

Tilahun W., Ethiopian Pioneering in Adult Education

**ETHIOPIAN PIONEERING IN ADULT EDUCATION:
BERHANEH ZARE NEW¹ INSTITUTE (1948-1978)²**

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ABSTRACT

There is an apparent lack of knowledge about education institutions in Ethiopia. In an attempt to fill one gap in this direction, this article takes Berhaneh Zare New Institute (BZNI) as its subject of study. The origin of BZNI can only be understood within the context of the educational improvisation of the period, although other forces were also operative. From its start in 1948, BZNI was dedicated to becoming an institution for adult education, providing possibilities and opportunities, sometimes uncertain, for independent reading and study, evening instruction, lectures and discussions for the general public and in-service education for teachers. Over the years, BZNI became more credential-oriented, and gave less help to part-time learners; moved toward financial self-sufficiency and even to an income-generating scheme for the Teachers'

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Association of Ethiopia. This final state of BZNI partly contributed to its drift away from its original mission, and led to its subsequent closure by the government in September 1978. BZNI might have been reoriented to become the nucleus of an adult-education institution of the 1970s and 1980's.

1. THE CONTEXT

Research into the various forms and aspects of adult education is needed firstly, to increase understanding of the process by which adult education institutions start and/or discontinue; secondly, because recording, preserving and making these observations available will help (a) to develop a tradition, (b) to prevent making the same mistake(s) again, and (c) to provide a historical perspective of adult education as a field of study; and thirdly, to recognise and appreciate institutions and programs (Oxford, 1969; Prosser, 1970). This article is motivated by a need to fill one of the gaps in the history of education, and especially adult education, in Ethiopia. Very little, if any thing, is known about how the Berhaneh Zere New Institute (BZNI) started in 1948 and discontinued in 1978. The study is based on (a) records on BZNI in the archives of the then Ministry of Education and Fine Arts (MEFA), (b) interviews with persons once associated with BZNI, and (c) records of the then Teachers' Association of Ethiopia (TAE).

For the purpose of this article, adult education is defined as "all organized educational activities from job-related to hobby classes taken outside of a full-time program of study" (UNESCO, 1988). Adult education, a segment of lifelong education, is provided by the government sector (its ministries, departments, agencies and establishments legally charged with educational

missions) and the non-government sector (commercial or private concerns with a profit drive, and non-profit oriented agencies, i.e., humanitarian and voluntary organizations). Sometimes there is a very loose and rough division of labour. Historically and internationally, however, non-profit oriented agencies have always taken the lead in providing adult education programs that are largely non-vocational, not concerned with employment. The people's high schools in the Nordic countries, mechanics institutes, university extension programs, Workers Education Associations, extra mural studies, to list only some, had their origins in the non-government sector and offered non-vocational programs (Bhola, 1988; Grattan, 1955; Knowles, 1962). In Britain, such adult education provisions existed 150 years before the government became involved in even limited ways. Only since the 1950's has the British government started to show some real concern for this sector of education. France has shown even less concern.

The political powers of Western Europe had themselves no integrated and developed pattern of adult education, either to export to or leave behind in Africa at independence (Foley, 1975). There was no discernible pattern of provision for adult education in Anglophone Africa in the 1940's and 1950's. At the non-university level, adult education, for example in pre-independence Zambia, meant further academic education for recognized certificates (Omolewa, 1980). In Tanzania in 1950, a

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Department of Social Development under the Ministry of Local Government had the objective of providing knowledge and skills for specific purposes and instruction in literacy, basic health and community development activities (Okeem, 1972). In the Sudan, there were evening vocational courses in 1947 in Omdurman, and Arabic, English, literature, mathematics, commercial law and economics in 1948 in Khartoum and Atbara (Beshier, n.d.). In Nigeria, a report of 1943 on Mass Education was being partially implemented by the Department of Education of the Colonial Administration. Agencies which might have assisted in the provision of adult education were neither recognised nor consulted. Adult literacy was not considered a priority (Omolewa, 1980). In Kenya, organized adult education first appeared early in 1950 with a basic idea of creating citizens loyal to the regime (Foley, 1975). University extra-mural studies in Ghana and Nigeria were understood to mean liberal studies (history, economics, political theory) and institutions were geared to the literate, e.g. teachers, clerical workers and others (Beshier, n.d.). In all of these countries, and both at university and non-university levels, the role of the government, especially before independence, was very limited; provisions for adult education generally favoured the already educated minority in a vast sea of illiteracy.

The functions which adult education programs or institutions perform, varying from one country to another and from time to time within one country, can be grouped in

several ways. Adult education programs can offer, (a) second-chance education, more or less along the lines of the formal school system and syllabus for recognised examinations; (b) vocational education related to many different types and levels of employment; and (c) community and personal development courses which had no association with either (a) or (b) (Harris, 1980). In developing countries, fundamental/basic education, a fourth function, which offers literacy, numeracy and some general education, is often a priority. Which of these functions is emphasised depends on the stage of development of a country. In some it may be fundamental education, while, in others, vocational education may be of greater importance.

Adult education and national development are also related in another way. They are mutually reinforcing in that adult education helps national development (e.g. by meeting different and changing societal and individual needs and interests), which in turn stimulates adult education. A developed economy, for example, provides many possibilities for adult education including institutional and financial support. A developing economy presents many challenges for adult education, but may have few resources or institutional support, thus limiting the possibilities. The objectives, course offerings, patterns of administrative organization and funding of adult education programs are as varied as are the institutions and people being served (Harris, 1980). No country has a complete inventory of these programs: some live long; others spring

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up and die as soon as they have served their limited purpose (Lowe, 1975), often unrecorded or, worse still, unnoticed.

Organized adult education programs are made available through several means and arrangements, such as distance education including open universities and television universities; study leaves, *Kiremt* (rainy season) or summer vacation periods, evening classes, lecture series, symposia, workshops, independent study, or interactive media. In the West, evening programs (also called by several other names) emerged in response to meet the educational needs of communities and individuals who, for different reasons, were unable to study on a full-time basis for extended periods of time (Knowles, 1962). Both in developed and developing countries, evening programs, according to the literature, generally (a) provide a second-chance education and training; (b) serve urban adults, (c) start off as private self-supporting ventures; and (d) provide a setting in which adults learn in company of other adults, and practitioners, as opposed to academicians, teach adults especially in vocationally oriented, leisure, hobby and recreation areas (Harris, 1980; Knowles; 1962). Among the major barriers to adult learning are the required fees and the fear of travelling, often on foot, in the dark hours.

