

Those who do realise the importance of education are not sufficiently committed to their belief. In their expectations they manifest the dependency which is normal in our society. Distant relatives approach educated people to ask if they could educate their children on their own. Some want to give their children to the government to be educated but do not want to pay anything. It is an open secret that many well-to-do families make strenuous efforts to escape the financial responsibility for a son or daughter going to college. The people of Addis Ababa and perhaps those of other urban areas pay no education tax¹ while commanding incomes much higher, on the average, than those in rural areas.

It seems that people want to see their children educated but are unwilling to pay the price for it. Daniel Lerner's statement that "... people have learnt to want more ..." but "they don't do what on any rational course of behaviour they should do" is an apt description of our situation. It is usually some other person, not oneself, who ought to do his utmost to solve problems and meet needs. St. Paul's admonition that we should work our own salvation has not been heeded. What Max Weber has called "rational calculation" (accounting rationally for one's behaviour and taking responsibility for one's actions) is lacking in our society. The result is a lack of commitment to our own good and the good of our fellow men. There are dangers for us not only in lack of commitment, but also in the type of commitment and the degree of commitment we make. Ethiopia seems half-committed to the elements of modernisation. Some people send their children to school and still expect them to maintain their provincial views. Others want their children to learn but only what they want them to learn. Many educate their children and yet continue to prescribe the choice of marriage partner and

1. No longer true since the introduction of the new Education Tax this year.

other essentials. Still others emphasise the importance of education but refuse to accept learned opinion. Many teachers believe that Ethiopian students do not show enough initiative, though they themselves unhesitatingly accept the authority of their society.

Conclusions

1. Because the area of personal decision for the average Ethiopian has always been narrowly restricted and because the cultural mechanism emphasises interdependence, an Ethiopian will refrain from making decisions and taking responsibility even in the area of his own jurisdiction.
2. Excessive interdependence coupled with the tradition of de-emphasising individual achievement has proved an effective deterrent to creativity and originality.
3. Many Ethiopians feel no responsibility to shape and mould the future according to their wishes, partly because they have no wish for anything different and partly because, since God ordained the present order of things, there is very little that man can do to alter it.

Towards Rational Resolutions.

The answer to the many problems arising out of dependency lies with us and with our institutions. No external assistance or foreign wisdom can help us here. They are problems which call for indigenous solutions. 'Yagerun serdo bageru bere', it takes the native ox to root out the native grass.

We have great and charismatic institutions like the Monarchy and the Church. The devotion shown to these two institutions by the Ethiopian people for so many centuries is probably something without parallel. They took up arms to defend their faith when they thought it was threatened by the Roman Catholic religion in the 17th century. They responded to the appeal of Yohannes IV when Egypt threatened invasion in 1875. It was in defence of their faith that many went to fight at Adwa in 1896. When Abune Matewos excommunicated Lij Eyasu in 1917 that was the end of the matter for the people. People were moved to action against the Bodyguard in 1960 after the Patriarch had spoken out against the coup d'etat. The Patriarch is not only a patriarch; he is 'abatachun', our father, also. The Emperor is not only an emperor; he is also 'Birhanachin', our light.

The writer believes that these two institutions could do great things in the way of removing the many difficulties created by dependency in our society. Because of the public respect that they command, any constructive programmes introduced by them would be bound to succeed.

The Church might make a start with the following measures:

- 1) Interpret the doctrines of alms-giving and tithe-giving in such a way as to discourage begging in all its forms.
- 2) Encourage the handicapped to learn to depend upon themselves as far as possible.
- 3) Reorganise the internal structure of the Church in such a way as to reduce the number of clerics serving in a church and to ensure that those

left in the Church service were paid enough to make it unnecessary for them to beg.

- 4) Reappraise the position of the Church concerning fasting, which is often excessive, and holy days, which are too numerous.
- 5) Create institutions of higher learning with a view to attracting educated men into the service of the Church.
- 6) Learn to give credit where credit is due.

The Court has already taken a number of steps to combat dependency: The School for the Blind, the Umbrella Factory, the Home for the Children of Lepers, and the direct election of Members of Parliament are cases in point. More, however, remains to be done, and the following suggestions might profitably be acted upon:—

- 1) Many beggars claim to be engaged in litigation in the courts. Efficient legal machinery is essential not only to serve the cause of justice but to prevent the dissipation of valuable time and energy.
- 2) Begging and landlessness are often linked. Wider distribution of land would reduce the number of beggars.
- 3) The posts of awraja and woreda governors should be filled by men of exceptional ability whose primary task would be to educate the people.
- 4) To meet the great demand for trained manpower, all employing agencies should be required to run training schools.

It is to be expected that many will be sceptical about the capacity of the Church — and perhaps of the Monarchy — to bring about the radical changes necessary to eradicate dependency and will base their scepticism on the failure of traditional institutions in other countries to meet the challenges presented by new ways of thought and action. But is there any logical necessity that Ethiopia should conform to the historical pattern? Can't Ethiopia prove the exception?