

Abstract

*Zemecha's* philosophy of education is that politics and education should not be separated. Education must be for the common good; manual work and intellectual education should always go hand in hand. According to the author, the philosophy, the general mobilization, and the successful campaign of the *Zemecha* constitute a revolution in microcosm which sets a good example for the future advancement of the developing world.

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## Mass Campaign in Ethiopia — the Political Economy of Education for National Reconstruction

### Introduction

During the reign of Haile Selassie there were enormous incongruities between the needs of the Ethiopian people, namely socio-economic development, and the aims of the *ancien régime*, which was modernizing the administrative machinery of Feudal Ethiopia to strengthen Haile Selassie's autocratic grip on the country. In the educational sector, the latter goal was the primary motivation behind every aspect of educational planning and implementation. Ultimately, however, this apparent contradiction led to Haile Selassie's downfall, and a new type of educational model known as the *Zemecha* was introduced.

That Ethiopia has always been an agrarian nation and depends for roughly 90 percent of its foreign earnings on agricultural products, is a well-known fact. World experts actually agree that due to its great potential, the country can be the future granary of the Middle East.<sup>1</sup> Yet, without qualified experts, the age-old primitive nature of Ethiopian agriculture could not be transformed. One would, therefore, normally expect the government to give the highest priority to the training of large numbers of students in the fields of modern agricultural methods. But the Haile Selassie régime instead gave precedence to training liberal arts students, to produce mandarins and lawyers to man its burgeoning bureaucratic structure.<sup>2</sup> In technical fields also, the government's priorities were the same. More emphasis was placed on liberal arts education than on trade-oriented vocational training.<sup>3</sup>

On balance, the level of education in Ethiopia during the feudal régime was dismally low. Ninety-five percent of the school-age children in the rural areas had never seen a school in their lives. Everywhere one saw young people clad in rags playing in the mud or tending to herds. In the whole country, only 14.1 percent of school-age children were enrolled in primary schools, and 2.9 percent in secondary schools, hence one of the lowest enrolment figures, and consequently one of the smallest outputs of educational systems in the world. In the entire country, a mere 6 percent of the people were able to read and write.<sup>4</sup>

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The priorities of Haile Selassie were such that between the years 1964 and 1973, expenditure for defence and security amounted to well over a quarter of the national budget as compared with 13 percent for education. The discrepancy in this outlay was not bridged over a period of ten years. On the contrary, defence expenditure increased proportionately to each year's national budget while educational expenditure continued to decline as part of the total outlay.<sup>5</sup> Also, per capita expenditure for education was on a continuous decline.<sup>6</sup>

During the feudal period, while more and more Ethiopians were encouraged to acquire modern education, there was no corresponding commitment in fulfilling that objective. Too much money was spent on administration; school supplies were dwindling; classes were becoming too large and unwieldy.<sup>7</sup> Teachers, who were generally underpaid, worked at minimum capacity and the higher grades had become more and more elusive for many ambitious youngsters, since there was no space available to accommodate them. Furthermore, the failure rate for high school students was on a dramatic rise and, at the elementary level, a large number of those who passed could not advance to the second stage. As the size of enrolment expanded, the number of failures proportionately increased until it had passed the ten thousand mark by 1970 at the first level alone.<sup>8</sup>

The cumulative effect of these phenomena was predictable. Tens of thousands of elementary and high school failures, together with those that could not get placement at higher levels, congregated in the cities and towns looking for jobs that were unavailable. The underemployed, and the unemployed<sup>9</sup> youth with a little dose of revolutionary ideas about what a government should or should not be, later became a fuse in the popular uprising that finally delivered a *coup-de-grâce* to the feudal régime in December, 1974. And dialectically, out of these turns of events was also born a radical educational model—the *Zemecha*.