Evening programs can be sponsored by and/or housed in educational establishments, business and industry, labour unions, religious institutions, voluntary associations, foundations and government agencies. Each of these

arrangements has its own merits and demerits. Evening programs expressly established to provide education to adults tend not to last very long. Those attached to establishments whose primary mission is not adult education tend to survive longer; but they are often marginalised and tend to be the first ones to suffer great and immediate reductions in times of financial crisis (Knowles, 1962; Lowe, 1975; Coles, 1977; Harris, 1980). Evening programs in general, and those attached to educational establishments, in particular generate a great deal of controversy about use of teachers' time and energy, facilities, academic standards and teacher qualification. In the schools themselves, some administrators tend to support evening programs because they involve little cost to the institution, and teachers may support evening programs only for the extra money they bring in. Evening programs attached to educational establishments started by offering the regular academic courses, and later expanded their offerings beyond these to meet different needs (Knowles, 1962). The development of such evening programs follows the development of the school system in curricular as well as in administrative matters and distribution. In developing countries, evening programs are attached to educational establishments because of lack of facilities. Here they have resources that can be used with little or no investment. Duplication of regular academic courses is fuelled by the demand from the learners interested in recognised credentials for social and economic advancement. Evening programs flourish where there are persons desirous of learning, and sometimes able to afford the fees; where

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there are persons willing to teach for little or no extra cash; where there are educational resources unutilised or underutilised; and where government, if relevant, is not concerned with the free use of these resources.

The propelling force of the Ethiopian educational development during the first decade (1941-1951) of the restoration of freedom for the five year Italian occupation was to bring education to as many people as possible at all costs. There was no articulated educational policy; the course offerings differed widely and were largely academic and irrelevant to the Ethiopian situation, except that, in the short term, they were geared to preparing various types of personnel urgently needed to man the government bureaucracy. At the elementary level, for example, the curriculum consisted of a smattering of languages, simple mathematics, history and science. Teachers in the schools were predominantly retired soldiers, priests and returned exiles. The British, who did not have an adult education model to export, served as important educational advisors during this period. In August 1944, the first memorandum on educational policy was issued by the Ethiopian government, outlining educational development directions in seven major areas. At the top of the list, and identified as a primary objective, was mass education, which, among many other things, meant literacy education for all ages and sexes (Memorandum on Educational Policy, 1944). At about this time, the British policy for education in

African colonies, entitled Mass Education in African Society (1944), was released.

The policy stated, "Attention should be paid not only to the school education but also to that of adults", and pointed out the necessity of regarding juvenile, adolescent and adult education as inseparable and mutually supporting parts of one program of mass education (Scanlon, 1964, pp. 106-108). It is obvious that Ethiopian educational problems were not considered different from those of British African colonies. In 1944, a Canadian group of teachers, headed by Dr. Lucien Matte, was invited to Ethiopia to help in the organization of elementary, secondary and higher professional education (Trudeau, 1967). By 1948, the re-established "school system" had elementary, secondary, academic, vocational/technical, and teacher training programs. A higher education institution was still two years away.

Both before and after the Italian occupation, modern education was run on a laissez-faire basis. The emperor himself encouraged all those with the means to establish schools. This laissez-faire approach was further promoted by the British advisors. During the restoration period, evening classes were opened and operated as a private venture for the general public. According to the MEFA Year Book of Education 1942-43 Ethiopian calendar (E.C), the American Institute Night School, ran by the well-known Afro-American journalist, David A. Talbot, began instruction in *Tikemt* 1939 E.C (October/November 1946 G.C).

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British school directors were among the first to organize and conduct in-service evening classes since 1944 for their own school teachers. School teachers also conducted evening classes at about the same time. For obvious reasons, such programs were attached to existing schools. Language classes in English, French, Italian, Russian and German were also started by the respective diplomatic missions. Although attempting to establish a date for the start of evening adult education program in Ethiopia may be almost impossible because of lack of documentation, it is clear that such programs were already in the making and operating by the mid-1940's. BZNI started evening instruction in 1948.

2. BERHANEH ZARE NEW INSTITUTE

Genesis, Philosophy and Objectives

It is perhaps useful to start with the circumstances surrounding the opening of a separate institute for the education of adults in 1948, its philosophy and objectives. According to Assefa Tekle Selassie and Lemma Feyessa, two persons very closely associated as administrators and learners with the initial years of BZNI, BZNI was a result of a request made to the emperor by the Imperial bodyguard for means of furthering their education. This was an organized group with easy access to the emperor. The emperor's keen personal interest in the education of this

group is recorded in Dante's Amharic book on the Imperial Bodyguard 1950 E.C., pp. 63, 65, 71, 126-127, 538. Dante also states that special afternoon classes (4:30 pm to 6:00 pm) were arranged for members of the group in the then Teferi Makonnen School after the Italian occupation.

We ought also to look at BZNI within the context of the educational developments of the time. This was a period of educational improvisation. Evening classes had been encouraged since 1942/43 and were started, as private ventures, earlier than BZNI by different groups such as school principals, the British Council through its English Institute (1942), and the American Institute Night School (November 1946). The emperor was very interested in these institutions, so much so that he is reported to have visited them often, and to have paid rent, for some time, for the American Institute Night School.³ The emperor may have established BZNI as a part of his overall educational drive and as a further expression of his motto "Everyone with the means to establish schools should do so", as well as to set a pattern for evening adult education and to give this sector the royal approval, blessing and encouragement. Behind these developments was the social demand for education for different ends and purposes, and the urgent need for qualified manpower.

Another explanation related to the educational improvisation of the period is that BZNI started first as a public library, toward the latter part of 1947. This library was situated closer to the population center than

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the National Library. The evening program was added later, to utilise the facility more completely, at Matte's suggestion to the emperor. One possible explanation for Matte's not developing an evening program in Teferi Makonnen School was that such a move would create management problems in his other-wise tightly controlled boarding school. The opening speeches by the emperor, vice-minister Akalework Habtewold⁴ and Dr. Matte,⁵ the public announcement by the MEFA relating the anticipated date of instruction,⁶ the MEFA year book of education, a proposal of May 1948 by Matte⁷ to reorganize the BZNI curriculum, -none makes any reference to an earlier library in the Yekatit 12 Square area. Thus it is very unlikely that the evening program was an extension of a library service. There is every indication in all these sources that the library and the evening program were started at the same time in 1948. We are then led to conclude that the educational improvisation of the period, the lead taken by the non-government sector in opening evening programs, the emperor's keen personal interest in education, the need for educated Ethiopians, and foreign influence, all provided the impetus for the establishment of BZNI at an initial outlay of 119,000.00 Birr⁷ to symbolize government-sponsored adult education, and perhaps to spearhead the future development of adult education in Ethiopia.

If the price tag appears high, the philosophy and goal were even loftier, as enunciated by the emperor at his inaugural address:

⁷ 1 Birr = about 0.48 U.S.

We establish schools for the young; and (today) as we inaugurate this evening school for adults to help them catch up and keep up, we wish to impress upon those who consider themselves too old to learn that, with will and diligence, they can catch up and keep up. Neither despair of nor abandon learning, should you wish to cultivate knowledge and wisdom. If you while away your evening hours on something other than learning, you must realize you are day-dreaming (Addis Zemen, Saturday, Megabit 25, 1940 E.C. 15 April, 1948 G.C (author's translation).

