

**ADDIS ABBABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY**

AMAYA DISTRICT, EAST HARARGHE, 1941-1991

**BY
AHMED MOSSA**

A HISTORY OF HARAMAYA DISTRICT, EAST HARARGHE, 1941-1991

BY

AHMED MOSSA

ADVISOR

PROFESSOR TESEMA TA'A

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Art in
History

November, 2015

Addis Ababa University
Graduate Program Office

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Ahmed Mossa, entitled: "A History of Haramaya District, East Hararghe, 1941-1991" and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the Degree of Master of Arts in History complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee:

Examiner: Mohammed Assef Signature [Signature] Date 8/12/15
Examiner: Wudu Tafete Signature [Signature] Date 08/12/2015
Advisor: Tesema Taa Signature [Signature] Date 08/12/15

Samuel Nigesh [Signature]

Chair of Department or Graduate Program Coordinator

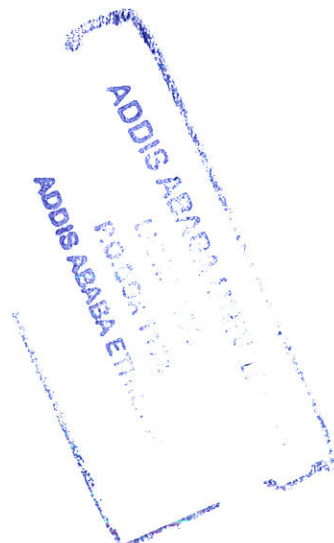


Table of Contents

Content	Page
List of Tables.....	i
List of Maps and Pictures.....	ii
Transliteration.....	.iii
Acronyms.....	IV
Acknowledgement.....	V
Preface.....	VI
Abstract.....	IX

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Physical and Geographical Settings of Haramaya.....	1
The Impact of the Interaction of Haramaya Society with Other People.....	5
The Beginning of Settlement in Haramaya	10

CHAPTER II

ADMINISTRATION IN HARAMAYA (1941-1991)

Foundation of Haramaya Town.....	15
Imperial Era (1941-1974).....	19
<i>Darg</i> Era (1974-1991).....	25
Formation of Peasant Associations (PAs).....	25
Service Cooperative.....	31

Producers' Cooperatives.....	34
Villagisation.....	41

CHAPTER III

SOCIO-CULTURAL INTERACTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE OF HARAMAYA

<i>Gumaa</i> as a Traditional Method of Conflict Resolution.....	44
Traditional Cooperatives.....	48
<i>Dimishaa</i>	49
<i>Guzaa</i>	50
<i>Maroo</i>	52
<i>Afoshaa</i>	54
. Khat as a "Spice of Daily Social Life" among the People of Haramaya.....	57
<i>Ija Banaa</i>	57
<i>Barchaa</i>	59

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE IN HARAMAYA, 1941-1991

Agricultural Production.....	62
Sorghum.....	63
Coffee.....	66
Khat.....	69
Vegetables.....	77
Land Tenure in pre-1975 Period.....	80
Kinds of land Tenure.....	80

Tenancy.....	85
Land Measurement and Taxation.....	88
Land Tenure in the Post-1975 Land Reform Period.....	92
Education.....	94
Conclusion.....	99
Bibliography.....	102
List of Informants.....	113
Glossary.....	117
Appendices.....	120

List of Tables

Tables	Page
Table 1. Boundary Length of the Neighbors of East Hararghe.....	1
Table- 2.Districts and Sub-districts of Harar province in 1960s	22
Table- 3.Government Officials of Haramaya Worada in 1970.....	23
Table- 4. Comparing Khat and Coffee cultivation.....	76
Table- 5. Comparison of Price of Vegetables in the Local Market of Haramaya and Haramaya Farmers’ Cooperatives in	78
Table- 6. Area of land owned by Fifty Farmers in Bate, Harar.....	132
Table- 7. Names of Schools in Haramaya District.....	137

List of Maps and Pictures

Maps and Pictures	Page
Map 1: Map of East Haraghe Province.....	2
Map 2: Map of Haramaya Worada.....	141
Map 3: Map of Haraghe Province in 1960s.....	142
Map 4: Details location of Gorge drainage line that affects the town.....	143
Picture 4.1: Abulaziz Mohammed (Finance Minister of Ethiopia in 2015).....	144
Picture 4.2: Local Agricultural tools.....	146
Picture 4.3: A seventy eight years old student in Haramaya TVET.....	146

Key to Translation System

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

1 st	በ	=Bä
2 nd	ቡ	=Bu
3 rd	ቢ	=Ba
4 th	ባ	=Ba
5 th	ቤ	=Bé
6 th	ብ	=Be
7 th	ቦ	=Bo

II. Palatized sounds are represented as follows:

ሸ	=Šä
ቸ	=Čä
ኸ	=ňä
ዠ	=Zhä
ጸ	=Jä

III. Glotalised sounds are represented as follows:

ቀ	=qä
ጠ	=ṭä
ጨ	=Çä
ጸ	=ṣä
ፈ	=Pä

IV. Germination should always be indicated by doubling.

Example: Käbbdä

IV. General Examples:

ቀኝዝማች	qäñmač
ኢትዮጵያ	Itopya
ህዝባዊ	hezbawi
ክፍለ ሀገር	kefelähagär

Transliteration

In the transliteration of Oromo texts the Latin script as currently in use by Oromo is adopted

I. The five vowels in English are represented

	Short	Long
1. a	a	aa
2. e	e	ee
3. i	i	ii
4. o	o	oo
5. u	u	uu

II. The following dental sounds are represented as

- 1. d’ dh
- 2. t’ x

III. Germination is marked by doubling consonant except for ‘ch’ and ‘dh’ in which cases stress is not indicated so far.

Example- *Gurrachaa*

IV. General Examples

- Barchaa*
- Demina*
- Dhala*
- Xayaraa*

Acronyms

AAU	Addis Ababa University
AMC	Agricultural Marketing Corporation
APC	Agricultural Producers' Cooperative
ASC	Agricultural Service Cooperative
CBD	Coffee Berry Disease
ECMC	Ethiopian Coffee Marketing Corporation
EDDC	Ethiopian Domestic Distribution Corporation
EHAZ	East Haraghe Administration Zone
ESPIP	Ethiopian Sorghum Production Improvement Program
HMA	Haramaya Municipality Archive
HPA	Hararghe Provincial Archive
HSIU	Haile Sellassie I University
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
KECE	Khat Export Corporative of Ethiopia
NALA	National Archive and Library Agency
PA	Peasant Association
PMAC	Provincial Military Administration Council
SOGIK	Socisete Generale D' Importation de Khat
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education Training
WMTMC	Wäldä Mäsqäl Tariku Memorial Center

Acknowledgement

This thesis would not have been addressed in this way without the assistance of many people from different walks of life, to all of whom I express my sincere indebtedness. My deepest gratitude and appreciation, however, goes to my advisor, Professor Tesema Ta'a who thoroughly read the draft and gave me invaluable advice, which energized me to advance the work further in times of difficulties.

I am also gratefully indebted to all my informants and friends, whose names are too numerous to mention here, for their genuine assistance and faithful support. Particularly, I would like to thank Retta Duguma and Adane kassaye for their scholarly advice which included providing and indicating sources. My thanks are also extended to the staff of Addis Ababa University Department of History who thought me different courses which became an input in identifying core issues in the time of the research.

I would also like to thank the directors and vice directors of Haramaya Secondary and Preparatory Schools for their unreserved moral and material support. Finally, I would like to thank my families for all rounded assistance throughout my stay in the university.

Preface

The thesis is about the history of Haramaya district in the period between 1941 and 1991. The year 1941 was the time in which the monarchy was restored following the evacuation of Italian army which was followed by socio-economic and political “transformation” in the country. In 1991, *Darg* regime collapsed. It is the final limit of the thesis.

I faced a number of problems, though I tackled it as much as possible. Informants lacked interest to respond to crucial points which are decisive to prove or disprove the already established arguments. The most probable reason is related with the current tensions of political conditions of 2015 election. Even some of them refused to take appointment. In many occasions those who agreed cancelled the appointment by illogical reasons. Due to this I interviewed at any time and place I get them.

The archives at Harar seem to be well preserved. The file catalogue indicates the presence of important documents but workers are too reluctant to cooperate. The problem was complicated due to the fact that files are accumulated in the present day working office of the Harari Regional State, which created burden on workers.

The National Archive and Library Agency contained reports at provincial level. Documents are well organized though the process is not completed. I gained invaluable information, especially about the *Darg* period. I also visited Wäldä Mäsqäl Tariku Memorial and Research Center. It contained important documents to analyze the Imperial era but it is not accessible all the time. I also came across some of the archives at the IES.

I had also consulted *Negarite Gazata* which were printed during the pre-1974 period. It helped me to understand the legal measures of the government to enrich its economic power and to

tighten its political domination in the centralized state structure. To understand the post 1974 government response to the socio-economic and political issues I had made a bird's eye view on some publication of *Addis Zemen Gazata*. I had also attempted to widen my understanding of the period under discussion by reading the past constitutions: 1931, 1955 and 1987.

I also consulted a number of published and unpublished secondary sources from different libraries: IES, Kenedy, Haramaya University, Harar Culture and Tourism bureau, and East Hararghe Administration. I faced stiff resistance from the librarian of IES. They were less eager to cooperate. The problem was even worsened when it was totally closed in the last summer.

Based on the available information and materials at hand, I had preferred to divide the thesis in to four parts. The first chapter is introduction which treated issues like the physical and geographical settings of the area, the beginning of settlement and the interaction of the society with other states and its impact on them. The second chapter deals with administration of the district during the Imperial and *Darg* eras. As a center of administration, the foundation and development of Haramaya town was also treated here. The third chapter focuses on socio-cultural interactions among the district's society. The last chapter attempted to reconstruct the agricultural history of the area. The land tenure system during the pre and post-1974 periods was also another focus area of the chapter. The opening of Haramaya Agricultural College had direct impact on the life of the surrounding rural and urban community by giving informal training to farmers and opening primary and secondary schools. The Haramaya Lutheran Church also laid a base for the beginning of modern education in the area. So, education is also treated briefly.

Even though I had made more effort in the course of the research, the thesis is not that much exhaustive. But it will give a guide line for those who would be interested to study some particular aspects of the district like social, economical and political.

Abstract

A number of historical researches were done on the different aspects of the city of Harar but the history of the surrounding areas of the city was less treated. The aim of this thesis is to fill some of the gap by reconstructing the socio-economic and political History of Haramaya district from 1941 to 1991.

The thesis attempts to show the physical and geographical advantages, which had direct impact on the socio-economic, cultural and political conditions of the area in the period under discussion. It has also investigated when and how the Oromo settled in the area. It attempted to throw light on how the society was influenced due to its contacts with the Hararis, the Egyptians and centrally appointed officials and settlers since the time of Menliek.

The thesis investigates the impacts of Lake Haramaya and the long distance trade on the beginning of settlement and development of the town. It attempts to identify the role of traditional leaders like daminas and garadas in the post 1941 administration of the district. It has also evaluated Darg programs like the formation of peasant associations, Producers' cooperative, service cooperatives and villegisation from the political point of view based on the actual local applicability and indicate how the government used it as a means to facilitate administration activities at the kebele level.

*A number of scholars described the society of Harar(in a sense of geographical inference) in general and that of Haramay in particular as the "most sociable". There is also an old established saying that **ሐረርኝ ሰውን አይደለም ጅብን ያላምናል** that means that Hararis adapted themselves easily not only with human being but also hyena as well. In addition to this in the recent past UNESCO awarded Harar as **የ ፍቅርና የመቻቻል ከተማ** that means a [City of Love and Tolerance]. The thesis attempts to assess the validity of this generalization.*

Khat is not only a cash crop but also part of their identity and culture. So, the society has great resection for it. That is why one informants of Ezikiel described khat as the "Leaf of Allah". It is also clear that their every daily activity were related with Khat. It is due to this that I describe it as a "spices of social life." The thesis attempted to analyze situations and com across with probable how and why it was so,

The thesis made a brief overview to reconstruct the agricultural history of the district by giving special focus in Khat. When heard the word cash crop the first thing which come to our mind is its economical value. But khat for the Hararghe society in general and that of Haramaya in particular was their priority choice not only because of economic but also ecological, political as well as cultural interrelated factors.

The thesis carefully examined these factors and attempted to show how it caused radical transformation of the society from subsistence agriculture to cash crop Producers. It has also analyzed why khat took the upper hand in their subsequent rivalry especially over coffee.

The thesis gives comparative analysis of conditions of the livelihood of peasants of the district in the pre-reform and post reform period. Lastly, it assesses the role of the opening of Haramaya Agricultural College of Agriculture in the life of the rural community in general and, in primary and secondary education in particular. The then Finance Minister of Ethiopia, Abdulaziz Mohammed had a special memory in his child hood that three birr changed his way of life. The thesis briefly addressed why this was so.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Physical and Geographical Settings of Haramaya

Location

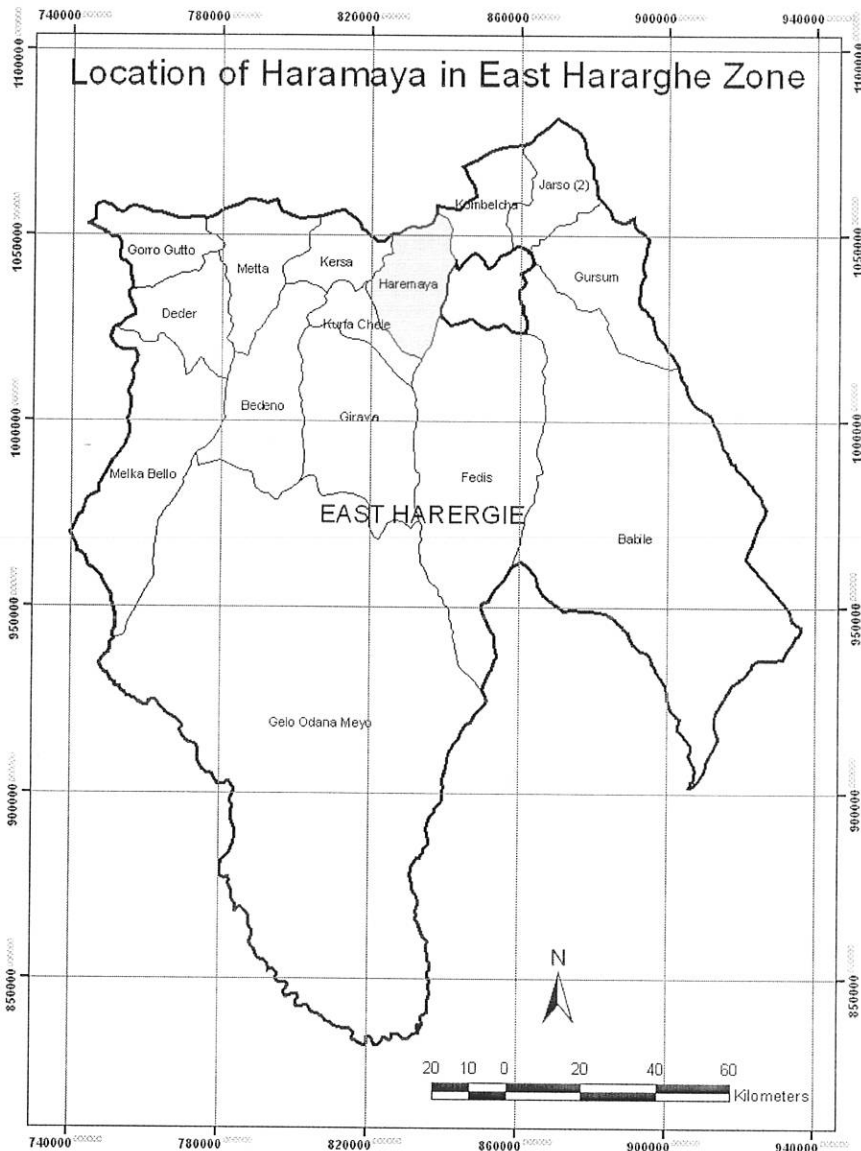
East Hararghe is one of the 17 zones of Oromiya National Regional State. It has 18 districts, 532 rural Peasant Associations, and 30 towns of which three of them are administered by mayors. The Astronomical location of the zone is $7^{\circ} 32'N$ - $9^{\circ}44'N$ and $41^{\circ}10'E$ - $42^{\circ}55'E$ latitude and longitude respectively. It is bordered with Dire Dawa Administrative town in the North, Somali Regional State in the Northeast and East, Bale zone of Oromiya Regional State in the South, and West Hararghe of Oromiya zone in the West. The zone had a total boundary of 824 km but in recent times it is raised to 920 km when Çinakesän joined it by referendum. It has the longest boundary with the Somali Regional State. The following table indicates the boundary length of the zone.¹

Table.1. Boundary length of the neighbors of East Hararghe

Bordering regions	Direction	Boundary length(km)
Somali Region	East and North	466
Dire Dawa Town	North	78
West Hararghe Zone	West	186
Bale Admin. Zone	South	94
Total	All	824

Source: Adapted from Haramaya Town Land Development Beaurö

¹Haramaya Town land Development Bureau, "Socio-Economic Conditions of Haramaya, East Hararghe," (Haramaya: 2011), p.5.