#### *Zemecha Campaign (1974-76)*

An educational development project known as the *Zemecha* (or educational campaign) was launched in Ethiopia in October, 1974.<sup>10</sup> A seminar held following its inception made a careful study of subjects such as: adult education; health and agriculture; laws governing land tenure; the role of the media in the national campaign; the organization of workers and peasants; the concept of communal ownership; ways and means of creating political consciousness; nomadic life and problems of grazing lands; patterns of economic development; and scientific studies of traditional cultures.<sup>11</sup> However, if outlining the scope and range of the project was simple enough, determining the correct approach to put it into practice was not. There were still formidable obstacles to be tackled and overcome. For example, where would the people best be contacted? What would be the ways and means of overcoming the suspicions of rural people against an almost alien urban elite with its own peculiar mode of moral and religious conduct? And under those circumstances, what approaches should be employed to minimize opposition?

On analysis, suspicions were bound to occur because the rural population might feel that the modern, educated youth were out to destroy their cultural heritage, to take away their plots of land, their cattle, and even their children—badly needed on the farms. The suspicions would have special import in that those whose properties had been misappropriated might disseminate propaganda to that effect. Remedies proposed are familiar to any psychologist. For contact, it was suggested that campaigners be dispatched to areas where they already knew the roads, the cultural traits, the lifestyle and the language of the people. To meet the people to disseminate the intended education information, they should go to marketplaces, school grounds, church yards, mosques, official gathering places, localities where special religious feasts are held, and even funeral places, given the degree of tolerance of regional customs. In all that process, enlightening and educating local

administrators, spiritual leaders, and other influential residents was to be accorded priority. For acceptance and success, the *Zemachs*\* were given the following advice: 1) speak in the language of the district without translation from another tongue; 2) do not claim to have the ability to accomplish a specific task if there is even the slightest chance that you may not; 3) do not give an empty promise; 4) be honest and sincere; 5) avoid opposing traditional culture unless absolutely necessary, and when done, employ utmost care not to arouse the people's ire; 6) eschew arrogance; 7) be positive and receptive to people's ideas, and if opposition is called for, make a thorough explanation; 8) practise the lifestyle of the people; 9) under no circumstances should you exhibit superiority to the public; 10) speak cautiously and be a good listener; 11) to explain personal opinions, have clarity and use concrete examples; 12) show fraternity and filial relations to all you come in contact with; 13) respect individuals in private conversations; 14) be patient; and even the familiar 15) "think before you speak."<sup>12</sup>

The Alphabetization Program of the *Zemecha* taught over 350,000 peasants not only the three R's—reading, writing, and arithmetic—but also ways of putting them to practical use. The farmers were instructed in their own native tongues because the 80 languages spoken locally are usually regionally restricted, and also because there are apparent pedagogical advantages. However, for the rendering of a wider vision, it also became necessary for the learner to be introduced to one official language—in this case, Amharic.\* Initially, six languages spoken by over 90 percent of the Ethiopian population were selected for pedagogical use; they were Amharic, Oromic, Tigray, Wolaitigna, Somali, Afarigna, Sidamigna, and Hadiyigna—teaching materials for the first five being completed during the early inception of the *Zemecha*. Literacy kits for the campaigners consisted of enlarged syllabary charts with basic letters and signs making up over 230 letters of the Ethiopian syllabary, divided into shape-sets and printed on broad and heavy writing material that could be suspended from a tree branch or a wall-nail. The chart contained exercise drills for vocabulary and short simple sentences for easy reference. In the kits were also included: *Reading 1*, consisting of short passages for reading exercises dealing only with relevant topics such as health and agriculture; *Amharic 1*, for oral instruction of the official national language; *Arithmetic 1*, for teaching the basic operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division—here also problems dealing only with questions relevant to rural life, such as farming, simple transactions, and carpentry; *Handwriting Book*; and *Teacher's Guide*. It is important to note that the 350,000 (i.e., close to 2 percent of the population) who completed the prescribed course within 18 months were taught by only 40 percent of the campaigners and that large numbers had to drop out due to local political disturbances.\* The total money expended on literacy was only Eth. \$3, 664, 436.\*\* This is a tremendous achievement, considering the fact that the Haile Selassie régime could not move beyond 6 percent literacy in almost 60 years of political control. In fact, even full enrolment for primary school-age children would have required over 130 years (i.e., the target could not have been reached until 2100 A.D.), if the rate of progress from 1951-1971 is to be taken as an indication of future trends.<sup>13</sup>

The campaigners were not limited to alphabetization. They taught health education to nearly a million people, built 155 schools, trained over 1,500 midwives and taught cultural

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\**Zemach* is the Amharic equivalent of "*Zemacha* campaigner."