A MEFA news^s release in Amharic sent to the mass media also stressed this philosophy and lofty goal:

...This establishment shall serve as a public library for Addis Ababa as well as an evening school for adults to broaden their knowledge. This new Berhaneh Zare New School shall be a knowledge-generating center for unfathoming the secret to learning, for the cultivation and enrichment of the mind, for the

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expression of well-intentioned ideas and thoughts, for the meeting of intellectuals, and for improving the competencies of educators in government schools. In the library, the public shall familiarise itself with the latest in science and technology, and read national and international newspapers on current affairs and developments. In addition, lectures and speeches shall be organized on current affairs (MEFA archives; author's translation).

It is abundantly clear from these two documents that BZNI was to be a center for lifelong education with the following specific objectives: BZNI was (a) to offer evening instruction to adults, who for different reasons were unable to pursue formal schooling, and who wished to further their education; (b) to be a teachers' center to further their education so as to improve their competence and discuss their professional concerns; (c) to be a reading-place for those members of the general public wishing to inform and up-date themselves on national and international affairs and developments in science and technology; and (d) to make its rooms available for club and committee meetings, conferences, workshops and lectures.

Educational Programs

The different kinds of educational programs offered by BZNI may be grouped into three types. The first may be called special programs. These programs required no formal admission qualifications, and they were crowded out by 1965. The special programs included *kiremt* classes for illiterate women, taught by the students of the University College of Addis Ababa (UCAA); a free kindergarten education given to children from poor families, with support from voluntary contributions by foreigners, a course in Amharic for foreigners; and a remedial program for students who had failed the Grade Eight Examination. Also belonging to this category of programs and part of an effort to utilise BZNI's facilities, were afternoon classes for housewives learning Amharic, English and arithmetic up to Grade Five level, at a nominal monthly fee of 2.00 Birr each.⁹ Lectures in law given in English by Dr. Technomirowff, with translations in Amharic by Ato Lissanou, were also started here for judges, lawyers and members of the staff of Addis Ababa courts (MEFA 1942-43 E.C., p. 47).

The second type, the core of BZNI educational programs, were the evening offerings, which started in 1948 along academic lines, in English, French and mathematics. These courses were proposed by Matte, and given on Mondays and Wednesdays after 6:00 p.m. According to Matte's proposal,¹⁰ geography and history were to be added later, and, at third stage, vocational (commercial) training.

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Characteristics of the period, these programs were designed without any direct reference to any curriculum. Classes in each subject were organized in five levels. Each learner was placed at a different level in each course. The medium of instruction was English.

The academic evening courses do not seem to have taken too long to fall into the MEFA's pattern. The Year Book of Education (1949-51) reported that BZNI was offering "formal education from elementary to secondary levels". In about a decade, BZNI evening offerings developed into a complete secondary level program only, preparing for the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination (ESLCE) in Amharic, English, mathematics, general science and geography. History was added to the curriculum in 1965 (Chopra, 1965). A report written on Yekatit 2, 1948¹¹ recorded a total of 65 evening learners in Grades Nine to Twelve. There were 20 students including one girl in the Grade Twelve class. According to a report by Gashaw Beza-Tsega, then President of TAE, BZNI had its first ever batch of six ESLCE candidates in Sene 1953 E.C. (June/July 1961 G.C)¹². According to ESLCE Office records, five of these had sat for the examination¹³. By 1968, according to a copy of a list sent to the ESLCE Office, the candidature had grown to 144 students.¹⁴

A vocational program for the commercial stream, the third type, seems to have started as a full-time day offering in 1961-62, partly to utilise the facilities more completely. A letter by Abebe Seyoum,¹⁵ then Director-

General in the MEFA, written on Sene 22, 1954 E.C (25 June 1962 G.C) states that there was a day program. Haimanotu Chekol, once a TAE official, also recalls that BZNI had both evening and day programs before the TAE takeover in 1957 E.C. (1964/65 G.C). A report of Nehasse 1955 E.C. (August/September 1963 G.C.) by Kebede Gebre Giorgis, once a BZNI administrator, and a graduating class list of Hamle 1956 E.C (July/August 1963 G.C)¹⁶ show that a day offering in commercial subjects was available in 1961/62 G.C. The commercial courses offered Amharic and English typewriting, commercial mathematics, business English, book-keeping, shorthand and business training, as prescribed by the MEFA. Some of the learners in this stream also studied for the ESLCE in these and other subjects.¹⁷ This 18-month training program was first open to unemployed young boys and girls and a few housewives. After the TAE take-over, the duration was extended to 24 months, and, according to Haimanotu, admission in 1961/62 became open only to females; a *Kiremt* season apprenticeship program was started with some agencies, initially successful also in finding permanent employment for the graduates in the same agencies. The learners were graded "Failed", "Passed," "Passed with Credit," and "Passed with Distinction".¹⁸ Such a grading was not only imitative of the practice of the then Commercial School, but also more congruent with adult education grading principles. The maximum enrolment was less than 100, a limitation imposed by shortage of typewriters. The graduates were awarded a diploma. The commercial course became very popular and even started to compete with that of the Commercial School. According to

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Kebede Hagos, this development seems to have crowded out the evening program by about 1970.

Learners

Admission to the academic program of BZNI was based on entrance examinations. The first such examination was announced in the press for 15 and 16 March 1948.¹⁹ According to Matte's letter of 21 August 1948, among the first entrants, numbering about 100, there were four businessmen, five MEFA staff, 13 teachers, 18 officers of the Imperial Bodyguard and 53 employees of other ministries.²⁰ Because their qualifications were well established, some of the first teacher entrants did not have to take the first entrance examination. Obviously all of these persons had had some education; in fact Lemma Feyessa contends that they had all completed elementary education. According to a list submitted to the MEFA on 21 May 1948, among the first entrants were several important public personalities.²¹ As standardized grade certificates of the MEFA emerged, BZNI dropped the entrance examinations in favour of these. It is recorded that BZNI had in later years many more applicants than it had space for; but the total enrolment did not exceed 300 at any time.

For quite a long period of time, the learners in the evening program were adults working in government and private organizations. A few among these students were well known to the emperor. During one of his regular visits to class, the emperor is said to have interrupted

the instructor, Dr. Samaan Hanna, who was posing question to his class. The emperor pointed to Berhanu Dinke, an asked jokingly, "Why don't you ask that old man or is he master?".²²

A letter dated Tir, 21, 1944 E.C (29 January 1952) from the MEFA, asking for a list of registered learner: used the Amharic word for men or persons, meaning (in Amharic) "adults".²³ According to Lemma Feyessa, failed students were not dismissed; they were allowed to proceed at their own pace. Books were issued and collected in class. Neither of these practices lasted long.

The earliest regulation governing learners stated that (a) all subjects offered by BZNI had to be studied; (b) new students must sit for an entrance examination; (c) a five-day absence meant forfeiture of a place in the school; (d) learners must have 80 percent attendance to sit for the final examination; (e) admission to classes was not permitted five minutes after 7:00 p.m.; and (f) classes would be held on Mondays and Wednesdays between 7:00 p.m. and 8:30 p.m.²⁴

Gradually the profile of learners changed, because both unemployed and employed adults started to be enrolled. The average age of the evening learners in 1960, according to a report, was twenty five. The opening of a commercial program attracting the young and the unemployed was one reason for the rise in age. Initially this program admitted students after Grade Eight. By about 1969,

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applicants had to complete Grade Ten for the two-year course. Practically all those in the program were unemployed youths, with a few housewives. After 1970, the commercial day program pushed out the evening program, and BZNI became practically a full-time secondary school, so much so that the 111 learners of BZNI had to participate in the two-year Zemecha (campaign) of 1975 and 1976.²⁵ The last graduating class was the class of 1978. Schoolteachers have never been a conspicuous component of the learners in BZNI.