Map.1. Physical Location of East Hararghe (Adapted from Haramaya Town Land Development Bureau, P. 3)

Haramaya is one of the seventeen districts of East Hararghe. It has two urban centers (Haramaya, and Adälè), and thirty three Peasant Associations. It is the center of the district. Astronomically, it is located between $9^{\circ} 09'$ and $9^{\circ} 32'N$ latitude and $41^{\circ} 50'$ and $42^{\circ} 05'$ East longitude. It is boarded by Kurfa Çälè district to the South and Southwest, Fedis district to the South and

Southwest, Harari Regional Administration to the East, Dire Dawa Regional Administration to the North and Kombolcha district to the North East.²

Haramaya district is part of the Harar plateau. It was characterized by dissected plateau, mountains, hills and plains. It stretches between altitudes 1400 and 2337 m.a.s.l. The plain, highland (plateau, mountain and hill) and rift valley (gorge) comprise 35%, 55% and 10% respectively. It is drained by three streams: *Lega Ambo*, *Lega Burqa* and *lega Bati*. It is surrounded by hills like Hubet, Dof and Jeldo.³

There are four kinds of soils in Haramaya district. The first one is black soil (locally called *biyye gurraachaa*). In terms of fertility and average coverage, it ranked first and second respectively. The second type is Red soil (locally called *Qeefara*) and it is easily cultivable due to its soil texture. It has the largest coverage in the district but with low agricultural potential. The third type is sand (*hashawa*). It is the result of high erosion and extensive tillage. It is the least fertile land. The fourth one is *Zabadu* which is dark-brown sandy clay soil. It is found on the top (upper slope) of the areas. It is the least by its coverage but ranked second in terms of fertility.⁴

Haramya has a unique climate. Miller and Tilahun, expressed the climate of Haramaya in the following way: "Although the area is only about nine degrees latitude North of the equator, the climate is unusually pleasant due to an elevation between 6000 and 7000 feet". The author of *Oklahoma State University in Ethiopia*, who wrote in Alemaya year book in 1962, described the

² Chalachew Arega, "Environmental Responses to Demographic and Socio-Economic Change in Haramaya District, Oromiya Region," (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of Demography, 2004), P.2.

³ Council of Regional State of Oromiya, Bureau of Planning and Economic Development, *Physical and Socio-Economic Profile of 180 Districts of Oromiya Region*, (Finfinee, 2000), P.133.

⁴ Bashire Saide, ("Assessment of Indigenous Soil and Water Conservation Practice in Haramaya Lake Catchment in East Hararghe," M.Sc Thesis, Haramaya University, Department of Agriculture 2007), P.6.

area as the one which possessed “the world’s the most delightful climate.”⁵ About 90% of the area of the district has a climate of semi-temperate where as the remaining 10% is a semi arid ones.⁶

The average maximum daily temperature of Haramaya is 18 to 26 degrees centigrade and the average minimum is from 4 to 17 degrees centigrade. During some years frost may damage sorghum and other plants like Khat. The mean annual total rainfall of the area is 784 mm. In the period, between Octobers to the end of February, the area is characterized by dry season during which time there is seldom and appreciable amount of rain. Small rain during March, April and May are highly variable. The big rain that accounts for most of the rainfall starts in June and usually ends in September.⁷

Haramaya district has some vegetations consisting of Eucalyptus, Junipeous Procera. Podocarpus, Gracilior, Acacia species, Olea and Africana Shrub and bush land. Forest trees cover about 778.65 hactar or 1.5% of the total area of the district. There are no protected forests of any type parks and game reserves in the district.⁸

The total population of Haramaya district is 204,982 of which 104,629(51%) male and 100,353(49%) are female Population. Among the total population, 25866(12.6%) are urban dwellers of which 12,945(6.3%) are male and 12,921(6.3%) are females. Of the total population,

⁵The Alemayan, “Year book of Students College of Agriculture Addis Ababa University” (Addis Ababa: Graphic Printer Press, 1982), P.10.

⁶Haramaya Town Land Development Bureau, P.5.

⁷M.E Quenemoen, *Potential Returns from Commercial Farming Systems in Three Areas of Ethiopia* (Experimental station Bulletin, 56, HSIU, 1968), P.31.

⁸Oromiya Economic Study Project Office, “Haramaya District Based Development Program” (Finfinee, 2003), P.52.

179,116(87%) are rural settlers of which 91,683(44.7%) are male and 87,433(42.7%) are females.⁹

Of the total population 196857 (96%) are Oromo and 8125(4%) are from different back ground. The majority 196415 (95.8%) are Muslims, 8050 (3.9%) are Christians, and 517(0.3%) are with other religions.¹⁰

Interaction of Haramaya Society with other peoples

In his book entitled, *First Foot Step in East Africa*, Burton indicated that there was close economical and social ties between the Hararis and the Oromo. He also stated that the Oromo call the city (of Harar) as Adarey (later evolved to Adere). He depicted picture women who carried materials on their head, which is also practiced till these days. The Coffee of Harar has a very high demand in the European markets in the 19th century. Burton stated that the Oromo around the city (as far as a distance of seven days journeys) from Harar were engaged in the production of this crop and the Emir of also forced them to restrict themselves on the production (of coffee) though it was not profitable. Burton accounted it in the following way, " When I visited Harar , the price per parcel of twenty seven pounds was a quarter of a dollar and the hire of a camel carrying twelve parcel to Berbera was five dollars: the profit did not reply the labor and the risk."¹¹

⁹ *Ibid*, p.187.

¹⁰ *Ibid*.

¹¹Gordon Waterfield, *First Foot Steps in East Africa*, by Sir Richard Burton, (New York: Frederic A.PRAEGER, 1966), P.177.

Harar had attracted foreign powers at different times. The Arabs and Turks had put their own impact on the culture of the society of the Harar plateau.¹² The Egyptian period (1875-1885) in Harar was characterized by socio-economic and political changes in the area. They exploited the economic resources of the region by imposing high tax. For instance, at one time, they had collected 10% and 12.5% from import and export items respectively. They also introduced their own coin to facilitate the commerce of the area. They had also their own impact on the land tenure system by changing the communal system to private ones.¹³

According to Bedri kabir, the name *kottu* might be dated back to the Turco-Egyptian conquest. He explained that the invaders related the name Oromo, of course wrongly, as "pagan." So, they preferred to use a new name, which was also used by others for a long period of time. Their stay in the area also caused the destruction of the institution of the traditional socio-economic and political system called *Raabsa-Doorii*. *Raabsa* refers to the council of elders where as *Doorii* represented the military commanders.¹⁴

The Emirate of Harar belonged not only to Hararis but also to the Oromo, Somalis and Argoobas who settled in and around the city. When the area was challenged by the invading army of Menilek, these people had formed a united front against the invaders but they lost the war at the battle of Chelenqo in 1887. It had long lasting bitter impression on the Hararis and the Oromo. Many youngsters who were ready to perform their marriage ceremony went to the war and lost their lives. According to Lapiso G.Delebo, it was unequal battle in which Menilek was superior

¹² Leonard Miller and Tilahun Makonnen, *Organization and Operation of the Three Ethiopian Case Farms* (Experimental Station Bulletin No.35, 1965), pp. 6-8.

¹³ Richard Pankhurst, "Tribute Taxation and Government Revenue in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Ethiopia (Part II) (*Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1969), P.165.

¹⁴ Badri Kabir, "The Afraan Qallo: A History," (BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History Department, 1995) PP.2-4.

in both number and armament. He indicated that about 20,000 to 35,000 men took part in the war, of who one-third were armed with firearms. On the other hand, the Emir's army was ill-equipped which could be understood from the captured war materials: six cannons, 600 rifles, 3,000 shells and 300,000-600,000 cartridges.¹⁵

According to Makuria Mekasha, the binding agreement which made the Sultanate of Adal under the suzerainty of Menilek was signed at Haramaya. Even though he was successful at Chelenqo, Menilek was interested to deal diplomatically with the Emir of Harar. Both parties came up with their basic question. The Harari's demanded: religious freedom, respect of their culture and tradition, to exercise internal self-rule, not to be alienated from their land, and being free from any kind of injustice. On the other hand Menilek raised pre-conditions like; to pay taxes to him which were paid for the Egyptians, to inform him any cases which endangered the sovereignty of the state and lastly they were also asked to expose injustices (of the people) to the nearest officials and if there was no immediate response they were also given an option to send the issue to him. Mekuria also stated that both parties held holly books (the Quran for the Hararis and Bible for Menilek) and made an oath to implement the above stated terms of agreements loyally.¹⁶

Ras Mekonnen, the father of Ras Tafari, was the first governor of Harar, who was appointed by Menilek. Since Hararghe was exposed to foreign powers, the area experienced unique administration than other parts of Ethiopia. Ras Mekonnen was well aware of the administration and culture of the area and later on it was adopted by the central government as a model. Abegaz was a provincial governor who was responsible to supervise the overall activities of the province.

¹⁵Lapiso G. Dilebo, *An Introduction to Ethiopian History from Megalithic age to the Republic, circa 1300BC to 2000 AD* (Addis Ababa: Commercial Printing Press, 2003), P. 74.

¹⁶ Makuria Makash, *Battle of Chelenqo* (Addis Ababa: Mega Printing Enterprise, 1962), p. 101.

At the district level there was a governor with the title of *damina*. He was responsible to ensure whether the tax was collected properly and fairly by the *malkagna*. *Garada* was an official at the lowest level who was responsible for minor disputes, especially of land. He also transmitted government orders and organized the community. He had direct relation with the *Damina*. *Garada* was introduced by the Turks and remained in function for a long period of time.¹⁷

Tafari Mekonnen was born in East *Hararghe* at the district of Jarso. He started to exercise power at the age of 13, when his father gave him the title of *Grazmach* and administer *Garamulata awrajja*.¹⁸

Lake Haramaya was used as a recreation center for a long period of time. Its nearness to Harar and Dire Dawa made the area attractive to foreign and domestic tourists. There was a resting house, with small boats which used to take them from one corner to the other side of the lake. The lake was also historical in that, *Ras Taferi* (the later Emperor Haile Sellassie) escaped from death. According to Zewede Retta, there were ten individuals in the boat, including *Ras Tafari*. It was sunk and with the exception of the two (*Ras Taferi* and *Fitawrari* Haile Sellassie Abayneh) the rest of them died. Abba Samuel, a French teacher of *Taferi* and *Imru*, was the one who lost his life in the accident. The debatable issue here was that, why the boat did sank. According to my informants, it was purposely done by *Lij* *Iyassu*. They explained that *Lij* *Iyassu* used to recreate in the lake and used the same boat. They further explained that, he penetrated

¹⁷ Emperor Haile Sellassie., *Heyewotyè ena yä Ethiopia ermija*, (Addis Ababa: Birhanena Selam Printing press, 1965), P. 21.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, P.13.

(intentionally) the body of the boat to allow water to enter in to it. Then, Taferi was ordered to go to Haramaya They concluded that it was a calculated act.¹⁹

Emperor Haile Sellassie in his autobiography entitled *Ethiopia ena Yeheyewotè Ermja* stated the accident at Lake Haremaya as the most sorrowful time in his life.

ደስታውንም ሃዘኑንም ባንድነት [ከመካነ ጋር] አየተካፈልን ኖረናል ከተባለው ውስ ሳልጽ ፈው ለመቅረት የማይቻለኝ አንደኛው ትልቁ ሀዘን...²⁰

We shared a number of happiness and sorrow [with Mennen]. But the one which I should not pass without mentioning it is [the accident at Haramaya]...

He stated that they took rest at Haramaya on the way to accompany his wife, Mennen, who went to Addis Ababa, due to the death of her brother, *Ras* Haile Mariam. After he sent his wife, he decided for recreation in the lake before they returned to Harar. By using a boat, they crossed the lake peacefully but when they returned, water entered in-to the boat through a hole. *Abba* Tasfa(God father of *Ras* Tafei), *kagnazmach* Gabrawolde, *Ato* Ayele Seyum, *Lij* Kidane Mariyam Manyazawal, *Abba* Samuel Wolde Kahn Pawlos (the secretary of a hotel at Haramaya), *Lij* Asmere and *Lij* Zerihun Eshete were sunk down. According to the book, he gained first aid from the Greek doctor named Zarvos. After two weeks of treatment at *Harar*, *Ras* Taferi gained his health. The book also stated that, the accident was related with the oldness of the boat and he did not say anything about *lij* Iyassu. Of course, it was clear that there was no good relationship between Tafari and *Lij* Iyassu. The latter took Taferi as a potential danger to his power. He went as far as making an oath not to disobey him. But later on *Ras* Taferi was transferred from Harar

¹⁹Zewde Retta, Tafari Mekonnen Ena räjimu Yäseleṭanu Guzo Bä Minelik, Bä Iyasu Ena Bä Tayitu Gizè (Addis Ababa: Central Printing Press, 1998 E.C.), P.193.

²⁰ Emperor Haile Sellassie, P. 24.

to Kaffa.²¹ On the other hand the society expressed their feelings of the accident in the following way:

የሸዋ መሳፍንት እንዲያ ሲቀናጣ

የሀረር መሳፍንት እንዲያ ሲቀናጣ

ሀረማያ ገብቶ በመጠንቆ ወጣ²²

While the Shoan princes felt proud

While the Harar princes felt proud

They sunk in Alemaya[lake] and were taken out by hook [like a fish]

The Beginning of Settlement in Haramaya

The Oromo population movement was one of the major events of the 16th century in the Ethiopian region and the Horn of Africa. The early writers wrongly interpreted the movement by indicating their original place outside Ethiopia. It was fabricated by creating illogical connection with sources, (especially in the case of foreigners,) and for political benefits (in the case of Ethiopian writers). But later on, historians reconsidered sources and proved that the Oromo, who belong to the *Cushitic*, were indigenous to Ethiopia. Different researches, on the issue, in the past indicated that the movement was a South-North event. But the recent works of Alemayehu Haile indicated that there is linguistics evidence for the existence of the Oromo societies in the Northern parts of Ethiopia prior to the 16th century. Finally, they concluded that, the movement was not from South to North rather the reverse was true before the 16th century.²³ Of course, these need further intensive investigation.

²¹ Zewde Retta, P. 193.

²² Informant: Ayalkebet Yiketū

²³ Alemayehu Haile, (etal), *History of the Oromo to the Sixteenth Century*, (Finfinee: Oromiya Culture and Tourism Bureau, 2006), p.38.

Different historians had given their views about the origin of the Oromo. *Alaqa* Atsme claimed that they were from Asia. The other writer, *Aleqa* Taye, pointed towards Madda Walabu. Some others related them with Israel. France, Northern Somalia, Sudan and Wallega were also postulated as their original home land. But, in the post 1963 studies disproved the entire above hypothesis and reached a conclusion that Bale and Sidamo were the original home land of the Oromo.²⁴

Hararghe was inhabited by the three Eastern Oromo of Barentuma: confederacy Humbana(Anniya), Marwa(Ittu) and Afran Qallo. The first two settled in the western part whereas the last two on the Eastern part of Hararghe. Afran Qallo (Which means the four sons of Qallo) included Obbora, Babbile, Daga and Ala. In the case of Haramaya, Ala has been the dominant group.²⁵

Lemma Ariti wrote an oral tradition, which was also recounted by my informants, about the beginning of settlement in Haramaya. Accordingly, the name Haramaya is a combination of two words i.e. Haro and Maya. Haro is an Oromo word, which means lake and Maya was the name of the legendary clan. So, Haro Maya means Maya's Haro (Lake of Maya). According to this tradition, Maya was a holy man who came to the area with his cattle and people. But he found the area dry. By his holiness he made the water to come out on the surface which created three lakes: Haromaya, Haro Tinike and Haro Adelle. His name was also given to rivers: Maya Gudo and Maya Kalo.²⁶ Alemayehu Haile mentioned Maya as the name of the Oromo clan who settled in Hararghe.²⁷ According to my informants, the name Haro-maya was changed to Alem-maya

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid*, P.25.

²⁶ Lemma Ariti, "A Regional Studies of Alemaya Based on the Studies of the Alemaya College of Agriculture", MA Thesis, Haile Swllassie I University, Department of Geography, 1969), P.1.