\*Amharic is spoken by less than 1/3 of the population (as first or second language), while Oromic is spoken by the majority of the people. However, because Amharic was the *lingua franca* of the Nation during the feudal order, it happened to be the only one that all campaigners were able to use in this particular campaign.

\*The Ethiopian Ministry of Education has launched a new campaign in August 1979 to teach literacy to 11 million people (close to 37 percent of the population) by the year 1982. Our study here does not cover this ambitious plan.

\*\*Eth. \$2 is equal to \$1 U.S.

preservation to thousands of people. They built 296 clinics (more than 50 percent of the nation's total), and increased the number of nurses for the whole country by more than 40 percent. They vaccinated a million and a quarter rural inhabitants against various communicable diseases and epidemics. In the field of agriculture, they made hundreds of demonstrations, planted 2 million trees, and vaccinated over 300,000 cattle. They organized close to 6 million people into 19,000 farmers' cooperatives, and 3,700 women's associations. They visited important cultural centres and conducted relevant research. They built thousands of health shelters, places of public gathering, wooden bridges, rafts, feeder roads, water wells, latrines, garbage holes, spring holes, market places and public squares. The campaigners also used their ingenuity and constructed numerous water pumps, drilling rigs, windmills, wooden water-wheels, and even medium-wave transistor radios—all from locally available materials. They accomplished all this with a tight belt; out of an allocated budget of Eth. \$48,680,610, they expended only Eth. \$17,613,138, leaving over Eth. \$31,000,000—enough to make two more successful *Zemechas*.

### *The Underlying Philosophy of the Zemecha*

Pedagogically, *Zemecha* seems to portend a new start in educational approach in Ethiopia, and may well become a landmark in the history of education on the African continent.\* Essentially, it required educated people to participate in a programme not only of alphabetization, but also of political and social enlightenment. It enabled politically aware people to have a direct, rather than a school-tower, perception and experience of the real objective and subjective conditions of life in the countryside, and enabled the conservative rural inhabitants to get in touch, live, and discuss with politically radical youth. It thus rejects the ideal of the leisure class, of a non-political, non-ideological education. Haile Selassie's régime was very insistent on the separation between politics and education. *Zemecha* has, however, torn asunder the illusion of non-politically committed education by promising to make pedagogical processes active, and not blind aspects of social activity.

*Zemecha* thus signals the start of a more democratic, unified, socially responsible and politically committed education. It brings about the emancipation of the people from outmoded perceptions of man and the physical world. Its philosophy recognizes the notion that education is an activity of solidarity with the poor and the underprivileged. In this sense, it becomes a communal activity wedded to the cultural heritage and the life-problems of all. Education of the public also comes down from its abstract pedestals and is implemented as a concrete and real change to all, irrespective of age, posing a direct challenge against the artificial distinction now existing between formal and adult education.

One essential condition this kind of mission demands is that the young people who participate in the program should be amply prepared to occupy their rightful place in the new social order, and the population at large should be in a situation to absorb and respond to a change prevalent in a nation like Ethiopia which is in constant motion. Social action in the new society is not produced by compulsion or greed. It is produced through the incentive of concern for one's own fellow man. Individual interest gives way to sacrificing oneself for the common good. Getting involved in this type of activity is an important factor in the education of the young. True merit, according to this view, is one that is acquired by perseverance, effort, will-power, and the spirit of sacrifice, to fulfil a common goal.