Teachers

The primary, and perhaps the sole source of teachers during the first few years, in accordance with the emperor's directives, was Teferi Makonnen School. Matte assigned these teachers to teach in BZNI. The earlier teachers were mostly foreigners. For Example, on a 1955 payroll of nine teachers, only two were Ethiopians.²⁶ Later BZNI recruited its teachers from three sources through informal channels. These sources were schools in Addis Ababa, the MEFA headquarters, and Haile Sellasie I University. According to a payroll in MEFA archives, Drs. Samaan Hanna, Gerard Despatie, and Tilahun Gamta, then a University student, were among the teachers in BZNI. From the headquarters came in 1955, Million Negniq once Minister of State in the MEFA, and Tekle Mariam Fantaye.²⁷ With the educational development of the 1960s, more part-time Ethiopian teachers were recruited from Addis Ababa Schools and Haile Selassie I University. The commercial program

drew heavily from the students of the former College of Business Administration. There was no shortage of part-time teachers. According to Kebede Hagos, once BZNI administrator, during its last eight years or so, BZNI used no regular school teachers, but was almost entirely dependent on University students and one or two full-time teachers assigned by the MEFA through the TAE. This dependency on one source marks a return to the first phase, when Teferi Makonnen School staff provided most of the instructors. Although there are some records of payment of 4.00 Birr for a period of 45 minutes, BZNI in general paid 5.00 Birr per period to each teacher.²⁸

Facilities

The BZNI building, costing 57,970.00 Birr, and the library with its 10,000 books and furnishings, costing 59,180.00 Birr, were provided by the emperor (Addis Zemen, Megabit 25, 1940 E.C.; MEFA Year Book of Education, 1942/43 (5 April 1948 and 1949/50). The original one-storey building with office space, four classrooms, and a library, at the north-eastern corner of Yekatit 12 Square, has housed since 1978 the archives of the former National Committee for Central Planning. The size of the compound is unknown; but according to Lemma Feyessa, it was larger than it is today. A spirit of sharing accommodation between BZNI and TAE started when TAE was first granted permission by MEFA to use BZNI for its meetings in September 1952 (Haile Gabriel, Miazia 1981). This continued well into the 1960's. In 1964 TAE established an

office in the BZNI building.²⁹ In July 1965, and on the eve of the meeting in Addis Ababa of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, the emperor, through the MEFA, gave TAE the grounds and the property on it for their permanent headquarters (Hedlund, 1975, p. 214).

The four classrooms soon became inadequate for the educational demand; Menelik II School and the University College of Addis Ababa were used for some time as satellite centers. Classroom space continued to be a problem which worsened in the mid-1960's, when TAE gradually started to turn the building into an administrative rather than an educational center. At one time not only the national TAE, but also its Shoa and Addis Ababa branch offices, were all housed there. It took several discussions and deadlines for the Addis Ababa branch to move out of the building (Hedlund, 1975, pp. 215-216). Kebede Hagos said that TAE had plans to completely turn the building into its headquarters by temporarily moving the instructional program to a neighbouring building which once housed Yenigat Kokeb School (Morning Star School) and was annexed to BZNI in 1972.

A public library, only the second to open in town after the National Library (1944), was a major feature of the BZNI facilities from the very beginning. According to Matte's report of 1948, it had 3,000 volumes,³⁰ a reading space, some 21 built-in bookshelves, a four-level rack for newspapers and periodicals, and a card catalogue. Lemma

Feyessa, one of the locally trained librarians, was assigned in 1948 to run the library. It was at first open to learners as well as the general public. According to a document in the MEFA archives, a subscription fee of 1.00 Birr for the use of the library was at one time instituted. Later, the library was open only to those registered in BZNI. In Yekatit 1948 E.C. (February/march 1956), President Aberra Moltot of TAE proposed to Director-General Kebede Michael that the BZNI collection should be given to the Association, so that it might have its own library in a new location.³¹ Whatever still remains of this library, some 400-500 books, about 10 bookshelves, the card catalogue box, the rack for periodicals and some 60 individual desks, are now in the reconstituted Ethiopian Teacher Association (ETA) headquarters in Addis Ababa. Although all the books cannot be accounted for, there is one reliable indication that some of the books were taken over by UCAA. Professor Tadesse Tamrat recalls being employed as a part-time student to identify and pick out books from among the BZNI collection on the basis of a list given to him by Matte's office. He also recalls witnessing the physical movement of these books to the UCAA library subsequently.³²

BZNI had experienced threats of dislocation and/or complete closure before 1978. Kebede Gebre Giorgis recalls that there were two attempts before 1960, one by the neighbouring Imperial Bodyguard headquarters and another by the Addis Ababa Municipality, to annex BZNI to the Imperial Bodyguard headquarters and compound where lions were kept,

respectively. In 1963 there were two further attempts. The first was by the Addis Ababa Schools Office, intending to turn BZNI into its head office.³³ The second is seen in a letter signed by the then vice-minister, Dr. Mengesha Gebre Hiwot, ordering the learners to find places in neighbouring schools so that TAE could use the building as its headquarters.³⁴ The learners appealed to the emperor, and the decision was nullified. Finally, in 1978, the Provisional Military Administrative Council ordered TAE to move out immediately, to make room for a new planning office.

Sponsorship, Administration and Funding

According to documents available, initially the BZNI was a donation of the emperor. The MEFA continued to sponsor, administer and partially finance BZNI up to 1978. BZNI had enjoyed the special status of being at one and the same time both a government and a private institution for adults. To the extent that the MEFA continued to sponsor and finance BZNI, it was a government institution. But since it also charged tuition and other fees, it was classified by MEFA itself as a private institution.

BZNI was at first entrusted by the emperor (for a long period of time Minister of Education) to Dr. Lucien Matte, director of Teferi Makonnen School and later President of UCAA, and Dr. Matte's colleagues at school.³⁵ The core staff of BZNI in 1948 consisted of the director, Dr. Lucien

Matte, and his administrator, Mr. Gilles Loïselle (1948-1959); Ato Lemma Feyessa, who served as both teacher and librarian; and three support staff, all paid by the MEFA. In 1959, the responsibility for BZNI was given by the MEFA to TAE. However, since TAE was neither well organized nor strong, the MEFA assigned Kebede Gebre Giorgis as administrator of the day activities. Kebede and Loïselle worked together for at least a year. In 1960 Lakew Mulat³⁶ replaced Loïselle as director of the evening program and was followed in 1963/64 by Bekele Getahun. In September 1964, TAE took complete responsibility of BZNI, and started to assign one of its officers to take charge of day and evening activities of BZNI. The separate post of the evening program director was abolished. The first full-time director was Haimanotu Chekol (1970-1973). The last BZNI director and also TAE treasurer was Kebede Hagos (1973-1978).