²⁷ Alemayehu Haile, p. Xiii.

(which in Amharic literally means to have well satisfied life in this world). It was given by Emperor Haile Selllassie to remember the surprising survival of his life following the boat sinking accident in Lake Haramaya. But when the monarchy collapsed in 1974, the newly established government send circular letter which demanded to change every names which were related with the feudal regime in general and the royal family in particular. Accordingly, the town was renamed as Haramaya and the primary school also called Haramaya Development School and latter it was called Hezbawi Nuroo. The name of the primary school at Bate was also changed from Bate Dependent School to የባቴ ገበሬወች አንድነት ት/ቤት [Bate Farmers' Unity School].²⁸

According to my informants at one time, Haile Sellassie came to Alemaya Agricultural College. On his way, the car was stranded in black wet soil around the present day *ganda Mudée* (probably the place might have gained its name after this event). The problem was solved and entered to the normal track by the help of the local people, of whom the most known person was Sali Adurmee, who had the chance to accompany the emperor as far as Addis Ababa. Finally, he was asked what he needed as a reward for his help. He chose a water pumping generator, which became probably the first water pump owned by private farmers in the area.²⁹

Some other places in Haramaya were also named in relation to national and regional issues. For instance, the place which served as the camp for the Italians is known by the name *ganda Kanboo*. The other part of the town which has connection with major historical event was *ganda Chlenqo*. The inhabitants of the area told me that in the remote past, there were dwellers that

²⁸ HPA: A letter from Abedurāheman Māhāmād to Hararghe *Kefelahägär* Administration Office about the names of places and institutions which were related with the royal family in the district of Haramaya, Date 16/02/1975 G.C. Ref. No.2/5257/1/68. Folder No.2419.1.

²⁹ Informant: Mohammed Ale.

came from Chelenqo.³⁰ I assume that the naming of this place might be related with the battle of Cheleqo which took place in 1887. As I have stated earlier, Menilek and the Emir of Harar had made peace talks at Haramaya. So, most probably, the village gained this name following this event, but this need further close investigation.

Haramaya is located in the Eastern most part of the country which made it a strategically very important, especially for massive commercial activities. Due to its proximity to the old town of Harar, the society of Haramaya was exposed to foreign socio-economic, cultural and political influence. Because of the Egyptians great impact for about a decade (1875-1885), Harar and its immediate neighbors were under the direct supervision of the Egyptians.³¹ Following the process of the territorial formation of the 19th century, the area failed under the control of the central government. Due to its resources and strategic importance, the area was mostly in the hands of the royal families.³²

There are a number of existing cultural evidences which witness the relationship between the Hararis and the Oromo. There is similarity in the case of dressing style. Of course, religious similarity has its own impact on it. The Hararis are known by their craft works. Different sources indicate that they were heavily engaged in agriculture before the arrival of the Oromo. But later on they shifted to trade and craft works. My informants told to me that their house building style, arrangement of house materials and classification of rooms, have similarities. The most common

³⁰ Informant: Sufian Usman

³¹ Ezikiel Gabissa, *The Leaf of Allah. Khat and Agricultural Transformation in Hararghe Ethiopia, 1875-1991*, (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2004), p 96.

³² Retta Duguma, "Socio-Economic Conditions of the Peasants in Hararghe, 1941-1974", (Haramaya University, Department of History and Heritage Management, 2010), P.14.

of all is the place which is preserved for *khat* chewing which is facilitated by pillows, though there is great difference in quality. As much as possible it (the room) is well decorated.³³

Some of the titles which were used by leaders of traditional social and administrative officials in Haramaya were borrowed from the Hararis. Some of them were *damina*(chief of a tribe), *garada*(village chief),and *Kabira* (religious leader). On the other hand the Hararis also used *buchuma*, a container made of cal bush what is locally called *buuqqee*, for milk. In the culture of the society when a woman gets married, one of the precious gifts given from her mother is this utensil. Most probably, it was borrowed from the surrounding Oromo. The society of Harar and its vicinity are multi-lingual. It is common to see someone who speaks and communicates with the Hararis, Somalis, Oromo and Amharas in their languages.³⁴ Generally, the Hararis and the Oromo had age old Socio-economic, Cultural and political inter connection from the 16th Century till these days.

³³ Informant: Sufian Usman

³⁴ Emeran M. Waber, *A Brief History of Harar, Its People and Its Literature*, (N.P: Neo Printer, 2009), P.10.

CHAPTER II

ADMINISTRATION IN HARAMAYA (1941-1991)

Foundation of Haramaya Town

As I have mentioned in the first chapter, the beginning of settlement around the later district of Haramaya dated back to the 16th century in which the Oromo made their expansion. For some time, they administered themselves using their old age Socio- economic and political institution called the *Gada* system. Through time, the system collapsed due to different factors like mass conversion to Islam and their close contact with the Sultanate of Adal and the conquest of foreign powers like Egyptians.¹

The earlier settler- clan around the present day district of Haramaya is still a controversial issue among the society. The Oromo in Hararghe belonged to the Barentu supper clan. It had five sons and three of them namely Anniya, Ittu and Afran Qallo moved to Hararghe. The Eastern most of Hararghe was inhabited by Afran Qallo, who was believed to be the youngest son of Barentu group. He had four sons; hence he took the prefix *afran*, an Oromo word which means four. These were Obbora, Babbile, Ala and Daga. From these, Ala was dominant in Haramaya district and its surroundings like Garamulata, Metta, Qarsa and Feddis.²

According to the study of Oromiya Urban Planning Office research which focused on the town of Haramaya, Ala had twelve sons: Aroji, Abadho, Nonnun, Metta, Diroma, Babu, Abbayyu, Gulo, Gelan, Gutayu, Eera and Kako. From these, Aroji and Abadho were dominant in

¹Markakis, John, *Ethiopia: Anatomy of Traditional Polity*, (Oxford: The Claredon Press, 1974), P.55; Badri, p.4. ; Ezikiel Gabissa, *The Leaf of Allah...*, p. 42.

²Oromiya Urban Planning Institute, "Haramaya Town Structure Plan Existing Situations Analysis and Final Draft Proposal", (Fifinee, July 2011), P.9. ; Informants: Aliysa Usman and Abdi Rashid.

Haramaya District. The three brothers of Maya namely Maya Lama, Maya Guddo, and Maya Qallo belonged to this group.³

In the case of their economy, initially they were mainly engaged in pastoralist activity. This was commonly related by those who narrated the legend of Maya, who was believed to be a herder who came to the area with dozens of cattle.⁴ Different written sources indicated that the Adalities before the 19th century were agriculturalists that produced mainly fruits and *khat* in the surrounding areas of the present day Harar. It was later on that they shifted towards trade.⁵

Some of my informants strongly argued that the earliest settlement took place around the town of the present day Haramaya.* Then, they spread to the present areas of the district. But this idea was refuted by some other informants. The latter ones accepted that the earliest settlers were settled around Lake Haramaya and might have stayed for some time because there was sufficient grazing land for their cattle. But after sometimes they became mixed farmers. The area in which the present day Haramaya is, located in a valley which was not suitable for farming. So, they shifted to the nearby areas and formed large rural family there. It was after the Italian occupation that relatively large number of people moved to the present day of Haramaya, which led to the birth of the town.⁶

Even though the definition of a town varied from country to country, the presence of relatively large number of population was a common criterion. One of my informants told me that she was about nine years old and her families lived in the present town of Haramaya and there were only

³ Oromiya Urban Planning Institute. P13. ; Informant: Aliya Usman.

⁴ Lemma Arity, P.1; Informants: Aliya Usman and Abdi Mohammed.

⁵ Abbas Ahmed," A Historical Study of the City State of Harar (1775-1885), MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1992, p.48. ; Ezikiel Gabissa, *The leaf of Allah...*, p.42.

⁶ Lemma Arity, P.61.* He wrote that there were tukuls in Haramaya town which were eighty years old. This means they were constructed around 1889. Informants: Abdi Mohammed, Aliya Usman and Sufiyan Usman.

small number of houses (not more than 8) in the time of the Italian invasion. Pre-Italian towns were mostly garrison centers which was not the case of Haramaya.⁷ So, it was possible to conclude that some features of towns were seen during the occupation period and the full growth to the town was the phenomenon of post-1941 period.

As I have indicated earlier, the emergence of the town of Haramaya was a gradual process which was a combination of different factors. But all of them were directly or indirectly related with the strategic importance of the area.⁸ Even before 1935, there were temporary services given under trees for merchants who took rest at Haramaya on their way to and from Harar. They prepared food (*injera* with pepper) and drink(yoghurt) at home and took to the area when merchants demanded (they call them *Bultee*).⁹ In the early decades of the 20th century, there was a hotel near Lake Haramaya in which foreigners and the royal families recreated. As I already explained in the first chapter Ras Taferi(the later Emperor Haile Sellassie) took rest in this hotel before he was dawns and saved at lake Haramaya. Ayele Seyum was a hotel manager but he died while he was floated on the boat with the governor of Harar.¹⁰

Infrastructural development in the area was one of the causes for the emergence of Haramaya as an urban center. In 1902, Ethio- Djibouti rail way reached Dire Dawa which resulted in the emergence of another commercial center in the Eastern part of Ethiopia i.e. Dire Dawa.¹¹ According to the original document of the project it passed through Harar, but due to the high slope of the area the contractor had changed the design and redirected it to Dire Dawa. During

⁷ Informant : Aliya Usman

⁸ Oromiya Urban Planning Institute.P.10. ; Informant: Sufyan Usman.

⁹ Informant : Alia Usman, Abdi Mohammed and Abdi Reshid.

¹⁰ NALA: N.A. Meograph, File No.17.1.2.3.; Informant: Tilahun Abera.

¹¹ Richard Pankhurst," The Harar- Dire Dawa Road and Road Construction Association," (*Historical Society of Ethiopian Conference*, 1975), P.14. ; Haramaya Town land Development Bureau,P.39.

the governorship of Ras Mekonnen, Harar and Dire Dawa were connected by road which passes through Haramaya. So, the area was one of the earliest places in Ethiopia which had gained modern transportation services. According to Pankhurst, the transportation fee from Haramaya-Dire Dawa and Harar-Haramaya was three and one Thaler respectively. Later on the Italians had constructed a major high way, which connected Addis Ababa with Harar. It passed through Haramaya.¹²

The Italian occupation of Ethiopia brought some changes in the area. As I have mentioned it in the first chapter, they set a camp in Haramaya. It was due to this that the area took the name *ganda campo*, (Camp village), which continued to be used till today. The people settled around the camp and gave different services to the Italians. Gradually, commercial activities started in the area which resulted in the emergence of urban features.¹³

In 1940s Haramaya became the political center of two *miketil woradas* namely Nunnu-Abadho and Alemaya.¹⁴ The year 1958 was historical in that the first agricultural college in Ethiopia was officially inaugurated in the presence of Emperor Haile Sellassie at Haramaya in a place called Bate.¹⁵ In 1962, the town gained 3rd rank municipality but it remained under Kombolcha *worada* until 1968.¹⁶

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ A letter from Harar provincial governor to Fitawerari Kefel Dadi, about the damage in the time of Italian occupation, Date 11/07/1942. Ref. No. 101.

Informants: Aliya Usman, Abdi Reshid and Sufiyan Usman.

¹⁴ Ministry of Information, *Harar Progress and Development*. (Addis Ababa: N.P. May 1963.), P.251.

¹⁵ See Appendix, 6.

¹⁶ *Negarit Gazeta*, No.1.12th September, 1962, P.11.

Emperor Haile Sellassie made different attempts to extend modern administration to the grass root level but these did not bring a significant change.¹⁷ That is why it is difficult to discuss the administration let alone the *miketil worada* even in the *woreda* level.

Imperial Era (1941-1974)

The post 1941, Ethiopian government was characterized by concentration of power at the center. So, the local autonomy was only nominal. Even officials of the same position but from different regions and backgrounds were not treated in a similar fashion. As I have already indicated in the previous chapter, Harar province was under the direct rule of the royal family.¹⁸

Most of the government officials (appointees or hereditary rulers) of pre-1941 periods had enjoyed political, military and economic privileges and they were expected to pay some portion of the collected tax and be loyal to the central government. In some areas they complained that they were unable to afford administration cost of their respective territory. So, it is possible to say that the introduction of modern net work of administration had enabled the state not only to maintain the integrity of the state but also increased its income as well.¹⁹

Even though it was officially declared in 1942, the practice of salaried officials started earlier in pre-1935 period. Provinces like Chercher, Bale, Harar, Wollega, Jimma and Gojjam had salaried

¹⁷ Desalegn Rahmato, *The peasants and the States, Studies in Agrarian Changes in Ethiopia. 1950s-2000s* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2009), p.274.

¹⁸ Peter H. Kohn, "Local Government in Ethiopia Prospects for Reforms in the 1970s", (Paper Presented to the Seventeenth Annual Conference of African Studies Association, Department of Political Science, University of Montana, Chicago, 1974), P.2.; Ministry of Information, P35.

¹⁹ Kebede Michael, *Ethiopia and western civilization*, (Addis Ababa: Birhanina Selam Printing Press, 1948), p.75.

officials who were paid from the central government but it was interrupted during the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935.²⁰

According to the 1942 Administration proclamation, government officials should be salaried. A Governor General was responsible for the overall activities of the area. He was appointed by the Emperor. To assist him, a Director and Secretary General were also assigned. When we compare it with the pre-reform period, this decree made them chief accountants of the government because all the collected taxes were directly sent to the central government. Next to the Emperor, they were supervised by the Ministry of interior. This minister shared not only the political autonomy of the past but also their military force in which they used as an effective means to challenge the central government. The minister gained a right to mobilize and control the police force.²¹

Based on the 1942 administrative Proclamations, a committee proposed the establishment of 12 *Awrajas*, 60 *Woreda*, 339 *Meselenes* and 1176 *Miktil Meselenes*.²² Hararghe (commonly Harar) *awraja* was one of them. It was also divided into twelve sub-provinces namely Harar and its surroundings; Dire Dawa; Chercher; Wobbera; Gara Muleta; Jijiga, Adal-Issa and Gara Guracha; Kellafo; Degehabur; Welwel and Wardier; and Bale.²³ Feddis was one of *meselenes* of the sub-province of Harar. On the other hand, Kombolcha was a *miktil messelene* under Fedis.²⁴

Haramaya had no formal administrative structure in the early 1940s. The area was under Kombolcha. When we compare Haramaya and Kombolcha the latter one had strategic

²⁰ *Ibid*, P.76 ;Desalegn Rahmato, P.314.

²¹ *Ibid*.P.39.; Asmelash, P.39.

²² *Ibid*.

²³ Sellshi Wolde Tsadik, *Land Ownership in the Hararghe Province*, Imperial Ethiopia College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts, Bulletin No.48, June 1966), P.5.

²⁴ NALA. Folder No __. File NO. 0315. Informants: Tilahun Abera and Getachew Wolde.

importance than the former ones but the area had got little attention.²⁵ Of course, there was a royal settlement in the area. In his autobiography, *Heyewotena ya Ethiopia Ermija*, Emperor Haile Sellassie stated that he stayed for some time in Kombolcha while he was a child.²⁶ Kombolcha also served as center of religious teachings and it had a church which was backed by the central government.²⁷

The second administrative decree of post liberation Ethiopia was promulgated in 1946. The former *Awrajas*, *Woredas*, *Meselenies* and *Miketil Misselenes* were elevated to *Teklay Ghizat*, *Awraja* and *Woradas* respectively. In the place of *Miketil Messelene*, *Miketil Woreda* was established.²⁸ *Teklay Ghizat* was the highest administration unit whereas *Miketil Woreda* stands for the last level. Harar *awraja* was renamed Harar *Teklay Ghizat*. It consisted of eight provinces: Harar and its surroundings; Dire Dawa; Wobera; Garamulata; Adal-Issa, and Gara Guracha ;Jijiga ;and the Ogaden.²⁹

Due to its difficulty for administration of the vast Hararghe provience, Bale was splitted and became separate province in 1960s. It raised the number of provinces of Ethiopia to thirteen.³⁰ By this time, the province of Harar and its surroundings had six districts and sixteen sub-districts.

²⁵ Informants: Getachew Wolde , Dejene Belayneh and Tilahun Abera.

²⁶ Emperor Haile Sellassie, P.2.

²⁷ East Hararghe Archive.Folder No.9669 File.No.165/34/2/52.

²⁸ Asmelash Beyene. "Some Notes on the Evolution of Regional Administration in Ethiopia." (*Ethiopia Journal of Development Research Vol.9. No.1.1987.*), P.40.

²⁹ Ministry of Information, P.13

³⁰ Asmelash Beyene , P.40.

The following table indicates the name of districts and sub-districts with their capital.