Following the introduction of the green revolution, the trend in the final years of the Haile Selassie régime was for more and more displaced rural inhabitants to move to the larger towns and cities, and since they could not find jobs, these people were forced to live in squalor, poverty and degradation.<sup>14</sup> Sending the students to the countryside, even if

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\*The following analysis is based on the author's assessment of the campaign, and does not represent official philosophy of the *Zemecha*.

temporarily, is a logical reversal of this phenomenon. Indeed, the movement of people from the less developed zones, given the right level of technological growth, is a trend that came with modern industrial expansion starting in England during the last century, and which continues unabated today in both socialist and Western societies. This phenomenon, one can certainly say, is irreversible. Nevertheless, at this level of Ethiopia's development, a *Zemecha*-type campaign is needed to keep the necessary balance between population and economic distribution until real growth necessitates the migration of peoples as the needs of individuals and the entire society dictate.

One cardinal assumption in the *Zemecha* is that while socio-political consciousness is a vital element of education, practical activities within a community are essential ingredients in the formation of an all-round awareness. According to this philosophy, only through practical work can young people effectively participate in the productive process of common tasks which enables them to carry out their duties as members of a team, as well as helping them to critically evaluate their physical and intellectual growth within the community. By working as a team within their own social milieu, students will develop a strong and enduring camaraderie and fellowship with their fellow countrymen, discarding their age-old individualistic and egotistic aims—aims that came as direct results of political socialization instilled and nurtured in them by the previous feudal order.<sup>15</sup> This philosophy, in essence, negates the Summerhill concept of education which caters to the interests of the individual child for whom the curriculum should be made.<sup>16</sup> However, while both intend to create the total, internally fulfilled individual, the *Zemecha* type of philosophy holds that there can be no individual fulfilment in the absence of the fundamental qualities of social self-realization which can be attained by actively engaging in the necessary activities of the prevalent social system.

Experience in work is the most natural and basic quality every youngster has to attain. Intellectual education and productive physical work should go hand in hand, for it is through this kind of method that the advantages of training and work and the growth of the intellect can be fruitfully and successfully combined. This philosophy is clearly against the ivory-tower concept of traditional education, the sole aim of which is to create a purely intellectual person.<sup>17</sup> For the *Zemecha*, knowledge accumulated in such an individual cannot allow the necessary balance and will instead lead to social alienation. It creates a situation where those who are not privileged to join the intellectual club will become outcasts, condemned generation after generation to perform manual labour to sustain the luxury of a few intellectual and economic classes.

*Zemecha* elevates manual work and puts it on an equal footing with intellectual education. The "Great Books" that traditional Western educational theorists such as Adler consider to be so vital are not confined to the printed word.<sup>18</sup> They are found in the towns and villages that dot the valleys, the mountains, and the plateaus of Ethiopia's hinterland. *Zemecha* assumes that while the intellectual can be a catalyst in bringing about social progress, it is the toiling and the uneducated masses of the country who are the main pillars of the nation. Accordingly, every dimension of work in which they are consciously engaged should be elevated and highly regarded.

Young people should not only be encouraged to love work, but should respect those who work with their hands. The activity of work is a main contributor to personality development. It cultivates a positive outlook towards productive exercise, creates initiative, stimulates skill and perseverance, and fosters a spirit of profound and deep respect for those engaged in producing goods and services. It is through productive activity that a producer mentality is created. This is necessary because the new Ethiopian society, and indeed any progressive nation on the road to development, cannot afford to develop a mere consumer mentality—a luxury that is a specific preserve of technologically advanced modern nations.

It is only through participating in the process of production that a young person knows what useful contributions he can make to his community and thus assess the value of others' labour and understand the merits of his own individual work.