BZNI had to depend on three major sources of money to finance its activities. These consisted of a government budget, fees from learners, and private donations or contributions. Recurrent costs, including salaries of part-time teachers in the evening program and salaries of administrative staff were paid out of a budget under the MEFA up to 1964, and up to 1978, to some extent. During the first ten years or so, Matte seems to have received what he asked for to finance BZNI and sometimes also UCAA Extension courses, both of which he once administered. For example, for the 1949 fiscal year, Matte requested 28,560 Birr and received 24,060 Birr. As of 1958, BZNI received

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an annual government budget in excess of 22,000 Birr.³⁷ In 1964, a high-level committee of MEFA chaired by the then vice-minister, Dr. Mengesha Gebre Hiwot, to study the state of BZNI, noted that the evening and day programs of BZNI represented a major drain on the MEFA budget, using up as much as 34,000 Birr annually. In what appears to be a move to save this money, the committee argued that BZNI had accomplished its mission to provide adults with evening instruction, and resolved that (a) BZNI should be self-financing; (b) the revenues should go to TAE; and (c) the MEFA should continue to pay the salary of the administrative staff, which was a total monthly expense of only about 800 Birr at that time.³⁸

Learners' fees were a second major source of money. The prevailing monthly tuition fee up to the 1960s was 5.00 Birr per student. A program for illiterate women once charged 2.00 Birr. There are no indications as to what was charged for the course of Amharic for foreigners, nor for the Grade Eight remedial program. These fees, which were not always fully collected, from a small number of evening learners did not generate much money for BZNI.³⁹ However, since the MEFA paid for most of the expenses, BZNI was in no financial danger. Slowly the collections started to rise. According to a letter of 5 Miazia 1954 E.C. from BZNI to the MEFA, a two-term collection of that academic year was 6,846 Birr. BZNI also had some money in the State Bank of Ethiopia. With the opening of a commercial day program, a registration fee of 5 Birr, a tuition fee of 20 Birr for the commercial program and a graduation tuition

fee of up to 10.00 Birr (for Grade Twelve academic students) were introduced. By keeping instructors' pay at 5.00 Birr per period, by 1973 BZNI was able to save as much as 8,000 Birr a year, according to Kebede Hagos. Haimanot Chekol, Dr. Haile Wolde Michael, Yilma Workineh and Kebede Hagos all stated that the fees did not only pay for the instructional costs but that there was also surplus which was used by TAE. According to Dr. Haile Wolde Michael, who ended his tenure as TAE president in Meskerem 1969 E.C. (September/October 1975 G.C), TAE had some 275,000 Birr of tuition collections and TAE membership dues. Kebede Hagos stated that about 125,000 Birr from membership dues, tuition fees and income from the cafeteria and the welfare club were in the Association's account in 1978. The revenue from membership fees was not much, because of the small membership, unsystematic collections, and a very modest monthly membership fee of fifty cents per volunteer member, until 1970-1971 at least.

3. OBSERVATION AND DISCUSSION

The reconstruction drive following the end of World War II /or/ the Italo-Ethiopia war in 1941, the opening of evening classes by the non-government sector as early as 1942, and possibly the request by officers of the Imperial Bodyguard were the major national forces that led to the establishment of BZNI. BZNI was perhaps the idea of the emperor and his foreign advisors: David Talbot, an

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American and the Canadians, notably Dr. Lucien Matte. BZNI was not a design of the MEFA and did not formally belong to it. The MEFA was only a caretaker. BZNI was not controlled by a specific department within the MEFA. It is this lack of appropriate institutionalization, more than anything else, that affected its development the most.

At the beginning of this article, a few names known to the public have been identified among the first BZNI entrants for the purposes of illustration. But those names should not suggest that BZNI was an institution for the elite; BZNI was open to any adult who was unable to attend a formal school for different reasons, and who passed the entrance examination. Although short-lived, there were programs for the children of the poor, for illiterate women, and for school failures, as well as scholarships and reduced fees for teachers. Later on, BZNI provided an alternative vocational program for school leavers.

Historically and internationally, adult education institutions and programs are associated with the non-government sector. In the developing countries of at least Anglophone Africa, adult education programs started in this manner. BZNI, however, was partly a government and partly a private institution, with the scale of the government's involvement declining especially after about 1965. Because of government support, BZNI was able to secure a fine compound, a one-storey building with a library, purposefully built from the start for the education of adults at a convenient location, with academic and

administrative staff mostly paid by the MEFA. Such was not the luck of many evening programs. Evening programs attached to formal educational institutions are often bedevilled by controversy over the use of teachers' time and energy, the use of facilities, the division of the budget, and the standard of education (represented by teacher qualification and course level). BZNI was fortunate in avoiding these, principally by staying unattached to a school.

But of course, things were not always rosy for BZNI. The small building was both a blessing and a problem. Initially, the small building was adequate and easier to administer, but it certainly became a major constraint in the development of BZNI, which had to arrange for the use of other facilities at UCAA, Menelik II School and Morning Star School. Its small size became a pretext to turn BZNI into something else. The size of the building and the small clientele served by it probably provided the pretext for the decision of the Provisional Military Administrative Council to turn BZNI into an office.

As an adult education institution offering evening instruction and promoting lifelong education in general, BZNI was well ahead of its times in the Ethiopian context. Right after the Italian occupation of Ethiopia, the MEFA was preoccupied with the reopening of schools and expansion of the formal school system. There was an acute shortage of trained manpower. It is very doubtful that Ethiopia then had any trained persons in adult education.

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Consequently, when BZNI was put under the MEFA by the emperor, perhaps theoretically its rightful place, BZNI was structurally and otherwise a "foreign" element for which the MEFA was not prepared. A department partly dealing with adult education was not established until the mid-1960's, and even then it remained ineffective. The department was reorganized and upgraded in 1976, without a single professionally trained person. In general, we might say that BZNI lived through a long period of orphanage, both under the MEFA and TAE, neither of which, for their different reasons, spoke up strongly enough for BZNI.

The MEFA adopted a policy of indirect administration towards BZNI by attaching it to Teferi Makonnen School and, sometimes, to the UCAA. The MEFA did not accept and treat BZNI as an institution like many of its schools. The first director of BZNI's evening program, Gilles Loiselle, was appointed by Matte, not by the MEFA which paid him a part-time salary of 350 Birr per month. The MEFA did not participate in the selection of teachers, and did not influence program development. Later, the MEFA assigned directors or administrators on an ad hoc basis. The MEFA classified BZNI as a private institution chiefly because it charged fees which, initially at least, barely covered its own expenses. The practice of using one person for the evening program and another for the day activities was wasteful. One of the administrators, Kebede Gebre Giorgis, 1959-1965, considered the evening program as ሰ ፍ ሥራ (a special function), and the day program as a regular function—a classification based on a bias towards the more

familiar situations and probably because of the limited appreciation of the significance of adult education. On the positive side, the MEFA made an attempt to bring BZNI to bear on the teaching profession. For example, in March 1958, a six-month (March-September) evening in-service program was planned, to be offered in the teaching of Amharic, geography, history, mathematics and science. The MEFA documents are silent about the fate of this plan.