Table.2. Districts and sub districts of Harar province

No	District	Sub-District	Capital city
1	Fedis		Boko
		1. Nunu Abado	Alm-Maya
		2. Bobasa	Bobasa
		3. Midigallola	Midigallola
		4. Bisidimo	Essakoy
2	Jarso		Betelhem
		1. Wore Jarso	Fugnan Woo Giba
		2. Wolabu	Allano
		3. Dewro	Alle
3	Hundene		Harar
4	Kombolcha		Melkerafu
		1. Kombolcha	Melkerafu
		2. Alem-Maya	Alem-Maya
		3. Erer	Gegina
		4. Legeham	-
5	Babilie		Babili
		Elgobiya	Elgobiya
6	Gursum		Fugnanibira
		1. Menehiu	Kere
		2. Bursug	Bursug
		3. Sekare	Sakare
		4. Gelelcha	Gelelcha

Source: Ministry of Information

According to the publication of the Ministry of information, Alem-Maya (Haramaya), was one of the seven major towns of Harar province. As we can see from the above table, Alemaya was a *mikitl Worda* under Kombolcha *Woreda*. It became the capital of not only Alemaya *mikitil worada* but also for Nunu Abado as well.³¹

Since the archival materials of pre-1974 Haramaya were totally destroyed, I it was a problem to evaluate the administrative conditions of the area from the government side. The only option was oral sources but numbers of contradictory ideas were raised by the informants but difficult to cross check. Even, it was not possible to list the names of administrators. One of my informants

³¹ Ministry of Information,P.25.

gave me invaluable letter which he got in a shop to be used for packing of commodities. This was one indication that little care was given to government documents.³²

According the information at National Archive and Library Agency, in 1950, *Ato* Dämesè Habte Mariyam and *Ato* Jibril Haji were the leader and vice leader of the Alemaya *mikitil worada* respectively. At the *worada* level, Ato Lemma Čufa, Tana Gashaw Gälemätè and Hajii Umer Ali Abdella were leaders, first secretary and vice leader of the Kombolcha *worada* respectively.³³

I had also obtained another document at the National Archive and library Agency which contained a list of higher government officials of the Alemaya *Woreda* in 1970.

Table.2. Government officials of Alemaya *woreda* in 1970³⁴

No.	Title	Name of the official	Responsibility	Salary(birr)
1	Ato	Gäbäyāhu Adamākā	Leader of the worada	225
2	Ato	Lama Gäśāsā	Main Secetary of woreda	100
3	Ato	Girma Tāšomā	V/ Secretary of the worada	50
4	Balambaras	Jibril Haji	Vice balabat	20
5	Balambaras	Ebrahim Ali	Vice balabat	20
6	Balambaras	Abdulkerim Ibrahim	_____	25

Source: National Achieve and Library Agency

During the period between 1941 and 1974, the role of traditional rulers was significant in Hararghe in general and that of Haramaya in particular. The *Daminas* and *Garadas* worked closely with the

³² Informant: Dejene Belaneh

³³ National Achieve and Library Agency. Folder No. File.No.7.16.08.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

government officials. They had attempted their best to maintain their power which complicated the hardship of the community.³⁵

The Emperor had made different reforms to address justice to the mass of the people. The 1946 decree allowed the establishment of courts at the *worada* level.³⁶ As I have explained earlier, Alemaya was under two *waradas*: Kombolcha and Feddis. According to my informants the dividing line between the two districts was simply the main road. When two individuals came in to conflict they crossed the road on the side of Kombolcha, because Melka- Rafu, the capital of Kombolcha, was relatively near than Boko of Feddis.³⁷

In Haramaya, there were *aṭebiya dañā* who saw minor cases like insulting, little money and material cheatings (*Khat*, agricultural- tools, cattle etc), occasional conflict among family members etc.³⁸ In 1947, the government introduced a proclamation which gave *aṭebiya dañās* a legal basis. My informants stated that the judges were so corrupt that it was difficult to get justice. It was due to this that the society preferred to go to Kombolcha and Harar for minor cases.³⁹

In 1962, a decree was promulgated which rearranged the hierarchy of courts. Accordingly, *Worada* court, Awraja Court, High Court and the Supreme Imperial Court were set up. The *Worada* Court was given power to treat cases within the range of 500 and 1000 birr for money and immovable property respectively. *Aṭebiya dañās* were also allowed to continue their work based on the 1947 decree.⁴⁰

As I mentioned earlier, Haramaya became a *worada* in 1968. Following this a *worada* court was established there. My informant expressed that the court was ill-staffed and it had no appropriate

³⁵ John Markakis, *Anatomy of a Traditional Polity* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1974.), p.55; Informants: Ingida Gemedā, Aliya Usman and Sufiyan Usman; A list of *Daminas* and *Garadas* in Gursum, August 1955 G.C. File No. 17.1.7.16.02.

³⁶ Kohn, P.6.

³⁷ Informants: Aliya Usman, Dejene Belayneh, Tilahun Abera and Aliyi Dawid.

³⁸ Informants: Tilahun Abera, Abdi Resid, and Ingida Gamada.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Negarit Gazeta, No.7.3 1st December 1962, PP.72-75.

materials like office, chairs and stationary. Of course, the opening of this court saved the society not only from extra financial cost but also time as well. In addition to their corrupt nature, the judges were weak in their basic skills and concepts of law. So, the society had continued to use their traditional methods of conflict resolution, which was stated by my informants as “fair and gave long lasting solutions.”⁴¹

Darg Era (1974-1991)

Formation of Peasant Associations (PAs)

One of the major weaknesses of the Imperial era was giving little attention to the mass of the people.⁴² The state had dreamed to bring development by preparing three continuous five years plans. From its beginning it did not consider the real socio-economic conditions of the society. Especially, the early plan targeted to make Ethiopia an industrial state but its GDP (Gross Domestic Product) was heavily dependent on agriculture. Due to this, the sector gained little emphasis. More than this it did encourage neither the tillers' nor the owners' of the land to increase productivity.⁴³

The motor which accelerated the 1974 revolution was land issue. The monarchy had started some activities to make land reforms though it did not bore fruits. It was due to this reason that the primary task of PMAC (Provisional Military Administration Council) was to tackle this old age problem.⁴⁴

⁴¹Fitawrari Takle Hawariyat, P.381: Informants: Tilahun Abera, Abdi Reshid and Dejene Belayneh.

⁴²Desalegn Rahmato, P.50.

⁴³ Ayele Kuris, *The Ethiopian Economy (Principle and Practice)* (Addis Ababa: Birhanena Selam Printing Press, 2003), P.3.; Desalegn Rahmato, P.50.

⁴⁴Siegfried Pausewang, *Peasant, Land and Society. A Social History of Land Reform in Ethiopia*. (London:Welforum VerlagMunchen koln, 1983), p.14. ; Desalegn Rahmato, P.296.

Darg had made different preparations for land reform. One was the introduction of Development through Cooperation Campaign, in which university students and teachers were forced to take part. The campaigners took a mission of raising the political awareness of peasants by teaching Marxist-Leninist principles. They also made literacy campaign on basic skills which was ranged from identifying alphabets and numbers to simple reading and computing mathematical problems like addition, subtraction, multiplication and division.⁴⁵ Later on the government took as the program (literacy campaign) and conducted it for more than thirteen rounds. Due this the government had gained international award.⁴⁶ One of my informants described that though it was by force the literacy campaign left a base for an interest of being enlightened. Some of them had continued in the regular program and joined higher institution.⁴⁷

The campaigners played great role in pacifying rural areas. They encouraged the community to establish peasant associations (PAs). In some Southern parts of Ethiopia, they were resisted and faced difficulties to address their goal. The propaganda of the former land lords had complicated the problem. Some of them feared that the idea might have no continuation and they would enter disagreement with the land lord and would lose their rented land. Due to this some peasants refused to take part in the formation of peasant association and the latter land reform move.⁴⁸ In the case of Haramaya, the condition was different. My informants agreed that they positively accepted them and worked together during the formation of the association and later dealt with different government program, especially the literacy campaign. At the beginning forty-four Peasant Associations were created. Like in other parts of Ethiopia, here also some of them were

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* P.12. Christopher Clapham, , *Transformation and continuity in the Revolutionary Ethiopia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1988), P. 163.

⁴⁶ Addis Zaman. October , 1, 1988 G.C, p.7.

⁴⁷ Informants:Hussen Beker,Kassahun Yitagesu and Ingida Gamada.

⁴⁸ Pausewang, P.12.and Desalegn Rahmato, P.296.

not based on the guiding principle. So, their number was reduced when small associations joined together but there is no a data or oral sources which quantify the change.⁴⁹

Peasant Associations had different organs which had its own assigned functions. The General Assembly was responsible for dealing with land issues if there were cases of reduction or increment of land in the time of the reform.⁵⁰ This was not a serious case in Haramaya. In the first place, the district's society had its own land, though it was small, inherited from their families. According to Demssie, the land owners in Bate leased only 20% of their land. So, the land reform simply transferred from family fief to the state hand. Peasant Association of the area ordered them to own the land which is cultivated by them at the moment. Especially, those who rented from few big land owners were allowed to possess it.⁵¹

Local disputes were seen by the Judicial Tribunal of the *kebelle* though the final decision was mostly in favor of the PAs leaders.⁵² According to my informants, in pre 1975 period they lost their time and resource (money) while they dealt with different simple issues in the town of Haramaya and even before the 1960s to Kombolcha. So, the establishment of *fird shengo* at the *kebelle* helped them to solve the above problems. To some extent, the security of their village was also protected.⁵³

The leaders of Peasant Associations would attempt to solve minor cases, if it was beyond their capacity; they transferred to the *fird shengo*. And if it was not solved (decisions accepted by the litigants) it would be referred to the committee and if there was no difference, it would be

⁴⁹ Informants: Ingida Girma, Kassahun Yitagesu and Hussen Beker. See also Apendix 11.

⁵⁰ Desalegn Rahmato, P.297.

⁵¹ Demissie, P.5 ; Informants: Aliya Usman, Abdi Reshid, Hussen Beker and Abraham Mume. See also Appendix (land holding in Bate).22.

⁵² Christopher Clapham, *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.), P.160. ; Informants: Abraham Mume, and Abdi Rashid.

⁵³ Informants: Hussen Beker, Ahmednur Yusuf, Abdi Reshid and Sufiyan Usman.

transferred to the *woreda* level and it might be moved to higher authorities until the final decision is made. But if the case was serious (death, Physical attack, stealing of large property etc), they would automatically be transferred to the next level. Since member of the tribunals had no salary, they worked two days per week. The society also elected the defense squad which enforce their decision which ranged from fine (small amount) to imprisonment (few days, weeks and months).⁵⁴

Clapham argued that, most of the leaders of the peasant associations in the south were young within the age of twenties and were expected to read and write Amharic. He also added that in Hararghe, the new administration structure of the *Darg* had caused the end of settler's domination and the coming to power of the native local community.⁵⁵

My informants told me that it was difficult to analyze PAs based on age category. There were old people (at the age of 30th and 40th) who came to positions. In the case of the second agreement, it was true in other parts of Hararge. Due to the change the Haramayan society enjoyed self rule but the case of Prior settler's domination was not the case. As I have mentioned in the first chapter the *daminas*(traditional leader) had domination in the administrating of the district. Like most of the rural societies of Ethiopia, modern education was less accessible in Haramaya. Due to this there was little chance for the local community to hold government offices outside the district at the regional and zonal level.^{*56}

Leaders of the PAs had a number of roles. One of these was distributing and treating land issues. They were also responsible for enforcing government directives like recruiting for national

⁵⁴*Ibid.* John Markakis and Nega Ayele ,p.139.

⁵⁵Clapham. P.159.

⁵⁶Informants: Abraham Mume,Sufiyan Usman, and Abdi Mohammed. *Demisse, P.22: According to the study (of 1965) from the 60 famers he interviewed only two of them speak Amharic.

military services and initiating the society to take part in the resettlement programs. They had no large size of land than the rest of the community but he might own more plough ox. They had a chance to earn an income by taking part in the business of Service Cooperatives for personal purpose. Clapham stated that at the national level, the majority of Peasant Association leaders were males.⁵⁷ But my informants stated that there were no females in this position in Haramaya district but they took part in other minor posts, in most cases as a member of different committees.⁵⁸

My informants confirmed that PAs (Peasant Associations) leaders had "veto power" within the peasant associations' affairs. Other committees' role was restricted mostly to put their signature on the drafted paper. So, peasants made great attempt to get their sympathy. Even though the government made great attempt to expand cooperatives, it succeed only in Finkille, Lega Ambo, Biftu and Damota. So, most of the land of the Haramaya was cultivated by private farmers. PAs leaders had also gained the chance to get gifts from individual peasants in the form of cash and kind. It was common to see peasants when they went to the house of the leaders with a bundle of khat and a packet of cigarette. Though rare, they also took goats or sheep.⁵⁹

An election took place in the district of Haramaya to represent their leader at the *kebele* level. My informants agreed that it was a nominal act. Of course, people were informed to gather for election. But before the final day, party representatives assigned the person and informed their supporters to list the name in the time of election. They were dispersed in different corners and all of them mentioned the same name and finally the people confirmed it. My informants also

⁵⁷ Clapham. , P.159.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*; Informants: Getachew Wolde, Abdi Reshid and Ahmednur Yusuf.

⁵⁹ Informants: Abrahim Mume, Sufiyan Usman, Abdi Reshid, and Abdi Mohammed.

told me that there was no periodic election and the fate of the leader was related on his relation with the immediate higher officials.⁶⁰

Defense committee of the peasant Associations, which were elected by the executive committee, had served as an intermediate body between the associations and the *worada* administration. Each Peasant Association had its own defense force which maintains the peace and the security of the area. The prison of the *keblle* was also guarded by them. They enforced government policies like Villegisation and resettlement at the local level. Even though they were recruited from the community, the militias of the Haramaya district were so harsh that their act was still fresh in the memories of my informants.⁶¹

Peasant Association leaders were evaluated by their effort to mobilize their community in the time of demonstration, public works like road construction, planting trees, constructing terraces, contribution for the war etc. The most common thing in most Peasant Association was that, they punished those members who failed to attend government meetings. The penalties included fines, imprisonment, compulsory works, and prohibited them from using service cooperatives etc.⁶².

When the formation of peasant Association was conceived its aim was to enable the rural community to play active role in the administration at the local level. But through time the government designed different programs which made them to control in the hands of the central government. Clapham had described these changes by saying Peasant Associations became "extension of state power rather than agencies for self- administration."⁶³

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Clapham. PP.158-160 ; Informants: Abraham Mume, and Sufiyan Usman.

⁶² *Ibid.*, P.160.

⁶³ *Ibid.*; John Markakis and Nega Ayele . *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia*. (Trento: Red Sea Press, 1986.), p.135.

As I have mentioned in the previous chapters, Haramaya district had forty four Peasant Associations. Through time some of them were joined together. Even my informants had difficulties to identify the names and territory of the formers.

Service Cooperatives

The 1975 land reform proclamation was not only about land rather it had also stated about the establishment of service cooperatives as well.⁶⁴ On the basis of its principle service cooperatives were well accepted by the society at large. Its aim was to save the people from unfair price on different commodities by the private traders.⁶⁵ At the country level more than 87% of the Peasant Associations were member of service cooperatives. According to its founding guide- lines there should be 1:3 ratios, where the former one stands for service cooperatives and the latter for peasant associations.⁶⁶ Even though there was no written evidence which give statistical information of these kinds of cooperatives in Haramaya districts, my informants confirmed that there were service cooperatives based on the standard (one service cooperative for three peasant associations).⁶⁷

As a socialist state the Military government adopted a command economy system in which the production, distribution and price of goods were decided by the central government. It was based on this ideology that EDDC (Ethiopian Domestic Distribution Corporation) was set up. But it had no sufficient capacity which satisfied the demand of the society in different parts of the country. On the one hand it had capital limitation.⁶⁸ On the other hand, its workers were mostly

⁶⁴ Pausewang, P.14.

⁶⁵ Clapham, p.170.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Informants: Sufiyan Usman and Abraham Mume.