There should never be a distinction between technical training and work on the one hand, and intellectual education on the other. To suggest that the manual/intellectual dichotomy should be abolished, however, is not to denigrate intellectual endeavours. The aim is basically to keep a proper balance between the two. The approach recognizes that students should be encouraged to control their environment, to question and fathom the mysteries of scientific and social phenomena, and to develop their creativity. It is believed that by balancing intellectual work and manual labour, one can acquire correct habits of developing the intellect. One cardinal axiom in this type of education is that knowledge gained through the continuous efforts of the learner and meaningful intellectual study involved disciplined work. Discipline is not necessarily imposed from outside, but rather emanates from the self. To acquire the capacity for personal discipline, however, one has to develop proper habits of activity and reasoning. Sustained and fruitful manual work is an invaluable aid in helping an individual develop such a habit for active reasoning. Neither does the philosophy pander to children, leaving them to fulfil their personal whims, since this Deweyesque individualist approach<sup>19</sup> can produce only functional illiterates, as American educators are gradually learning. It makes a clear distinction between the essentials and the non-essentials in school which the student who has developed through the activities of planned manual work—already imbued with a keener awareness of things and events—can easily choose from.

While it is true that some people are gifted in certain activities, vocation is not inherent but is an informed attainable value which is aroused by external stimuli. One's vocation is, in fact, developed by one's own interest. Hence, everyone creates and develops his individual vocation. The external stimuli to develop vocation are especially important in a traditional country like Ethiopia, where manual labour had been looked down upon, where a blacksmith, a carpenter, a potter, a leather tanner had been confined in a strict caste system. The superstition of an evil eye, *Taib* or *Buda*, is, for example, associated with these occupations.<sup>20</sup> The rest of the people never ate or drank from containers used by such workers, and intermarriage with them was taboo. Creating a positive attitude towards activities these people engage in is the first prerequisite, and the young campaigners did help the people, at least to a certain degree, to be released from such blind traditional biases. Conversely also, the *Zemecha* succeeded in breaking the barriers of tradition which belittled manual labour, and introduced to the educated youth the dimension of physical work in which the great majority of their people are engaged.

Perhaps one of the most important lessons young people can gain from a campaign like the *Zemecha* is the principle of self-help and engaging in socially useful activities. During the *Zemecha*, the young pioneers had to meet their own basic needs. They had to cook their own food, and keep proper hygiene in their temporary abodes. They had to engage in socially useful actions such as building roads, bridges, clinics, schools, etc. *Zemecha* had also required the members to be aware of and act upon the fact that man's development is a result of social labour and the creative achievements of people, and that the wealth of the community, their cultural heritage, is a precious product of the sacrifice of millions in the past which should be preserved and jealously guarded.

The *Zemachs* fulfilled these essential duties as teams and according to a fixed timetable. These experiences enable youth to attain strong moral attitudes and encourage diligence. Through self-help, for example, the students learn that manual work should be part of their inner feelings, emotions and ideas. Routine physical functions of this kind are indeed essential to the awareness of proper ethical values and the inculcation of sound individual moral conduct. Proper ethical values do not only help in instilling the spirit of friendship and

solidarity with one's own fellow man, regardless of national boundaries, race, sex, and creed. They also foster the qualities of integrity, generosity and personal sacrifice.

One of the most important tasks facing future Ethiopia is the bringing of universal education to the entire population. This may seem too ambitious a prospect to be accomplished, but a genuine and equitable education should never leave even a single individual outside the intellectual stream of a nation. Development by necessity presupposes educated and skilled manpower, and education will become a yardstick by which the future generations will weigh the degree of economic and social development of their country. However, it remains true that Ethiopia today, with a per capita income of under \$85 per year, remains one of the poorest nations on earth. How can one appropriate sufficient educational expenditure to fulfil this cardinal aim? Obviously, since the best type of development is one in which the masses of the people pulled themselves up by their own bootstraps, the tasks of carrying out this plan would fall on the entire nation. However, in 1974, of Ethiopia's estimated population of 26,400,000, those within a range of working age number 10,200,000.<sup>21</sup> That means that fully 61 percent of the population was under working age. That the country lacks the enormous educational and health funds, and that large numbers of people are outside the spheres of economic productivity, therefore, make it imperative for education and production to be inextricably linked. Indeed, looking simply from a pragmatic angle, what a poor but progressive developing nation like Ethiopia needs is not a parasitic student but a productive individual.