Even after the establishment of a department of elementary and adult education, the MEFA continued to treat BZNI as an unnecessary appendage. Where ownership of BZNI rested was not clear and, because of this, there were attempts to dislocate or completely close BZNI, and also completely to dispossess BZNI of its library by TAE and UCAA. A MEFA committee meeting in 1964 actually said it believed that BZNI had accomplished its mission of providing evening adult education.⁴⁰ This was tantamount to saying that the demand for adult education in Addis Ababa had been met; and that was of course not true. It is not true even today, because there are still thousands of citizens wishing to pursue their education. Financial assistance of a considerable size was discontinued by the MEFA beginning in 1964. In short, BZNI was not comfortable under the MEFA; nor was the MEFA comfortable with BZNI. The new institution required functions and structures still unknown at that time; and those in turn required new approaches and behaviour from the MEFA, which was neither willing nor prepared for the task.

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In 1964 the MEFA found a way to extricate itself from the awkward position of sponsoring, administering and financing an institution which it had all along categorized as private. After repeated requests by TAE, the MEFA gave BZNI entirely over to TAE, on the grounds that TAE's objectives encompassed those of the BZNI. The transfer made the classification of BZNI as private institution even stronger. In addition to TAE requests, several forces seem to have contributed to the 1964 decision. The MEFA was increasingly concerned about the money going to BZNI; this money was perhaps needed for the development of the formal school system, for which pressure came from the 1961 conference of Ministers of African Education (43 represented) in Addis Ababa during which it was revealed that Ethiopia had the second lowest school enrolment ratio, next to Niger. According to Tedla Zeyohannes, the move was also seen as a partial solution to problems between MEFA and TAE, and within TAE itself. The proposed coming meeting in Addis Ababa of the WOCTP was yet another reason. Whatever the motive, the 1964 decision by the MEFA dealt a serious blow to BZNI and evening adult education.

The MEFA, however, never became free of BZNI. Whether to support TAE or otherwise, the MEFA continued to pay the salary of the administrative staff. We offer here a possible explanation why the MEFA continued to support BZNI up to 1978. Since the employees in BZNI could not suddenly be denied government employment because of change of authority and responsibility, the roundabout way of solving this problem was to extend minimum assistance to TAE by

continuing to pay administrative salaries. Transfer of these employees to other places would have worsened the existing bad relationship between TAE and BZNI.

TAE had had since 1952 an eye on BZNI, to use the building as its headquarters and the Institute as a source of money, encouraging teachers to study and possibly helping them to start evening classes on their own. Dr. Haile Wolde Michael, a former TAE president, and also a former minister in the Council of State, appeared on a television panel discussion held on 11 May 1989, marking the 40th Anniversary of the Association. He said that TAE was concerned about ways and means of becoming self-supporting. This long-standing interest was first partly realised as a result of the 1964 MEFA decision. Further, in January 1965 TAE became owner of BZNI. Whether this was formalised through relevant property transfer procedures is unknown. At any rate, the relationship between TAE and BZNI changed from one of accommodation to that of owner-owned. As of January 1965, de facto and de jure, TAE became owner and manager of BZNI: the lodger became the master.

Under TAE, and especially after 1964, administrative and curricular changes were introduced. The instructional program, however, started to be displaced by administrative activities. Even after the Addis Ababa branch office moved out, TAE had plans to move the instructional program to a neighbouring building. Instead of employing two persons, BZNI now came to be administered by one person-usually one

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of the officers of TAE responsible both for the day programs and the evening programs a situation which did not last long. Existing fees were raised and new ones introduced; and contrary to adult education principles, learners were required to have guarantors.

A commercial program, which was in the original plan drawn up by Matte and which had its beginning in the early 1960's, was promoted under TAE. At first gradually, and by 1973 completely, the academic evening program gave way to the more popular and less competitive area of business training, more or less along the lines of the Commercial School. In the 1960's academic evening programs were profit-oriented ventures in many schools in Addis Ababa. Since the commercial program generated more revenue, money must have been an important consideration for TAE's move. An attempt by TAE leadership to dissociate itself from academic evening programs which were regarded as poor in quality was probably another reason. Because adult education institutions are generally responsive to the dictates of the times, the curricular change, one could argue, was inevitable, with or without TAE. BZNI itself, for example, changed from elementary level to secondary level instruction in less than a decade. The complete discontinuation of the evening program by the early 1970's, under TAE, represents, however, a notable reversal of TAE's earlier position. TAE previously argued for the introduction of day programs to utilize the facilities to the maximum. But, soon after its full takeover, it left the facilities idle during the evening hours.

With day and evening programs running for some time, BZNI was in a rather grey area between an adult education institution and a full-time secondary school. During the final eight years of its life, BZNI catered only for full-time high school students, and thus ceased to be a part-time adult education institution. This shift certainly represented a complete abandonment of the original mission of BZNI. Library services to the public had also been long discontinued.

With respect to programs for teachers, it is surprising that TAE did not use the institution to develop the professional knowledge and skills of its members. The only exception was in 1965, when an attempt was made by TAE to offer free education and reduced fees to teachers enrolled at BZNI. Internal squabbles in TAE leadership, especially between 1965 and 1970; lack of legal recognition before 1965; a limited membership estimated at 5,000 in 1970-71; the localised nature of TAE's (and BZNI's) services; lack of confidence in and lack of conviction about TAE on the part of teachers; and teachers' interest in obtaining formal credentials were probably the reasons for the lack of programs especially aimed at teachers.

BZNI was absorbed into the orbit of operation of a financially and organizationally weak association. It became a major source of money for TAE at a time when TAE membership was small, when the monthly membership fee was only 0.50 Birr as opposed to the current compulsory fee ranging between 1.00 and 3.00 Birr, and when even the

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modest fee was not collected systematically. BZNI's commercial program generated an annual excess of as much as 8000 Birr for TAE, according, to Kebede Hagos. He also states that, when TAE was banned, and BZNI was annexed to the government Planning Office in 1978, there was about 125,000 Birr in TAE accounts, including membership dues collections and social welfare club contributions.

Whether it is a matter of coincidence or not, it was under TAE also that BZNI received the last blow. Although TAE had ownership of BZNI after 1965, this did not stop the Provisional Administrative Council from eliminating BZNI without any compensation. In fact, had BZNI been attached to a school, at least the evening program could have continued. Lack of space for the Planning Office then being established was an overt but perhaps a minor reason for the government's action. TAE was then suspected of being infiltrated by counter-revolutionary elements. Formerly a deputy in the foreign relations department of the Central Committee Office, short-time TAE President, and once in the Mass Organizations Office in the early years of the revolution of 1974, Dr. Assefa Medhane in a television panel discussion on the development of TAE on 11 May 1989, said that TAE activities were curtailed; some TAE members had fled the country; and others were barred from filling their previous posts.