⁶⁸ Shimeket Lemma," State Agrarian Policy and Periodic Market in Ethiopia", *Journal of Ethiopia studies*, Vol.xxIX.No.1.June 1996), P.82. ; Clapham, p.160.

engaged in corruption by forming close relations with private traders. It was common to see illegal monopolization of EDDC by a small group of individual. Service Cooperatives which were established by the close assistance of the government also faced difficulties to gain all kinds of commodities with appropriate proportional amount from EDDC.⁶⁹

Like in other parts of Ethiopia, the Service Cooperatives in Haramaya provided commodities like sugar, salt, soap, pasta, cloth (*abujadid*) etc. My informants indicated that there was no sufficient supply of goods. In addition to this it was also characterized by irregularity. When we compare the rural and urban cooperatives the latter ones were relatively well organized.⁷⁰ According to the municipality achieve on the months November and December, 1981, the shop had brought goods three and five times respectively. But this was not the case in most rural cooperatives. Especially, the problem was sever in the remote *kola* areas.⁷¹

Like the EDDC, Service Cooperative shops were indirectly in the hands of private traders of the town. Shop keepers of the service cooperatives had used the money of the shop for their own personal benefits and became wealthy men. In theory the society had gained its monthly demand of commodities from public shops. But in reality they gained supplies from merchants. My informants told me that the poor people took money from merchants and bought goods by account book (a document which was used to buy goods from public shop) and gave to merchants with insignificant benefit (of money). The surprising point was that they re-buy the commodities with high price.⁷²

⁶⁹ Informants: Abdi Reshid and Sufiyan Usman.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*; Abraham Mume.

⁷¹ Haramaya Municipality Archive, Folder No.390 ; Informant: Abraham Mume.

⁷² Informants: Sufiyan Usman, Kassahun Yitagesu, and Ahmednur Yusuf.

Since Haramaya is located in the eastern part of the country, which is near to the Ports of Djibouti and Somalia, the shortage of commodities was filled by contraband trade. Contrabandists bring commodities like sugar, clothes (both used and new one), oil, pasta, and tin, cigarettes, pesticides and electronics (tape, radio and other machines).⁷³

The services at the cooperative shops were also used as a means to pressurize the community to take part in government affairs like demonstrations, public works (road construction, tree planting, terrace making, cleaning the environment), making contribution (in money and kind) for war or natural disasters etc. Any member of the society who refused to obey government orders were thrown to jail, and was also refused to use public shops.⁷⁴

Producers Cooperative (PC)

The purpose of producers Cooperative remained a debatable issue among scholars, opposition political parties and the government. The first two accused the government for using the cooperatives for the political purpose. On the other hand, the state defended itself that the program was part of socialist ideology, which was based on the principle that there should not be socio- economic disparity among the societies.⁷⁵

The initial idea of organizing peasants under producers cooperative was raised in the early 1975. But it was not openly and clearly stated by the government. In 1978, the formation of producers cooperative became a major and daily agenda of the *Darg* officials. Unlike the service

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*; Abraham Mume.

⁷⁵ Tesfaye lemma, "An Analysis of Cooperativisation Approach to Agricultural Development in Ethiopia: with Special Attention to Producers Cooperatives", (M.Sc Thesis, Haramaya University, Department of Agricultural Extension, 1995), P.80; Provisional Military Government of Ethiopia, *Principles for the Formation of Producers' Cooperatives in Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, 1978.), P.3.

cooperatives, these kinds of cooperatives were heavily resisted by the rural community.⁷⁶ Of course, some of them like those who had small plots of land; non-fertile land and those who had close affiliation towards the Military government had supported the cause and became champions of the cause.⁷⁷

The producer cooperative had three consecutive stages. The first one was *Melba*. In this stage members were expected to collectivize only their farm land. Other agricultural implements (including farm ox) remained a private property. If they allowed the use of the ox for the purpose of the cooperative, the owner received a rent at the end of the season. Since they were new for the idea it was difficult to transform the peasants to immediate total cooperativisation. It was based on this understanding that, in the first stage they allowed to maintain a certain pieces of land for home garden (2000m²). They used it to produce *Khat*, maize and rain-fed vegetables mainly for family consumption. According to the guiding principle, this was long aged tradition among Ethiopian farmers which was difficult to end. It was due to this that farmers were allowed to own pieces of personal land.⁷⁸

The second stage was called *welba*. Unlike the first one, this stage was characterized by the absence of private property. So, all agricultural tools were recorded and put in the store of the cooperative. Farming oxen were collected and controlled by the cooperatives. So, when a member finished their daily tasks, they returned all the working materials and returned home with bare hand. Like the first stage they were allowed to own pieces of land as home garden but the size would be reduced than before (1000m²).⁷⁹ The highest stage of the cooperative was

⁷⁶ Clapham, p.176.

⁷⁷ Informants: Hussen Beker and Mulugeta Wodajo.

⁷⁸ Provincial Military Government of Ethiopia, P.38.

⁷⁹ Ibid; Informants: Hussen Beker and Yusuf Imero.

weland. By this phase, all the neighboring Producers Cooperatives collectivized their resources. Since they would have economic power, farming would be mechanized. But in the case of Ethiopia no Producer cooperatives had reached this stage.⁸⁰

Haramaya district was not new for modern concept of cooperative. Even during the time of the imperial era, the area gained the chance to establish probably the first government recognized cooperative in Ethiopia. It was named Alemaya Farmers Marketing Cooperative, which was engaged in vegetable trade. Latter on irrigation cooperative was also established. Both of them were organized and assisted by the Department of Agricultural Economics of the Alemaya Agricultural College.⁸¹

As in other parts of Ethiopia, the idea of producers cooperative was not welcomed in Haramaya. According to my informants, government cadres made unreserved propaganda to convince the people to form and latter to join producers cooperative. In the early period they had used a little bit of diplomatic means though did not bear fruit. They promised the society to give financial and material aid. They also informed that they had inalienable right to any land within ones peasant association sphere of influence. But Risoud, who studied the Tula peasant producer cooperative in Hararghe reported a different idea that “In 1986, 19 farmers who wanted to become members of the cooperative were not accepted and neither of 45 in 1987.”⁸²

In the district, the water resourceful land (areas near to well, river or lake) were the most preferable because it were used for irrigation. Due to climatic change, the area had suffered a serious problem of moisture shortage. The societies had attempted to overcome these natural

⁸⁰ Clapham, P.171. ; Provincial Military Government of Ethiopia, P.38.

⁸¹ Informants: Yusuf Imero, Mulugeta Wodajo and Sufiyan Usman.

⁸² *Ibid.*;Bernadette Risoud, *Creation and Development of A Producers Coopratives: Innovation and Interactions. The Case study of Tula in Hararghe High Lands, Ethiopia*, (Alamaya: Alamaya University of Agriculture Department of Agricultural Economics, 1988), P.12.

hardships using their traditional knowledge of irrigation and some technical support from the Alemaya College of Agriculture.⁸³ So, these lands were became a bone of contention between producer's cooperatives and Private farmers. In most cases the mountainous areas were left to non-members of the cooperatives.⁸⁴

Even though the guide line for the formation of producers' cooperatives forbade the production of *Khat*, the adaptable condition of the area forced them to violate the rule. Also, the peasants of the area could not work without chewing *khat*. On the other hand, it earns more money from *khat* than other agricultural products.⁸⁵ Later on *Khat* production became a legal act and producers occupied the already existed individual *khat* farms and they also plant new *khat* seedlings. *Khat* farm lands of non-members were also the focus areas of the producers' cooperatives in Haramaya district.⁸⁶

My informants also expressed their anxiety towards the aggressive expansive act of the Producers' Cooperatives. They had a red flag which indicated their boundary. With-in unexpected time they put the flag on the farm land of the non-member farmers. So, they were in tension (of losing their land) in fear of the expansion of the producers' cooperatives.⁸⁷

In principle, the concerned government officials informed their partners to compensate the land of private farmers when their land was demanded by the cooperatives and if he /she was not interested to join the cooperatives. Different literature also stated about the compensation by indicating some of its problems of the new land like the fertility, size and location of the land.

⁸³ Demissie Gebre Michael, *Land tenure in Bate Alamaya Miketil Worada, Harar*, (Imperial Ethiopia college of Agricultural Economics and Business, June, 1966), P.5.

⁸⁴ Informants: yusuf Imero, Hussien Beker and Kassahun Yitagesu.; Bashire saide, P.VI.

⁸⁵ *Risoud, P.46. (The income of Tula Producer Cooperative from cash crops: *Khat* (74.02%), Potato (13.48%), Vegetables (10.46%), Red-Beet (1.47%) and grass (0.57%); Informants: Hussien Beker and kassahun Yitagesu

⁸⁶ *Ibid*; Abdi Reshid and Ahmednur Yusuf.

⁸⁷ Informants: Abraham Mume and Mulugeta Wodajo

They were given erosion affected areas which was covered with rock. One research on the Tula peasant Association indicated that producers' cooperatives had large percentage of land per member than private peasants which reflected the dis-proportionality of the compensation*.On the other hand non-members were expelled to rear parts of the peasants association, which was less accessible to infrastructures (like roads), which exposed them to additional cost of time to go to farm land to protect thieves and animal damage.⁸⁸

Most of my informants told me that they had only one choice if their land falls within the sphere of the interest of the cooperative: either to join the cooperative or leave the area. Even one of them confirmed that when his pieces of land were taken by them he continued to cultivate the land in the parts of the same area which was outside the territory of the cooperative. Others also stated that a large number of farmers migrated to the town.* Few of them had responded that they had received the compensation though not perfect. From this we can understand that the implementation of government policies varied not only from province to province but also within the district.⁸⁹

Even though the government had given emphasis to collectivize the agricultural sector, the final result was a failure. In June 1984, there were 1489 producers' cooperatives, which cover fewer than 2% of the total members of PAs of the country.⁹⁰ But the government did not lose hope and took various measures. It was taken as part of the government plan until 1990. Even though it

^{88*} Risoud, P.6.& P.12 (In Tula Peasant Association the average land per house hold was higher inside the Cooperative (0.97ha)instead of 0.70 ha for the whole peasant association).

⁸⁹ Informants: Hussen Beker, Mulugeta Wodajo, Abdi Reshid and Ahmednur Yusuf.*One of the wealthiest person the present day Aw-Waday who have modern building in the town was victim of cooperative policy of the *darg*. According to my informants his land, which was found In the Machituu village of Haramaya district was taken away by the producer cooperative of the area and migrated to DireDawa where he engaged in small Khat trade.

Latter, he came to Aw-Waday and continued the business which helped him to accumulate a grand sum of capital.

⁹⁰ Clapham, P.173.

was not openly stated the villegisation program was partly formulated to encourage cooperativisation though it failed to bring the desired results.⁹¹

Like in other parts of Ethiopia, the process of cooperativisation in Haramaya district showed a slow pace. Even though there was no first hand statistical data, my informants guessed that there were about ten PCs (Producers Cooperatives) out of more than 40 PAs. In terms of members, producers Cooperatives of the area remained low. For instance in Tula peasant associations, there were 556 households but only 31 of them were members of the cooperatives.⁹²

Rare Chilalo Peasant Cooperative was established in the middle of the 1970s in the rural *kebele* named Finkile. Some secondary sources mentioned it a successful cooperative. My informants also glorified its achievements. But this might be towards the end of the 1980s. In 1983, it faced a crop failure mainly due to natural problem and demanded aid from the town people.⁹³ But in the later years it had revived and showed a rapid progress. Though there was no written primary document about the activities of these cooperatives, informants reflected that it was taken by the military government as a model and heavily assisted by the government. They also claimed that it was ranked second next to Yetnora (in Gojjam) at the national level. They also stated that at one time the area was visited by President Mengistu Haile Mariam. As I had mentioned earlier, the Koreans were allowed to perform some activities in the area. For example, they set up a workshop to produce farm implements locally. They also made some attempts to produce pasta.

⁹¹ Informant: Yusuf Imero.

⁹² *Ibid*; Abraham Mume, Mulugeta Wodajo and Hussen Beker.

⁹³ HMA: A letter from Senetayähu Habetè to Aw Waday Urban Dwellers' Association Office about the Natural damage in the Rare Chilalo Producers' Cooperative, Date 23/08/1984. Ref. No. 2/ዓል/52/37/77.

But the program was interrupted before its full implementation due to the collapse of the *Darg* regime.⁹⁴

Rare Chillalo Producers Cooperative was also supported by Alemaya College of Agriculture. For example, they were trained in house hold management including food diet and preparation. Its resource also enabled members and the surrounding communities to get access to education and health services. The government also gave opportunities to create market link. For example, they supplied vegetables to Haramaya and Dire Dawa through their shop. They also had modern means of farm implements like tractors and combines. They had also a truck which carried their product from farm land to the store and also to the market centers.⁹⁵

In 1990, *Darg* was forced to change its economic policy partly due its failure to bring practical change within the country and partly due to the international political change especially the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The government introduced mixed economy which gave the right of price determination in trade for both private merchants and the central government. It also gave a chance to Producer cooperatives to determine their own fate. Many associations were soon dissolved and divided their property.⁹⁶ But Rare Chilallo Producers' cooperative continued to function till the last breath of the *Darg*.⁹⁷

Most of the scholars and foreign aid groups suggested that private farmers were more productive than producers' cooperatives. Since, Producers' cooperatives covered small portion of the rural community, their role for total production was insignificant. The government gave technical

⁹⁴ Lesanä Geberena. Bā Meseraq Qāṭāna Geberena Lemat ṣehafāte Bēt ena Bāmasetawāqiya Agālgelot Bā Iyā Arat wāru Eyātataṃā Yāmiwṭa Māṣehēt. (Dire Dawa: Kedus Alazar Printing press, No.1, December, 1987.) , p. 10.; Informants: Hussen Beker, Yusuf Imero ; Addis Zemen, Sunday May 25, 1985.

⁹⁵ Informant: Hussen Beker and Mulugeta Wodajo; Tesfaye Lemma ,P.43.

⁹⁶ Desalegn Rahmato, P.331. Ayele Kuris, P.63.

⁹⁷ Informants : Yusuf Imero and Kassahun Yitagessu.

assistance (through extension workers), fertilizers and loans (through credit union) to Producer cooperatives. Whatever the state devoted to cooperatives, the cumulative effect indicated that “I was better than We.”⁹⁸

Informants that I consulted on cooperatives agreed that, Peasant cooperatives favored all in all those who had position. Corruption was so serious that the properties of the cooperatives were used for personal purpose. Leaders were also accused of nepotism in which they favored their relatives, friends and neighbors. Even though there were clearly identified criteria to give points (which was increased from less difficulty to high ones), some of the members (those who had connection with the leaders) enjoyed special privileges.⁹⁹

Villegisation

According to Clapham, the first area in which villegisation started was in Hararghe which was related with the political condition in the area. Later on the Military Government prepared a plan which enabled to resettle (in a sense collected) the rural communities in the nearby areas.¹⁰⁰ According to the government, the aim of the program was to solve the socio-economic and infrastructural problems of the mass of the rural communities. Others criticized that the target of these scheme was indirectly related with political agenda in which the people can easily fall under the control of the government.¹⁰¹

The government had put a guide line which was used to implement the villagisation program. Accordingly, the maximum and minimum number of houses in one village should be 500 and 30 respectively. It also stated that the site should be selected by discussion with the peasant

⁹⁸ Desalegn Rahmato, p.172.; Tesfaye Lemma ,P.52.; Shimeket Lemma, p.82.

⁹⁹Informants: Sufiyan Usman and Abdi Reshid ;Provsional Military Governments of Ethiopia, P.63.

¹⁰⁰Clapham, P.175.; Informant: Sufiyan Usman.

¹⁰¹ Clapham,PP. 174-175.

association leaders. The law also indicated that digging and transferring the houses should not affect the working time of peasants as well as the natural resources of the area.¹⁰²

Like producers cooperatives', villagisation was also heavily resisted by the Ethiopian society in general and Hararghe in particular. The government promised the society to construct infrastructures like roads, schools, electricity, pure water supply and clinics. But, in reality nothing was realized. According to my informants only some areas which had well organized Producer cooperatives had gained the chance for the above facilities by their own effort. The only exception was *Finkile* in which the government invested a fund to fulfill basic infrastructures. As I mentioned earlier, *Darg* used *Finkile* as a model for Producer cooperatives.¹⁰³

My informants narrated that the process of villagisation was so shocking that it left a bad scar in their memories. An order (of villegizing) was transferred by their respective leaders of the associations. It was an un-debatable issue that no one preferred to oppose it. A local militia would be sent to the area to dismantle the house. Then the materials were taken to the new site by a group of people. The responsibilities of constructing the house had fallen mainly on the shoulder of the owners. In most cases the community heavily engaged in *guzaa* (traditional method of cooperation in the area) to reconstruct their houses.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Provsional Military Governments of Ethiopia, P.44.

¹⁰³ Informants: Yusuf Imer and Getachew Wolde.

¹⁰⁴ Informants: Hussen Beker and Sufiyan Usman.