In conclusion, considering the promises implicit in the steps taken, the responses it has elicited in the common Ethiopian, and the productive results it has achieved, *Zemecha* has been a tremendous success. In the course of eighteen months, political awareness has been created, chances for eliminating illiteracy and ignorance have been increased, farmers' and women's co-operatives have been set up, a programme of medical aid was introduced, schools were built, bridges constructed, ponds cleaned, roads laid out, trees planted. Through the dedication and enthusiasm of some 50,000 young Ethiopians, a foundation for a new socio-economic order has been laid down. The author believes that the general mobilization and successful campaign of the *Zemecha*—a revolution in microcosm—sets a brilliant example for the future advancement of the developing world.

La campagne éducative de *Semecha* (1974-75) à laquelle ont participé plus de 50.000 professeurs et étudiants, fut une expérience couronnée de succès dans un pays aussi traditionnel que l'Éthiopie, qui est depuis longtemps aux prises avec des problèmes de pauvreté et d'ignorance.

En 1974, 94% de la population ne savait ni lire ni écrire. Mais en 18 mois, près de 2% de la population a été alphabétisée et près d'un million de personnes ont reçu une éducation au sujet de l'hygiène. En outre, 155 écoles et 296 cliniques ont été bâties, le nombre total des infirmières a augmenté de 40%, plus d'un million de personnes ont été vaccinées contre diverses maladies contagieuses et près de six millions ont été impliquées dans des fermes coopératives. Ceux qui participaient à cette campagne ont construit des milliers de dispensaires, des lieux de réunions publiques, des ponts, des radeaux, des puits, des latrines, des sources, etc. Ils ont planté deux millions d'arbres et vacciné plus de 300.000 têtes de bétail.

La philosophie de l'éducation de *Zemecha* est que la politique et l'éducation ne devraient pas être séparées, que l'éducation doit se faire pour le Bien commun, que le travail manuel et la formation intellectuelle devraient progresser la main dans la main. Selon l'auteur de cet article, la philosophie de *Zemecha*, la mobilisation générale et la fructueuse campagne qui en ont découlé, constituent, dans un microcosme, une révolution qui pose un bon exemple pour le progrès futur des pays en voie de développement.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>See Richard Greenfield, *Ethiopia: A New Political History* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965), p. 321.

<sup>2</sup>During a span of ten years, 1963-1973, agriculture constituted only 4.2 percent of the state's ordinary and capital expenditure. See Central Statistical Office, Government of Ethiopia, *Statistical Abstracts* Addis Ababa, May 2, 1974, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup>In 1969, for example, while there were a total of 2,215 academic primary and secondary schools in the country, the corresponding figure for vocational and technical schools was only 74. See Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, *Annual Reports*, 1970. The student population for academic primary and secondary schools increased from 602,900 in 1967/68, to 790,000 in 1970/71, while the student population for vocational and technical schools decreased from 7,200 to 6,200 during the same period. See Central Statistical Office, Government of Ethiopia, *Statistical Abstracts*, Addis Ababa, 1972.

<sup>4</sup>U.N. Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, *Statistical Yearbook* (Paris: UNESCO Publication, 1977), p. 43.

<sup>5</sup>See UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbook* (New York: U.N. Publications, 1964-1976).

<sup>6</sup>See Aklilu Habte, "Higher Education in Ethiopia in the 1970s and Beyond," Unpublished Documents, 1973.

<sup>7</sup>In government schools, there were 50 students per teacher, and it was not uncommon to see classes of several hundred. Dropout rate in elementary schools was 66 percent. See Patrick Gilkes, *The Dying Lion: Feudalism and Modernization in Ethiopia* (London: Julian Friedman, 1975), pp.93-94.

<sup>8</sup>See UNESCO, *International Yearbook of Education* (1950-1962) and *Statistical Yearbook* (1963-1977).