Under the nationalization scheme, private schools were absorbed into the government system; they were not banned as BZNI was. Individual and organizational property holdings were compensated for by the new Proclamation of Extra Housing and Urban Land Holdings of 1975. But this did not happen for TAE. TAE and BZNI might have been relocated into one of the nationalised buildings. Because the relationship between TAE and BZNI was not symbiotic, BZNI remained buried when, after some years the teachers' association was revived, reorganized and restricted, under the new socio-political order. BZNI might have survived or even revived to serve current needs, had it not been for its identification with TAE.

4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This article was concerned with the development of Barhaneh Zare New Institute. The forces and factors behind its establishment were understood within the context of the educational development since 1941. Whether BZNI was initially a true response to those forces then, or simply a patronising move on the part of the emperor, or a little bit of both actions is hard to ascertain, however. A pioneering government-established adult education institution, BZNI was intended to usher in lifelong education and mass education through the provision of classroom instruction, a library, and opportunities for meetings and discussion. Instruction started with a

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provisional list of courses and quickly gravitated towards the formal school system, including the admission requirements. In the non-formal area, literacy classes, a remedial program for school leavers and an in-service teacher education program were tried or made available for a short period of time. But schoolteachers were not interested in programs not oriented towards credentials. After about two decades, a full-time commercial program serving regular high school students pushed out the part-time academic evening instruction for working adults.

The years 1964 and 1965 represent a watershed in the organizational development of BZNI. BZNI was administered by the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts through Teferi Makonnen School until 1964, when the authority and responsibility were given to TAE. Recurrent expenses were covered through MEFA allocations, tuition and other fees and other means. Both under the MEFA (1948-1964) and under TAE, (1964-1978), BZNI's adult education mission was largely marginalised. Substantial financial assistance from the MEFA was discontinued in 1964, after which BZNI had to offer courses of commercial interest to be self-supporting and income-generating for TAE. BZNI did indeed help TAE during hard financial times for the association.

For some year BZNI enjoyed government support. But because of limited knowledge of the basic principles of adult education and lack of relevant institutionalisation on the part of the MEFA and perhaps also because of learner pressure for formal programs, BZNI did not on the whole

develop into an adult education institution with special features of its own; it quickly fell into the pattern of the formal system. Under TAE, organizational weakness and a profit motive contributed to a shift in the original mission of BZNI, and to its final demise in 1978. Had BZNI not been peripheral to both the MEFA and TAE, we might conceivably argue that BZNI might have provided guidance and information or even a model institution for evening education, especially in Addis Ababa, and/or it might have become a teachers' center. However, neither the MOE nor TAE spoke out strongly enough for BZNI. As a consequence of the nominal ownership which BZNI was under, it almost lost its premises in the 1960s, had its library taken over by TAE, and to some extent by UCAA as well.

As a pioneering adult education institution, BZNI's contribution to the field is very marginal. The rise and fall of BZNI partially proves two points. Like the majority of other adult education programs elsewhere, BZNI rose to meet a need, and responded as best it could to changing needs. Unlike other similar institutions, however, BZNI did not die because it had run its course. The demand for evening adult education is still high, especially in the business training area where there is no longer a commercial school with an evening program. If to begin worthy action is, in and of itself, a contribution, certainly BZNI led the way in government-founded evening adult education. There is no trace of BZNI now, apart from some documents; only a few persons associated with it know that such an institution existed. What is the consequence

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of BZNI now? There is only the familiar lesson: programs have to be institutionalised, to take root in a society. Still, BZNI deserves a place in the history of Ethiopian adult education as well as in Ethiopian education generally. BZNI was from the start dedicated to serve adults exclusively. It stands out as a pioneer evening adult education program, unusually government-funded. Even as part of the educational reconstruction and development scheme, it seems well ahead of its time, and places Ethiopia among those countries with purposefully organized adult education as early as almost 40 years ago. It is indeed a landmark in the general history of adult education.

The service BZNI rendered to society, during its thirty years should not be underestimated. Both the evening and day programs have helped many individuals⁴¹ who would otherwise have been unable to climb up the educational, economic and social ladder. BZNI responded to the changing needs of an urban community. By providing such education, in its own small ways, BZNI reduced the demand on other contemporary institutions, and consequently the burden on the government. Given the post-revolutionary educational demand, and drive to meet it on the part of the government in the face of numerous constraints, BZNI might have been channelled to make even greater contributions toward the education of adults.

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List of Informants

Assefa Tekle Selassie, Tir 19, 1981 E.C., Assefa Tekle Selassie, now working for the Ethiopian Trade Export Company in Addis Ababa, was among the first adult enrollees and a secretary of BZNI from about 1942-1944 E.C.

Habtemariam Wolde Kidan, (Fitawrari) Yekatit 28, 1982 E.C. Personnel Chief, Ethiopian Catholic Church Secretariat. He was one of the first enrollees in BZNI.

Haile Wolde Michael, Tir 25, 1981 E.C. Dr. Haile Wolde Michael, formerly a minister in the President's Office, was vice-president and president of TAE from 1959-1967 E.C. (inclusive).

Haimanotu Checkol, Tir 19, 1981 E.C. Haimanotu Chekol, now a librarian at Bole Senior Secondary School, was vice-president of TAE from 1957 to 1962 E.C., director of BZNI 1962-1963 E.C.

Kebede Gebre Giorgis, Megabit 1, 1981. Kebede Gebre Giorgis, pensioned, was administrator of BZNI (daytime) and also sometimes taught mathematics in Grades Nine and Ten from Miazia 1950 to about Sene 1957 E.C.

Kebede Hagos, Yekatit 6, 1981 E.C. Kebede Hagos, now on the staff of the Inspection Department, MOE, was both a TAE treasurer and BZNI director from Genebot 1965 to Meskerem 1971 E.C. Kebede Hagos was also once chairman of the Shoa TAE branch.

Legesse Bezufekad, Yekatit 27, 1981 E.C. Legesse Bezufekad, now pensioned, was among the first adult enrollees of BZNI.

Lemma Feyessa, Tir 17, 1981 E.C. Lemma Feyessa, now operator of a private legal office, after retirement, was (a) among the first adult enrollees of BZNI (b) the first administrator of BZNI (day-time) 1940-42 E.C. and (c) Librarian of BZNI 1940-1942 E.C.

Tedla Zeyohannes, Tir 26, 1981 E.C. Tedla Zeyohannes, now working for the MOE, was a teacher at BZNI.

Wolde Yohannes Shita (Birgadior General) Megabit 4, 1982 E.C. Pensioned. Commander of the Third Ethiopian Brigade in Korea, Deputy Commander of the Imperial Bodyguard, Chief of the UN Forces in the Congo, and some time Ethiopia's Ambassador to Italy and Yugoslavia.

Yilma Workineh, Tir 26, 1981 E.C. Yilma Workineh, now head of the Formal education department of the MOE, was (a) TAE Secretary General and Director of BZNI in 1957 E.C., and (b) TAE President in 1958 E.C.