According to government report about 976,084 houses, which contained 4,588,187 people were built in 1986 at the national level. In the next years, the number rose to 1,300,000 and 8million respectively. In 1987, the formation of villegisation was already completed in Hararghe. ¹⁰⁵

Clapham stated, by referring the works of other researchers that the villegisation process in Arsi and Hararghe was done based on the guiding principle and not based on physical harassment.¹⁰⁶But my informants disagree this idea and stated that it was done in their areas mainly by pressure. Peasants preferred to be silent not due to their willingness to the program, rather to respect government order.^{*107}

The society had hidden objection against the villegisation scheme. This could be understood from their act when the *Darg* collapsed in 1991.They expressed their feeling in the following way:

Safaran nurra degamtee	Our villages are dismantled
Namuu bakkattii debittee	All the dwellers are returned to their former site
Nagaenyii nuuf dhufee	Our peace would be regained
Biyyitti tenyaa nuuf misomtee”	Our country would be developed. ¹⁰⁸

According to the government, the aim of villagization was to alleviate the socio-economic problem of the society. But it failed to achieve its goal in this perspective. One of the reason was

¹⁰⁵ Clapham, P.176.
¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*
¹⁰⁷ Informants Abdi Reshid and Sufiyan Usman (Sufiyan told me that though he was engaged in farming, he had built a house near the town. He had already gained water and electrical supply on his own cost. According to him a local militias arrived, at his house and warned him to transfer his house with strong words but he refused to do so and escaped from being settled to the new village.)
¹⁰⁸ Informant: Ale Mohammed.

that it lacked proper coordination and preparation. The program worsened the living condition of the society. It was due to this that Marrara Gudina described them as “Villages of poverty”.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Merra Gudina, *Ethiopia: From autocracy to Revolutionary Democracy, 1960s-2011*(Addis Ababa: Champerss printing House, 2011.), p.32.

CHAPTER III

SOCIO-CULTURAL INTERACTION AMONG THE PEOPLE OF HARAMAYA

Gumaa as a Traditional Method of Conflict Resolution

Gumaa, in short means, is blood money paid for compensation which ranged from physical damage to loss of life. Its rate of payment had varied depending on the condition of the attacker and the function of the damaged part of human body and the culture of the society.¹ It was closely related with the *gada* system. The basis of its laws also emanated from the laws of *gada*. Martial De Salavie in his book, *An Ancient People, Great African Nation*, stated that “in Harar and surrounding areas, eighty thalers of Maria Theresa represent the price of blood”, in the last decade of the 19th Century.²

According to Araba Abdella and Birhanu Amnew, there are three kinds of *gumaa*, which are related with loss of life. The first one is *gumaa adii*. It is an act of killing someone intentionally. Since it took place in a planned way, it demanded heavy *gumaa* payment. The second one was *gumaa baru* (also called *gumaa* of negligence). This is the case in which someone killed in an attempt to defend himself in the time of attack. So, the clan of the assassin was expected to pay appropriate *gumaa*. The last one is *gumaa gurraattii*. In this case, the assassin does not use any weapon but in unexpected way he might cause the loss of someone's life. One example of this is

¹ Araba Abdella and Birhanu Amnew. "Customary Dispute Resolution Institutions in Oromiya Region. The Case of Jaarsa Biyyaa. Alula Pankhurst and Getachew Assefa.(eds). *Grass Root Justice in Ethiopia. The Contribution of Customary Dispute Resolution* (Addis Ababa: Centre francise d' Etudes Ethiopiennes 4, 2008.), P.76. Informants: Abraham Mume and Sufiyan Usman.

² Ayalew Kano(Trans), *An Ancient People Great African Nation. The Oromo as Recounted by Martial De SALAVIE*, (Finfinee: Oromiya Cultural Tourism Bureau, 2008), P.233.

accident in the time of public traditional sports. It was considered as God wills (also called *danuu*) and no *gumaa* payment is required.³ Even though they were not aware of the names of this classification, my informants told me that the above types of *gumaa* had been prevalent in Haramaya district since a long period of time.⁴

Like in other Ethiopian societies, committing death crime is considered as a serious sin in Oromo. If it happens the assassin should be out of the site of the deceased family. By tradition (according to my informants), the attacked group would not be asked by their act for three days. If the assassin already submitted his hand to the government (to *atbiya dagna* and *kebele* Judicial Tribunal during Imperial and *Darg* era respectively), he would stay in prison until agreement was reached by both groups to solve the problem traditionally. If he did not go to courts the assassin should escape to his *damina*.⁵ Soon, the information was addressed to the families of the deceased and the messenger promised to deal with the issue in a short period of time. What made revenge an easy task in Haramaya district was that the society had an old age tradition of living in close families in the same or neighboring compounds. Then, a neutral group is also known *Rayya Anbbaa*, would be set up. The aim of this is to make the decision fair and acceptable by both parties.⁶

The next step would be to bury the corp. The assassin group should bring cattle (*Sangaa*) and some amount of money, which was used to cover the cost of the burial ceremony. At the end, the *daminas* of the killer and the killed one's sit in different places mostly in *Chayaa*, (near the tree). The middlemen called them turn by turn and asked some questions. The aim of this was to

³ Areba Abdella and Birhanu Aminew ,P.17 .S

⁴ Informants: Abdi Reshid and Sufian Usman

⁵ Informants: Abraham Mume and Hussen Beker.

⁶ Areba Abdella and Birhanu Aminew, P.3.; Informants: Ahmednur Yusuf and Abdi Reshid ;Lemma Arity ,P.49.

investigate the case on the one hand, and check the readiness of both parties to reconcile on the other hand. The questions included; are both of them Oromo? Are they from the same clan? Are they kinsmen? Are they from the same family?⁷

In the immediate days of the accident, the wrong doer's *damina* would be expected to bring certain number of cattle, which were totally given to the deceased family. This event is called *Immimetti*. The *damina* ordered his *bokkus* to collect money for the first payment. My informants also added that in some occasions the *damina* may pay from his properties at hand and substituted later. He would also ask a long appointment which ranged from three to four months for the final *gumma* payment.⁸

From this steep on, a temporary peace would exist between them. Then, the *damina* made preparation for the final peace settlement. He would send a message to *bokkuus* (*damina*'s representatives within and the neighboring districts) to come towards him. In the course of the meeting, nine from them would be elected and ordered to collect money from members of the clan. They are called *sagleen* (Oromo term which means nine) to refer to their total number. Then they moved from village to village, and even district to district, to collect money or cattle. The contribution of money depends on the nearness of the members to the assassin. Finally, they returned to the *damina* and report their achievements. The payment for the final *guma* (for loss of life) varied from time to time, and condition to condition. It ranged from 100 to 33 cattle. My

⁷Ministry of Tourism and Culture, *Customary Mechanisms of Conflict Resolution in Awi, Sidama and Guji Oromo* (Addis Ababa: Anal Printing Press, 2013), P.98.. ; Araba ,P.177.; Informant:Abdi Reshid*(in a recent past up to one thousand birr).

⁸ Bamlaku Tadesse and Zigale Tamir. "The Role of Indigenous Institutions in the Conflict Resolution Mechanism." *30th Annual Research and Extension Review Proceedings*, Haramaya University, March 2013.p.289; Informants: Abdi Reshid(*in a recent past up to 15 cattle) and Sufiyan Usman.

informants told me that there was no difference in payment in the case of sex.⁹ On the contrary to this, Araba Abdella and Birhanu Amnew, stated that a *gumaa* of 100 and 50 cattle was paid for male and female respectively.¹⁰

After the payment was collected, the next step would be to send a message to the damina's of the deceased to be ready for the final *gumaa* ceremony. By this time, the killer's damina brought an ox. Both parties took part in the slaughtering process and eat together.¹¹

The last stage of *gumaa* was called *irbuu(kakuu)*. It was an event in which both parties made an oath not to revenge and they also promised to live in love and peace in the future. There were a number of instances in which the assassin and the assassinated families were tied together by marriage. Finally, the *damina's* of the deceased thanked both groups and underline the necessity of keeping the oath and also warned that if any of them violated the promise they would face a bad fate. Araba Abdella and Birhanu Aminew quoted it in Alula the following way:

Maqaa Waqqatin isin qabadha	I call on by the name of the sky God
Maqaa lafaatin isin qabadha	I call on by the name of the earth
Gadoof duuluu hin qabdan...	You should not wage a revenge... ¹²

Unlike the *Immimetti* the final *gumaa* payment was distributed to the clan members of the deceased. My informants also told me that, for the convenience of fair distribution, it would be changed to cash if there were cattle. The *bokku* took his share on behalf of its members and later distributed to them accordingly.¹³

⁹ Informants : Hussen Beker, Abdi Rashid and Abraham Mume*(Brothers of the assassin paid more than the ordinary one. If we take the recent example, if the brother pays 100 birr, the second nearest relative would pay fifty birr and the 3rd twenty birr and might be extended up to the level of three birr.)
¹⁰ Areba Abdella and Birhanu Aminew, P.176.
¹¹ Bamlak Tadesse and Zigale Tamir, P. 289; Informants : Ingida Gamada, Aliyi Dawid and Hussen Beker.
¹² Areba Abdella and Birhanu Aminew, P.176.
¹³ Bamlak Tadesse and Zigale Tamir,p.290.; Informants: Abdi Reshid and Sufiyan Usman.

Traditional methods of conflict resolution, was by far more important than the modern one in terms of future relationships among the antagonistic groups. After the problem was solved in a cultural way, no one dared to revenge and long lasting peace would exist.¹⁴

Traditional Cooperatives

The people of Haramaya are sociable. They lived (in the period of the study) in cooperative spirit, which ranged from moral to actual engagement in work. There was a number of traditional labor cooperation in the district in which they had assisted each other for a long period of time. Some of them were *dimisha*, *guzaa*, and *maro*. One of my informants recounted a saying which is familiar among Ethiopian society: “Xuuxxoo shantama nama tokkoo ba’aa dha, nama shantama moo faya dha” [Fifty lemons is a load for one person but for fifty persons it is beauty].¹⁵ They worked in love by praising their God and nature through songs. The following song quoted from Tesema Ta’a’s work illustrates the practice.

Kan Waaqii gadii
Miidhaantu caalaa
bishaantu itti ana
yaa waaqi situ caalaa
quufa nufiddu
ya waaqi mee

After Waaqaa
grain is the best
water comes next
Oh! Waaqaa you are the highest One
Oh! Waaqaa please bring us satisfaction¹⁶

¹⁴ Informants: Hussen Beker, Sufiyan Usman, Abdi Reshid and Ingida Gamada.

¹⁵ Lemma, P. 46.. ; Informant: Ahmednur Yusuf.

¹⁶ Tassama Ta’a. “Traditional and Modern Cooperatives among the Oromo.” Baxter, P.T.W.

Hultin, Jan. and Triulzi (eds). *Being and Becoming an Oromo. Historical and Anthropological Enquires* (UPPSALA: Nordiska Afrika institutet, 1996.), P. 206.

Dimisha

Dimisha is a kind of assistance given to one's would be parent-in-law (locally called *Sodda*) in different occasions. It was not reciprocable. The son-in-law calls his close friends to collaborate for *dimisha*. It might be asked to do activities like cultivating the land, sowing seeds, collection of crops, constructing and repairing houses etc. It is known in other locality as *jigee*. My informants told me that regardless of some changes, which were related with socio-economic condition of the time, the tradition was a common habit among the societies of Haramaya for a long period of time.¹⁷

The tool needed for work was depending on the kind of activities of the time being. During preparation of land, *dongoora* and *akkafa* (shovel) are the main tools but in rare cases they use ox. *Mencha* was also used when they are engaged in cutting sorghum. To separate the seed from its cover *ulee* (a stick of wood) are also used.¹⁸

Abba dimisha is expected to prepare *khat*, food and drink for participants. They chew *khat* until 11:00 am and continued to work till 3:00 pm. Then, they took a short break and eat food, chew pieces of *khat* and soon restart the work which would go on to 6:00pm. If there are a number of further tasks (especially during the time of digging the land) it would be resumed in the night up to 11:00pm. *Abba dimisha* was expected to slaughter a sheep or goat for dinner. *Khat* would also be provided for a night session.¹⁹

Females also took part in *dimisha* by bringing milk and giving moral with a traditional music of motivation called *illilichuu*. Children also took part as messengers. The end of *dimisha* was

¹⁷*Ibid.* Informants: Ahmednur Yusuf and Jemal Aliyi.

¹⁸ Informants: Ahmednur Yusuf and Jemal Aliyi.; Quenemoen, p.33.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

marked by blessing (*duaayii*) which was done by the elders. The most common of all “*dachii hadaltuu*”[Let the land be productive].²⁰

Guzaa

Like *dimisha*, *guzaa* is also labor assistance. But it is different from the former in that it is mostly called by anyone who had faced a problem to perform his/her agricultural or any other labor demanding tasks. Activities done by *guzaa* included digging land, sowing, harvesting, house construction, digging a well, etc.²¹

The first task of *abba guzaa* should be to discuss with his wife and prepare plan and determine the date. Then, he requested a labor help from his *afoshaa (edir)*. He also informed his relatives who lived in the nearby areas. Even the old people are also invited to motivate the *guzaa*. Personal character is determinant for the numbers to be participants. If *abbaa guzaa* is agreeable and cooperative within the community, he could gain large assistance than a rich man who supplied the *guzaa* with food and drink.²²

Then, preparation would be continued. The husband and wife took their own responsibility on this regard. The former one was responsible in providing *khat* from his farm as well as inviting his friends and close relatives. The latter one was engaged in food and drink preparation, together with her *afoshaa* members. The most common food was *xuftufaa* (local bread). She also supplies milk from her close friends and relatives which was used for *hojjaa* (local drink which is prepared from milk and husks of coffee).²³

²⁰ Informants: Nuria Beker, Ahmednur Yusuf and Jemal Aliyi.

²¹; Fitawrari Takle Hawriat, PP.378-379 Informants: Ingida Gamada, and Yusuf Imero.

²² Tesema Ta'a.P. 205. Informants: Sufiyan Usman and Abraham Mume.

²³ Informants :Hassen Aliyi and Ahmednur Yusuf.; Dechasa Lemessa, P.4.

Abbaa Raabsaa has a significant role for the success of the *guzaa*. He is a dweller of the area that is responsible in leading the group in *khat* chewing with in his locality. He is also called *abbaa gandaa*. A bundle of *khat* would be untied and distributed to the community only by him. He had been the most respected person within the society. He was known prayer-man who spoke the problem of the society loudly to God (locally called *duayii*) within the crowd and others also responded by saying *amen*.²⁴

Most of the time, *guzaa* started at 6:00 local time and after an hour they made *salat* and continued to work till 9:00 local time. Then, they took a short break to eat food (locally called *kasha*), drink *hojjaa* and chew little *khat*. This event is called *kishifii*. Since they are already in a state of euphoria, they soon returned to work. It was by this time that elders (locally called *maangudoo*) initiated them by saying *fayyada*.²⁵ In other parts of Ethiopia, *guzaa* (is known by the name *daboo*) was mostly a full day work, which was started early in the morning and break only for lunch.²⁶

According to my informants, in most cases *guzaa* would end at 11:00 local time but it might end before this time. If this is the case, they work on the land of any one in the surrounding area which can be done by the tool in their hands. On the other hand the *guzaa* might be extended in to the night if there are additional remaining tasks. If this is so, *abba guzaa* is expected to prepare dinner and bring *khat*. To work at night, they also prepared *mashoo* (gas light). Since they would be too energetic they performed tasks in unexpected lightening speed.*²⁷

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Tesema Ta'a, P.205.

²⁷ Informants : Abrahim Mum.and Abdi Imere *It is surprising that construction of a house (up to 70 iron sheets) will be completed (the skeleton part) with in a night. A well of more than 7to 8 meters might be dug in one full day.

A *guzaa* of medium (50-60men) at one day might take about two months for individual farmers if he worked in a continuous active way. Otherwise it might take him more than three months. In addition to its economical value, *guzaa* has also social value by creating strong and harmonious bond.²⁸

Maroo

Like *dimisha* and *guzaa*, *maroo* is voluntary group work which is common among the community of Haramaya district for a long period of time. Unlike others, Maroo was intentionally organized in group who agreed to work in shift (*faraqaa*). The days of the week/s are equally shared and scheduled to members. The rate of the second term depends on the number of members. In other parts of the country it is also known as *daadoo*.²⁹

Maroo, as I had mentioned above, is an act of group work, which continued throughout the year. Members might have different size of agricultural land, initiation to job and experiences. But all these factors do not matter for the group and all lands of the members would be cultivated based on their turn. My informants stated that the aim of *maroo* was to enable friends to engaged fully in the agricultural production and be self-sufficient in feeding their family.³⁰ It had played a great role to increase productivity.³¹

According to my informants, in most cases, members of the *maroo* are self sponsored to cover their daily expenses. So, the wife of each member carries food and *hojja*. But they eat and drink together.³² But in some other areas, *abbaa maroo* is expected to feed the group.³³ Wives of the

²⁸ *Ibid*

²⁹ Tesema Ta'a, P.205. ;Informants: Hassen Aliyi and Abdi Imere.