<sup>9</sup>Unemployment was not restricted to primary and secondary school graduates; 636 out of 937 graduates of training institutions, as well as 40 out of 136 university graduates of the previous year, were unemployed in 1972. See Planning Commission, Government of Ethiopia, *The Employment Problem in Ethiopia*, 1972, Annex I.

<sup>10</sup>See the author's paper entitled "Zemecha-Assessing the Political and Social Foundations of Mass Education in Ethiopia," presented to the Canadian Society for the study of Education and the annual meeting of the Learned Societies of Canada held at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon, June 6, 1979. A detailed work on the subject will be published by Transactions Inc. of Rutgers University. This article is a sequel to a paper entitled "Political Linkage—the Relationship Between Modern Education and the Fall of Haile Selassie's Feudal Régime," presented to the Canadian Political Science Association at the Annual Meeting of the Learned Societies of Canada held at the Université du Québec à Montréal, June 3, 1980, to be published by *Harvard Educational Review* under the title of "Western Education in a Modernizing Autocracy—Metropolitan Dependency Relationships and Disparities Between External Values and Domestic Political Processes in Ethiopia" (forthcoming). Sources for data are UNESCO *International Yearbook of Education*, 1950-1962, and *Statistical Yearbook*, 1963-1977; United Nations, *Statistical Yearbook* (New York, U.N. Publications, 1964-1976); and Dr. Aklilu Habte (former President of Haile Selassie University), "Higher Education in Ethiopia in the 1970s and Beyond," Unpublished Document, 1973.

<sup>11</sup>"Bézémécha Halafiwoch Yétéžégajé Seminar," *Addis Zemen*, *Yekatit* 25, 1967 (March 1, 1975).

<sup>12</sup>For details of forecast of problems and the advice given, see Gebre Michael Chala, *Yézaréitu Ethiopia*, Tikimt 30, 1967 (Nov. 9, 1974).

<sup>13</sup>Despite its low priority for education, the Haile Selassie Government continued to paint a very deceptive picture of the progress of education in the country. For example, in 1961, in its "Proposal Plan for the Development of Education in Ethiopia," the government announced its target for primary schools as follows:

	1962/3	1967/8	1972/3
Enrolment grades 1-6 (in millions)	0.3	1.0	2.2
School-age population (in millions)	3.3	3.6	4.1
% Enrolled	9.9	30.4	79.2

According to this plan, the number of primary school students in 1967/8 and 1972/3 would be 1 million and 2.2 million respectively. The actual figure, however, became 452,457 and 792,000 respectively. See Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, "A Proposal Plan for the Development of Education in Ethiopia," Addis Ababa, 1961, p. 11; and Central Statistical Office, Government of Ethiopia, *Statistical Abstracts*, 1973.

<sup>14</sup>In 1969, annual per capita income for the urban sector was \$340, while it was only \$55 for the rural sector. While for the former, monetary income amounted to \$325 per annum, for the latter it was only \$18. See Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, "Report of the Education Sector Review," Addis Ababa, August, 1972, p. 9.

<sup>15</sup>For a lengthy treatise on this subject, although extremely exaggerated and faulty in conclusion, see the chapter

entitled, "Individualism and the Quest for Social Progress," in Donald Levine, *Wax and Gold* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 235-286.

<sup>16</sup>See A. S. Neill, *Summerhill—A Radical Approach to Child Rearing* (New York: Hart Publishing Co., 1960).

<sup>17</sup>Mortimer Adler, "The Crisis in Contemporary Education," *The Social Frontier*, V (Feb. 1939), p. 62.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 141-144.

<sup>19</sup>John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), pp. 89 ff.

<sup>20</sup>See Levine, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71; and also Eduard Ullendorff, *The Ethiopians: An Introduction to Country and People* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 103.

<sup>21</sup>U.N. *Demographic Yearbook* (New York: United Nations Publication, 1949/50-1977. See also "Yézémachu Asfelaginet," *Yézaréitu Ethiopia*, Tikimt 23, 1967 (Oct. 2, 1974), p. 2.