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5. Imperial Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Information, The Ethiopian Herald, 15 April 1948. A.A: Berhanena Selam Printing Press.
6. A statement intended for the mass media, MEFA Archives.
7. A few suggestions on how to organize a high school, Lucien Matte, 21 May 1948, MEFA Archives.
8. A statement intended for the mass media, MEFA Archives.
9. A report by Kebede Gebre Giorgis, Nehasse 30, 1955 E.C. MEFA Archives.
10. See note 7.
11. A report by Assefa Tekle Sellassie, Secretary, to MEFA, Yekatit 2, 1943, E.C.
12. A report by Gashaw Beza Tsega to H.E Addis Alemayehu, Sene 12, 1953 E.C.
13. This information was obtained from Eshetu Kebede, ESLCE Office Record Officer, Tir 17, 1981 E.C.
14. Report by Kebede Gebre Giorgis to MEFA, Nehasse 25, 1955 E.C. MEFA Archives.
15. Abebe Seyoum, Director General in MEFA, to the Office of the Minister of Education Sene 22, 1954, MEFA Archives.

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16. Graduation list of students, Hamle, (n.d), 1956 E.C, TAE Archives.
17. Speech of BZNI Director at graduation ceremony, Hamle (n.d), 1956 E.C. MEFA Archives.
18. Copy of uncollected diplomas, TAE Archives.
19. Lucien Matte to the MEFA Director General, March 3, 1948 G.C., MEFA Archives.
20. Lucien Matte to MEFA, August 30, 1948 G.C., MEFA Archives.
21. Some names among the first entrants: Legesse Wolde-Hanna, Berhanu Dinke, Wolde-Yohannes Shita, Habtemariam Wolde-Kidan, Aberra Jembere, Mekonnen Zewde, Assefa Dula, Tibebu Beyene, Taddesse Mengesha and two or three years later, a lady, Wzo. Lulit Mengesha (MEFA Archives). These persons have assumed different levels of government leadership positions, as follows:

Berhanu Dinke, now in the USA, was Director General in the Ministry of Health and long-standing ambassador to the USA.

Habtemariam Wolde-Kidan (Fitawrari), now personnel chief in Ethiopian Catholic Secretariat, started as a teacher in a rural school; moved out of the government to join the USIS; came back to government employ in the administration of Princess Tsehaye hospital; Menelik II Hospital; awraja (district) governor in Agaw Midir and mayor of Bahir Dar, and Yererna Kereyu; deputy administrator of Arssi in the early years of the military government.

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Legesse Wolde-Hanna (Colonel), now pensioned; Police Commissioner, governor of Assala, and later Ethiopia's ambassador to the Democratic Republic of Zaire.

Mebratu Fisseha (Birgadier General), now pensioned, Deputy Commissioner of the Police Force; Chief Administrator of the Department of Wild Life and Conservation.

Taddesse Mengesha (1902-1974 E.C) started as a teacher; received Diploma in Law; worked as translator General the Private Cabinet of the Emperor, Prosecutor, President of the Supreme Court, Afe Nigus, Member of the Upper House of Parliament and Administrator of Sidamo Administrative Region, 1966-67 E.C.

Wolde Yohannes Shita (Birgadier General) pensioned, Commander of the Third Ethiopian Brigade in Korea, Deputy Commander of the Imperial Bodyguard, Chief of the United Nations Forces in the Congo and Ethiopia's ambassador to Italy and Yugoslavia.

22. Interview with Ato Assefa Tekle Selassie 19/5/81 E.C. Ato Legesse Besufekad 27/6/81 E.C. and Ato Lemma Feyessa 17/5/81 E.C.; see list of informants.
23. MEFA to BZNI, Tir 21, 1944 E.C. MEFA Archives.
24. A document entitled, "Regulations of the School", to be signed by each learner, MEFA Archives.

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25. A report by Kebede Hagos written on Tikemt 25, 1967 E.C. MEFA Archives.
26. Report to MEFA by BZNI, Yekatit 2, 1948 E.C., MEFA Archives.
27. Various payrolls for 1955 G.C. MEFA Archives.
28. Various payrolls for different years, MEFA Archives.
29. Minutes of a special committee chaired by Dr. Mengesha Gebre Hiwot, Assistant Minister, yekatit 3, 1956 E.C. MEFA Archives.
30. Lucien Matte, August 30, 1948 G.C. MEFA Archives.
31. Aberra Moltot to Kebede Michael, Director General, Yekatit 14, 1948 E.C., TAE Archives.
32. Professor Taddesse Tamrat related the story on BZNI books to me; but discussions with Ato Worku Geda, once a librarian in Prince Beede Mariam Laboratory School, Dr. Taye Taddesse, Ato Ephrem, Ato Haile Meskel of AAU Library could neither deny nor confirm the existence of BZNI stamped books in the University collection.
33. Workie Demessie, Director General, A.A. Schools Office, to MEFA, MEFA Archives.
34. Dr. Mengesha Gebre Hiwot, Assistant Minister, to TAE, Pagumen 3, 1956 E.C.

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25. A report by Kebede Hagos written on Tikemt 25, 1967 E.C. MEFA Archives.
26. Report to MEFA by BZNI, Yekatit 2, 1948 E.C., MEFA Archives.
27. Various payrolls for 1955 G.C. MEFA Archives.
28. Various payrolls for different years, MEFA Archives.
29. Minutes of a special committee chaired by Dr. Mengesha Gebre Hiwot, Assistant Minister, yekatit 3, 1956 E.C. MEFA Archives.
30. Lucien Matte, August 30, 1948 G.C. MEFA Archives.
31. Aberra Moltot to Kebede Michael, Director General, Yekatit 14, 1948 E.C., TAE Archives.
32. Professor Taddesse Tamrat related the story on BZNI books to me; but discussions with Ato Worku Geda, once a librarian in Prince Beede Mariam Laboratory School, Dr. Taye Taddesse, Ato Ephrem, Ato Haile Meskel of AAU Library could neither deny nor confirm the existence of BZNI stamped books in the University collection.
33. Workie Demessie, Director General, A.A. Schools Office, to MEFA, MEFA Archives.
34. Dr. Mengesha Gebre Hiwot, Assistant Minister, to TAE, Pagumen 3, 1956 E.C.

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35. See not 4.
36. MEFA to BZNI Hamle 8, 1958; E.C. see also a short note submitted by Ato Abebe Tilahun to MEFA in budget request, MEFA Archives.
37. Budget request letters, reports and correspondence between MEFA and Ministry of Pen, between MEFA and Prime Minister's Office, between MEFA and BZNI, MEFA Archives.
38. See not 29.
39. Bekele Getahun, Director of BZNI to MEFA, Miazia 5, 1954 E.C., budget report of BZNI for Meskerem - Yekatit 1954 E.C.
40. See not 29.
41. Complete statistics of registration, completion and graduation of BZNI learners in different programs since 1948 are not available. The different figures in various pages of the text, however, suggest the enrolments and contributions, financial support.