³⁰ Informants : Jamal Yusuf and Abdi Imere.

³¹ Tesema Ta'a, P.205.

³² Informants: Sufiyan Usman and Abraham Mume.

group stayed for some times in the farm area, mostly until their husbands eat. During this time they gave moral support.³⁴

Members of the *maroo* might work for others if the applicants are old men or families who lost the head of the house hold due to social or natural problems. If the assisted ones had economical problem, the group members will cover their personal cost (food, *hojja* and *khat*) by them-selves. Then, the schedule of the *maroo* will be shifted by one day and the turn continued accordingly.³⁵

When the whole agricultural work of the group is completed, they prepared a ceremony which marked the end of the term. They slaughtered a sheep or goat around one's member farm land and stayed for two or three days there. They played freely, day and night which will help them to strengthen their sympathy and make an oath of friendship which might lay the basis for the continuation of the *maroo* for the coming agricultural year.³⁶

Afosha

Burial Ceremony

It is difficult to put specific date for the beginning of *afosha*. Tesema Ta'a suggested that it might date back to the first half of the 19th C. He also cited Mekuria Bulcha and further explained that it was expanded into urban centers following the Italian occupation period.³⁷

One of the major functions of *afoshas* is performing burial ceremonies. Its tasks ranged from digging a burial place to cover some costs of the ceremonies. My informants stated that even though there were some variations, the traditions are more or less similar. The changes are

³³ Tesema Ta'a, P.205.

³⁴ Informants: Nuriya Beker and Hassen Aliyi.

³⁵ Informants: Hassen Aliyi and Burka Mohammed.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Tesema Ta'a, P. 208.

related mainly with the socio-economic condition of the time. Each *afosha* has its own rule. According to my informants, in the past there was no written law but there was common understanding among the members and to act accordingly. Even though the amount varied from time to time and place to place, members made contribution both in money and kind. *Afoshas* had leaders and other responsible bodies who had their own assigned tasks. Organizing, paying money, serving guests and managing the properties is left for these committees. In addition to this, one of them would be assigned to inform the members in times of one's death. He is exempted from monthly payment. Due to this, those who had economical problem did this (informing members in times of sorrow as well as meeting) task.³⁸

When someone died one of the family members informed the neighbors. In most cases they might hear the cry of the family members. Then, they will inform the administrator of the *afosha*. The first task would be washing the corpse and cover the body with *abujadid*. If the event happened after 4:00 pm (locally called *asrii booda*), the burial ceremony will be on in the next day. If the corpse stayed at home in the night, neighbors and relatives gather, and made *attoreraa*(to chew *khat* at night). They attempt their best to make the nearest relatives of the deceased to gain some relief from deep sorrow. By this time members of the *afosha*, who are immediate neighbors, are expected to take part in this circumstances.³⁹

In the coming day (early morning) preparation will start to perform the burial ceremony. Women prepare food (boiled wheat) where as the male members went to dig the burial place. Until very recent times, the rural societies used their farm land as cemetery. When they finished, they took

³⁸ Informants : Aliya Usman , Abdi Reshd and Maftuha Ahmed*The society had great resection for their relatives any one of the community members. So, they feel sad when he/she was separated by death. But a continuous sadness is not allowed. The elder child is responsible to stabilize the family .Relatives and neighbors also played their own role in this regard. They repeatedly said the phrase *sabbrrii goodaa*[be patient,it is God's order]. They also prayed for the deceased. Reading *Quran* was also another act in the night.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

the corps to the final destination. Based on the guiding principle of Islam, women are not allowed to go to the final resting place of the dead body.⁴⁰

The next step is a time in which the nearest relatives sit *taziyaa* (either in the house or in the tent) and different section of the society came to the area to share their sorrow. They brought sugar in the case of male, and milk alone, or with sugar, from the female section of the community. They also shared the sorrow by chewing *khat* together with the deceased families. The *afosha* took the responsibility of managing the condition. *Wodaja* was prepared in honor of the deceased. By this time, members of the *afosha* made their own contribution financially and labor.⁴¹

***Wodaja* Cermony**

Wodaja was a common act among the Muslim community of Haramaya which is done on behalf of the dead person. There was no fixed day for the program. It made in the range between the first day of the burial ceremony to the fifth day. To make a *wodaja* for the deceased had not been the only responsibility of the immediate family. Other relatives also took part either in paying money (for buying a cattle) or in kind (Khat, oil, rice or vegetable etc).⁴²

In most cases cattle was slaughtered. But if there was economical problem it might be a goat or a sheep. In the rural areas, they prepare *danfaa* (*hulbat maraqa*) and, *bedenaa* (*injara*) was brought by members of the *afosha* but in the case of the urban areas, they made rice and used the meat as a *sugoo*. *Wodaja* was mostly prepared for lunch but in some cases it might be for dinner. There

⁴⁰ Informants: Alia Usman and Jemal Aliyi.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Informants: Jemal Yusuf and Abdi Imere

was no invitation except the *sheka*(*Raabsaa gandaa*) who led the *wodaja*. Participants may leave immediately or stay until the night time. But most of them stayed until *asrii* (4:00-6:00pm).⁴³

Raabsaa gandaa, the most respectable person in the area, distributed *khat*, which marked the beginning of the second part of the *wodaja*.⁴⁴ After some time, reading of *Quran* would take place. The whole parts of the Holy book (thirty chapters) should be read. For this, thirty separate books were distributed for the participants. If there is small number of individuals who are literate in Arabic, some of them might read two chapters at a time. This marked the official end of the *wodaja* but chewing of *khat* might continue till mid night.⁴⁵

KHAT AS A“SPICE OF DAILY SOCIAL LIFE” AMONG THE PEOPLE OF HARAMAYA

Khat chewing is an old habit in Harar. As it is cited by Ezekiel, Richard Burton who visited Harar in the middle of the 19th century accounted that every day from nine o'clock to noon there was khat chewing in the city. By this time, the religious men as well higher officials including the “prime minister” (Higher officials in Hara in 1855) took part.⁴⁶

As it is cited by Ezekiel, Mohammed Muktar, who was an officer with in the Egyptian army, indicated that the habit also continued in the last quarter of the 19th century. He described the ceremony in the following way:

Towards nine o'clock in the morning all the guests go to their hosts; there they sit in the circle and began to read the first chapter of the Quran...the master of the house give fistful of kat[khat] leaves which they chew in eager and rivalry...If the master of the house is rich they drink milk; if he is poor they drink water...After this the same

⁴³ Informant: Nuriya Beker .

⁴⁴ Informants : Jemal Aliyi and Burka Mohammed.

⁴⁵ Informants: Yusuf Imero and Aliya usman.

⁴⁶ Ezekiel Gabissa, *Leaf of Allah....* P.6.

ceremonies begins again reading the Quran, praises to the prophet, receiving and chewing of fresh fistful of khat and this goes on until 11 o'clock....⁴⁷

Ezikel concluded that the methods and styles of khat chewing almost remained the same for the last hundred fifty years. He also underlined that like its economic and physiographical importance, khat also served as a means of “medium of social interaction.”⁴⁸

Ijaa Banaa

Ijaa banaa is combinations of two Oromic words i.e *ijia* and *banaa*, which stands for eye and open, respectively. So, literarily, it means “open eye.” It chewed right after breakfast between 8:00 am and 11:00am. Most people of the rural and urban areas were addicted to khat but most of the participants of *ijia banaa* were relatively the most addicted ones. One indication of the status of addiction was that they necessarily chew it whether they have a work to do at a time or not.⁴⁹

In the case of rural areas, peasants collect fresh khat for *ijia banaa* either from their own farm or from their relative ones. But urban chewers have two options: either they use *bultee* (remains of last night khat) or bought few khat of *Qacheroo* (low quality khat). Of course, by this time they took a small quantity of khat but get quick *mirqaana*. It is not advisable to refuse *raabsa* (giving some sticks of khat) to anyone who wants to chew, regardless of their previous relationship. It is an outdoor khat chewing in both rural and urban areas.⁵⁰

Until they took some pieces of khat they remained inactive even to the extent of enabling failure to open their eyes. They do not like to talk to anyone and get angry and shout without any concrete evidence. Even if someone collided with you, whatever the damage, there would be no

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* P.7.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* P.8.

⁴⁹ Informants: Sufiyan Usman Abdi Imere and Getachew Wolde.

⁵⁰ Informants: Jemal Yusuf and Abdi Emere. ;Ezikel, *Leaf of Allah*...P.8.

complain at all. They would say *aboo! affan hinkaayanee* [I have not chew khat yet]. After one-half to two hours chat chewing), they would say *hayee!* [Oh!]. This expresses readiness to respond to whatever case. Dechasa, by referring to his informants, expressed that not all chewers are stimulated at the same time. Rather it depends on conditions like body mass, the temperature of the room as well as the variety of Khat. He reported that those who have low weight chew khat in warm room, and those use quality khat would stimulate early and vice versa.⁵¹

Khat chewing, at any time in general and *ijia banaa* in particular, had negative impact on the society. It causes wastage of time and creates dependency. Civil servants faced a problem of punctuality. Other sections of the population also start to work lately. But users, on the contrary, argue that they are beneficiary in terms of time and psychological makeup. They stated that after they are motivated by khat they can work without fatigue more an hour than those who started work early and continued for three hours. They also claimed that khat gives them a smiley, face and sociable character. Abdurehman Ame, expressed the Hararge peasants as “the hardest working people.”⁵²

Barchaa

Both *ijia banaa* and *barchaa* are acts of khat chewing in Hararghe in general and in Haramaya in particular, which had been performed for a long period of time and became part of the society culture. But the latter one needed more preparation and also accompanied by other activities like coffee and *hojja* ceremonies. Even though there are differences in composition and dosage, it is a

⁵¹ *Ibid.*; Eyassu Mekonnen, “An Overview on the Pharmacology of Khat” (Addis Ababa University, Faculty of Medicine Health Education Center, 2005), .P.21. *Khat cause” spontaneous activity mediated through dopamine release.”; Dechassa Lemessa, P.8.

⁵² Informants: Sufiyan Usman, Abdi Imere and Burka mohammed.; Abdurehman Ame, P.24.

usual act among the community of Haramaya, regardless of ethnicity, age*, sex, religion or educational status.⁵³

In rural areas, preparation for *barcha* is mainly a task of preparing *hojja* because the head of the house prepare it in the farm land. But for the urban ones, it is more than that because it is chewed at home. The house should be cleaned and materials should be well arranged and washed. They also burn a coal for incense, which gives attractive odor for the *barcha* room (a special room in the urban area designed only for khat chewing). In his book, *The First foot hold in East Africa*, Richard Burton depicted a picture which showed Emir Abdulahi while he was in his house, which look like the latter *barcha* room. So this culture was an old tradition in the area and most probably, the Oromo of the surrounding areas also adopted it. Wives of the urban area started to prepare for *barcha* in the morning. The presence or absence of their spouse does not matter them. Anybody might come to the house and chew khat. Even unmarried youngsters also made their own to make a *bercha*. But, it is not an easy task. I heard one of my neighbors of single saying, “የተቀጣጠለ ከሰል ባገኝ እገዛ ነበር” [If I would gain a burnt coal at market, I would buy it].⁵⁴

The kind of khat chewed is also an indication of social status. The high standard class (based on wealth) bought *urattaa*, commonly called the khat of Aweday. It is exportable by its standard. Those on the lower ladder (based on wealth) buy *Qaccaroo*, also called *faqqaa*. It is a low quality brought to market by wives to cover some of their daily expenses.⁵⁵

⁵³ Ezkiel, P .10. ;Informants: Abdi Imere and Hassen Ali. Those old men who lost their tooth take khat in the form of juice which is prepared through pounding process , using traditional tool locally called *mooya*.

⁵⁴ Informants: Nuria Beker, Maftuha Ahmed, Abraham Mume and Abdi Imere.

⁵⁵ Informants: Abraham Mume , Abdi Imere and Hussien Aliyi. The wealthiest section of the population have a habit of buying a special khat for *barchaa*. My informant stated that, even they create different standard from the same variety. For instance, while a price of *urata*(high quality khat) in Awaday town is 2000.00 Birr per kilogram, they went to the farm area and buy the same kind with 3000.00 to 4000.00 Birr per kilo gram.

Even though there is no organized collected data my informants told me that large number of the rural society (females are rare) smoke cigarette more than urban areas. On the other hand, some of the urban people (mostly Christians) took large doze of drink, called *cahapsii*, which was uncommon in the country side. Some section of the population chew khat in night in ordinary time but it was commonly done by the society during *Ramadan* (Muslim fasting season). This third kind of khat ceremony is called *attrorera*.⁵⁶

Scientists had no consensus about khat. Most of them agreed that since it is a stimulant plant which had an impact on the physiographic of human being. But the difference lies on the extent of its damage. Some scientists argued that when we compare with other high standard stimulants like Cocaine, khat is less severing and its impact is a long run. Others disagree with this idea and suggested that it is a dangerous plant. It was due to this that United Nations failed to pass clear cut decision about it. Until very recent time, khat is officially exported to London and New York. But still the issue of khat has continued to be debatable.⁵⁷

Since the 1940s, khat was neither advisable nor prohibited crop in Ethiopia. Next to coffee, Khat earns a higher foreign currency. During the *Darg* period, it was only sector which was left to private merchants regardless of the ceiling of capitals. Even at present time, it has continued as legal trade without official recognition.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Dechasa Lamessa, P.4.; Informants: Nuria Beker and Abdi Imere.

⁵⁷ Birhanu Adinew ,” The Economic Impact of Khat Production and Marketing: a Dilemma Short Term Benefits and Long run costs,(Addis Ababa: Health Education center, 2005), p.23 ; Ezikel,P. 18.;Eyessu Mekonnen, p.21.

⁵⁸ Informants: Getachew Wolde and Abdella Jimma.

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE IN HARAMAYA, 1941-1991.

Introduction

Agriculture is the base for human civilization. This was expressed by David Webster as, "When Tillage begins, All the Other Arts Follow."¹ The Ethiopian economy in general and that of Haramaya in particular depend on agriculture. Ethiopia is suitable for agriculture and it was due to this that the writer of 'Oklahoma State University in Ethiopia' described the country as "A land rich in Tradition, Rich in opportunity."² But, Agriculture in Ethiopia remained a backward sector which was given low attention by governments of the period under discussion.

Bashire Saide asked some section of the rural population of Haramaya district, for what purpose they use their land. About 68.7% of them responded that they focused on perennial crops (coffee and khat) and the rest said for annual crops (sorghum, maize and bean etc). From this we can understand that the largest part of the district's land was used for the cultivation of commercial oriented crops. But what was surprising is that their preference was not only directly related with market. From the total respondents, 46.7% percent of them said that land holding size was the influential factor in their decision for the utilization of land.³

According to Westphal there are three zones of cultivation in the Hararghe highlands. The first one is termed as Coffee zone which cover areas with altitude 1400-1700 meter above sea level. Coffee, banana, sweet potato, Khat and sugar cane were produced in this zone. Sorghum zone

¹ The Alemayan, "Year Book of Students College of Agriculture, Addis Ababa University", (Addis Ababa: Progress Printing Press, 1982), P.1.

² Oklahoma State University in Ethiopia, "A Decade of Progress, 1952-1962", (Alemaya: Imperial Ethiopia College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, 1962), P.10.

³ Bashire Saide, P.48.

(1600-2000m above sea level) is the second group. It included sorghum as a major crop and coffee and khat as additional ones. The third zone is called barely zone (2000-2400m). In addition to barley, other crops like wheat, pea and horse bean are also produced.⁴ As I mentioned in chapter one Haramaya is located with an altitude which ranged from 1400 to 2337meter above sea level. Therefore it is a multi-ecological area which encompasses the above three of the zone of cultivation.

Sorghum

Haramaya district had faced climatic change at different times in the past. One indication for this was change in fauna and flora. According to my informants Lake Haramaya had faced a danger of dryness at various times. Different sources also indicated that the area had faced a serious famine which forced the society to move from the area. On the contrary, there was also time in which the area had frequent heavy rain fall. In the 19th Century and early 20th Century crops like wheat, barley and coffee were common and were produced in large amounts, but change of climate which was followed by^o diminishing rate of rain fall and degradation of the land forced them to focus on sorghum.⁵ Even though it is difficult to state when sorghum production became a dominant crop in the area, my informants told me that it was a major product before the Italian occupation period. The peasants of the area paid it to the *malkagnas* as tribute.⁶

Sorghum was also the most preferable crop for the district societies because it had multi functions for them. The grain was used as food for the people whereas the leaves and the stalk were used for fodder. The dried stem had dual purpose. During winter season it used as fire

⁴E. Westphal, *Pulses in Ethiopia ; Their Taxonomy and Agricultural Significance* (Netherland:Center for Agricultural Publishing and Documentation,1974),P.30.

⁵ Lemma,P.61. ; Tamre Hawanda and yohannis Aluro," Batašaälä yä Afärena Weha Ṭebäqa ya Aṭäqäqäme Zädéwéče yä Gäbäréwä Seleṭäna Program"(Alemaya Agricultural College,June,1984),P.8.;Mulugeta Gashaw,p.13. Informant: Alia Usman. and Sufian Usman.

⁶ Informant: Alia Usman.

wood and feed of cattle as well as a house construction material. Even its root was collected from the land and used as a fuel. It was possible to say that nothing was left on the land. This means that nutrient were taken out from the soil but just a little of it were returned to the soil. Due to this the fertility of the land had deteriorated from time to time and the same was also true in the case of productivity. Since the land became bare, it was exposed to erosion. Regardless of the advantages of cultivation, peasants preferred *khat* than sorghum .The former one earns more than the latter. For instance, one hectare of land for *khat* and sorghum brought an income of 1000 birr and 300 birr respectively.⁷

M.E Quenemoen, had conducted a research in Haramaya district, in 1967. His findings indicated that the area had the potential for sorghum production and proposed its extensive cultivation to state farm. He recommended that, one of the probable challenges would be land. In one aspect, the land was too fragmented to establish large farm. On the other hand, it was difficult to buy land because it had no clear title to transfer it. The following table indicates the theoretical cost of the state farm in Haramaya:

Crop sale-----	\$75,384.00
Total expense-----	\$32,287.00
Net farm income -----	\$43,097.00
Loss: -----	\$ 5000.00
Return to capital-----	\$ 38097.00 ⁸

As we can see from the above list, the planned state farm would be profitable. But at present time there is no data which indicate its existence and my informants did not mentioned it. So, the

⁷ Bashire, P.11; Westphal, P.31.

⁸ M.E. Quenemoen, *Potential Returns from the Commercial Farming System in Three Areas of Ethiopia*. (Experimental Station Bulletin.56, Haile Sellassie University College of Agriculture, June, 1968), PP.32-34.

project remained on paper. But it clearly indicates that the district has been a sorghum potential area.⁹

During the time of the *Darg*, there was an agriculture program called ESPIP (Ethiopian Sorghum Production Improvement Program). It had seven sites: Alemaya, Arsi-Negele, Dakata, Nazareth (Adama), Kobo, Melka Werer and Humera. In 1976, sorghum field house was built at Alemaya. It had adequate offices, seed preparation hall, storage space, *injera* baking laboratory and concrete seed drying and threshing floor. ESPIP's (Ethiopian Sorghum Production Improvement Program) entire Ethiopian sorghum collection was housed in this building.¹⁰

As I had mentioned earlier, sorghum was closely related with the Haramaya society and used it for different purposes. In 1969, the following types of sorghum were produced: Fandisha (used for injera), Bishinga dima and Bishinga Ady (used for food other than injera), Keyla (tasty stems eaten by the people), Muyera (most widely grown), Wagera, Zanga and Danqof (least popular).¹¹

According to the 1976 ESPIP report, sorghum production at Haramaya was challenged by diseases like Anthracnose, Head mold, and Bacterial streak, Leaf spot, Rust and Leaf blight. But it had continued as a staple food of the area. Regardless of this and steady expansion of Khat, the crop remained to cover a large hectare of land in Haraghe in general and that of Haramaya in particular. The most probable reason for this was its multiple utility to the society and environmental adaptability.¹²

⁹ Informants: Aliya Usman, Tilahn Abera, and Ingida Gemedo.

¹⁰ Birhan Gebre Kidan, *Ethiopian Sorghum Improvement Project*, (Addis Ababa: International Development Research Center, 1976), PP.5-6.

¹¹ Lemma Arity, P.53.

¹² Birhan Gebre Kidan, P.63.

Coffee

Coffee was believed to be native crop to Kaffa. Latter on, it spread in to different parts of Ethiopia. According to Ayalew, its expansion to the North was limited because in its early time the society considered it as a Muslim culture and did not drink coffee. The condition was different in the Eastern part of Ethiopia, where Muslim dominated population existed. Here, there was a special kind of coffee which was similar with that of Coffee Arabica in its shape and aroma. The coffee of Harar had high demand in the international markets. It was due to this that French company named Moka Harar Abyssinia, based at Harar was engaged in coffee trade in the 19th century. In addition to this the crop had also domestic demand in the area which was inculcated with the culture of the society.¹³ Abbas also indicated that the Oromo of the surrounding areas of Harar supplied coffee to city.¹⁴

Richard Pankhurst, in his book entitled, *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800-1935*, stated that coffee drinking habit expanded to north during the period of Menilek in which he himself drunk it. On the other hand, Abune Matewos also disproved the clergies' attitude of relating the crop with the Muslims.¹⁵

On his work, Pankhurst cited the works of Soleillet and indicated that the Egyptian rule in Harar affected coffee production in the city and its surrounding areas negatively. They imposed 80% of taxation on it. Due to this peasants responded by "cutting down many of their trees."¹⁶

¹³ Ayalew Kano, PP.112-113.

¹⁴ Abbas Ahmed, P.63.

¹⁵ Richard Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1880-1935*, (Addis Ababa: Haile Sellassie University Press, 1968), P.198.

¹⁶ Richard Pankhurst, "Tribute Taxation and Government Revenue in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Ethiopia (Part I)", (*Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol.V.No.2, 1967), P.46.

There are conflicting ideas about coffee production in the East in the last quarter of the 19th century. One argument was that there was decline of production in the early period of conquest because there was destruction of coffee trees during the war of territorial expansion of the 19th century. But the later expansion of transport communications in the area stimulated cultivation of the crop. The other argument was that corvee labor imposed on peasants, discouraged the production of Coffee.¹⁷ Pankhurst stated that in some areas of the South, half of the land was left uncultivated, due to long hour engagement of peasants on free labor services to officials.¹⁸

While he was a ruler of Harar province, *Ras Mekonnen* encouraged the peasants of the area to cultivate Coffee. He also ordered his vassals to do the same thing in their localities.¹⁹ As cited by Pankhurst, Paulitschke wrote that, in 1885, there was extensive coffee cultivation in the environs of Harar including the Ala settled area, which was part of the later district of Haramaya. But this idea was refuted by the British report which stated that the farmers in Harar and its surrounding areas were more interested in Khat than coffee as early as 1899-1900.²⁰ Ezekiel also indicated that there was export of dried khat from Hararghe to the neighboring states before 1902.²¹

In the post 1941 period, Ethiopian government made special emphasis to coffee trade. According to the Proclamation No.126 of 1953, the export tax for the Harar coffee decided to be Eth\$.20.00 and Eth. \$15.00 per Kilo gram for Duty and Sur tax respectively.²² But Khat was taxed less.

¹⁷ Richard Pankhurst, *Economic...* P.199.

¹⁸ Richard Pankhurst, *Tribute...* P.57.

¹⁹ Richard Pankhurst, *Economic...* P.198.

²⁰ *Ibid*, P.201.

²¹ Ezekiel, *The Leaf of Allah...* P.VI.

²² Negarit Gazeta No.4.31st October 1953, P.127.

According to the proclamation No.181 of 1953 the Export Duty for khat was only Eth. \$.2.25 per kilo gram.²³

Coffee was the major export item of Ethiopia in 1960s. But its export volume varied from time to time. For instance, in 1962 it covered 54.63% and in 1965 it was raised to 66.48% but it declined to 55.67% in 1967.²⁴ On the other hand there was an increase on the export of khat. For instance, in 1961, a total of 2,690 ton of khat was exported. It was raised to 4,798 tons in 1963. But it sharply declined to 1,966 tons in 1964.²⁵ Increment on khat export might be related with the establishment of Harar Khat Export Company, which was assisted by the government. But due to administration problem* it stayed only for three years (1960-1963).²⁶

The study of Lakew Birke indicated that, coffee was produced in two rural *kebelles* of Haramay namely Sharif kalid and Ugaz.²⁷ Abdurehman Ame, in his thesis entitled, "Coffee Supply response in the Hararghe Highlands" indicated that Haramaya was one of the least coffee producer from Harar *Zuriya* districts. For instance, in 1990/91 the province had supplied 3,019 tons of coffee to Dire Dawa auction market. From this, the contribution of Haramaya was only 2.2 tones.²⁸

²³ Negarit Gazeta No.7.14th January, 1954, P.144.

²⁴ James Love, "Instability of Export Earnings", (*Occasional Economic Paper*.No.3.Department of Economics,Haile Sellassie I University,May,1963),P.7.

²⁵ See Appendix(Ezekiel),XXVII.

²⁶ See Appendix (Khat) X..*The audit report indicated that there was a loss of Eth \$.1, 120,014.99.

²⁷ Lakew Birke,"A Survey of Marketing Method and Facilities in Alemaya District,(Haile Sellassie I University, College of Agriculture,March,1974),P.11.

²⁸ Abdurehman Ame," Coffee Supply Response in the Hararghe High lands", (M.Sc, Addis Ababa University, Department of Economics,2010),P.28.

Khat

Khat is a stimulant ever green shrub. It has different name in different languages. In Arabic and English it is called Khat. In Ethiopia, it is known as Chat and *jimaa* in Amharic and Oromic respectively. The chewers give different nick names like “green human gas” ,”flower of paradise”, “leaf of Allah” etc. Its scientific designation is *Catha edulis*.²⁹

In the remote past khat was grown in wild. It is difficult to give exact information when and how it was domesticated. According to oral tradition, a herder who looked the stimulant act of the plant on his goats and started to chew it seeking the same effect. Later on, others also followed suit of this gay and the crop was accustomed by the community. Some others related it with the religion of Islam. They explained that the earlier chewers were Muslim clerks in Arabia and eastern parts of Ethiopia.³⁰

According to the chronicler of Amde Seyon, some members of the Sultanate of Ifat had a habit of chewing khat. This indicated that Khat was cultivated in Ethiopia during the medieval period.³¹ Richard Burton, who gained the chance to visit Harar for ten days in the middle of the 19th Century, indicated that chat chewing was a daily habit, though in the minority, in Harar. It was cultivated in their garden for a long period of time.³²

According to Ezekiel, the introduction of khat among the Oromo of the surrounding areas of Harar, in which the latter Haramaya district is part of it, dated back to the last quarter of the 19th Century. He stated that the event was accidental. One Harari widow, who lost her husband at the

²⁹ Ezekiel Gabissa, *The leaf of Allah*...P.15.;Dechasa Lemessa.“ Khat (*Catha Edulis*) Botany, Distribution, Cultivation Usage and Economics in Ethiopia.” (Addis Ababa: UN-Emergency Unit for Ethiopia, 2001.), P.3.

³⁰ Dechassa Lemessa, P.32.

³¹ Ezekiel Gabissa, *Leaf of Allah*..., P.3.

³² Waterfield,P.109.

battle of Chelenko, hired an Oromo to work on her khat field. This gave a golden chance for him to acquaint with this plant and expand the tradition to his kinsmen. But it became the culture of the majority of the society of the Oromo following their mass conversion to Islam after the 18th century.³³

Hararghe in general and Harar and its environs in particular had gained access to transportation infrastructures early 20th century due to its strategic as well as economic significances. *Ras* Mekonnen had built a cart road and latter his son *Ras* Taferi, a high way which connect Harar with Dire Dawa. But, Ezekiel indicated that it was less economical in pre-1941 period. On the one hand it was costly. On the other hand there were only two or three minibuses and the road was ill constructed for speedy transportation. This was difficult for a Khat which has a short shelf life.³⁴

Even though there was an increase a coffee price in the international markets in the 1940s, different sources indicated that the surrounding areas of Harar responded in insignificant way. Most of the exported coffee came from Chercher, western part of Hararghe. On the other hand, the eastern part of Hararghe commonly called Harar, continued to cultivate Khat, though in small amount. In 1942, Khat was officially exported to Aden. In addition to this, there was an increase in domestic demand, especially in Harar and Dire Dawa.³⁵

Khat was a dominant cash crop in Haramaya in 1940s. This indicated that the district was the earliest areas of Hararghe to make agricultural transformation to cash crop economy. But when

³³ Ezekiel Gabissa, *The Leaf of Allah...* P.210.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Mulugeta Gashaw. "The Cultivation and Use of Chat among the Oromos of Harar, with Particular reference to Haramaya Woreda." MA Thesis, AAU, Department of Social Anthropology, AAU, 1996, P.33.; Fitawrari Takle Hawaryat, P.52.

we compared it with food crops khat had low coverage in terms the proportion of the cultivated land.³⁶

In 1950s and early 1960s, Haramaya was an important khat market in the area. But in the late 1960s, it was transferred to Aw-Waday. There is no one concrete reason why this change happened. There were different assumptions. One of my informants claimed that it was done by the order of the municipality, which targeted in keeping the cleanness of the town from the ruminants of khat.³⁷ Based on the information he gained from his informant, Ezekiel stated that the society considered khat as a sacred plant. Most tax collectors were mostly Christians who also recreated by drinking alcohol in the pub. According to the story, khat growers who were Muslims considered it as an act of degrading khat. So, they moved to Aw-Waday and started to exchange it there.³⁸

According the pamphlet, which was prepared by the town of Aw-Waday, the emergence of the town as a khat market was related with the development in Harar. When the military academy was opened in Harar, khat merchants were forced to leave the area and came to Aw-Waday by their own will. In the area some trading activities had already started. Even khat traders from Haramaya also joined the market seeking of better profit.³⁹

Khat market in Aw-waday and Dire Dawa had its own structure. At the top there are exporters who were in most cases foreigners and the farmers at the lower level. *Wakil* refers to exporter's agent who collected Khat using hiered buyers known as *Abba talaba*. Farmers in most cases did not directly communicate with khat buyers. Between them there are brokers known as *kakabii*,

³⁶ Mulugeta Gashaw, P. 41; Lemma; Arity, P.29. ;Informants:Aliya Usman and Tilahun Abera.

³⁷ Informants: Kassahun Dadi and Abdella Jimma.

³⁸ Ezekil Gabissa, *The Leaf of.....*,P 111..

³⁹ A Pamphlet prepared by The Town of Aw-Waday, 2010., p.2.

who deal on the behalf of the farmer and take a commission in percent. There were also independent traders who bought khat from the farm and sold to the *wakil*.⁴⁰

The price of Khat depended on different factors. One was the variety of the khat. *Uratta* fetched high price and exported to Djibouti and Aden. But *qattarroo* was low in quality and price and used for local consumption. The second was time of supply. Rain-fed Khat, where there was excess supply, had low price than irrigated Khat.⁴¹

In the 1960s, Khat had faced a challenging condition when the government of Ethiopia put limit on the export of Khat to Somalia. The relation of the two countries deteriorated from time to time following the propagation of Ziyad Bare for Greater Somalia. Due to this the price of Khat sharply declined, especially the *deema* one. By this time farmers made systematic retreat by uprooting the *deema* and replacing by *daloota*, which had high demand in the Djiboutian market.⁴²

In addition to the above response, peasants also gave attention to vegetation cultivation. In the early 1970s, the Ministry of Agriculture introduced a new variety of potato which competed with Khat in land and labor. It earned more income than khat. But still farmers preferred Khat in most parts of Hararghe. Ezikiel had mentioned different reasons for this. The first one, potato needs more capital. Even though they earned more cash from khat production they had no sufficient money to fund potato cultivation. Secondly, potato was more exposed to risk, since it might be

⁴⁰ Ezeiel Gabissa, *The Leaf of Allah...*P.89;J emal Haji, P,56.

⁴¹ Risoud, p.122. Informants: Abdella Jimma and Yusuf Imero.

⁴² Ezikiel Gabissa, *The Leaf of Allah...*P.132. Informants: Sufiyan Usman and Abdella Jimma.

affected by disease. Thirdly, unlike potato, Khat needed little labor because in most cases it was plant with other annual crops.⁴³

Aden Khat Exporting Company monopolized the export of khat in pre-1970 period. According to the archival source at National Library and Archive Agency, there was complain from local traders against the foreigners' dominated company which was accused of exploiting farmers' with unfair price. It was in response to this that the Emperor ordered the establishment of an Ethiopian based khat Exporting Cooperative in 1970. It was closely assisted by the government. The initial capital, amounted to Birr 100,000, was given by the government. But the cooperative was bankrupted and became out of the market after three years. This was due to mainly administration problem. However, khat export continued by private trades.⁴⁴

In 1975, *Darg* introduced a decree which made the land of the country under the state control and land was distributed to peasants. In the pre-1975 period, the decision to cultivate cash crop, like khat, was left in the hands of the land lords. The reform abolished this privilege. But the fertile and the potentially irrigable land were reserved to PAs officials and wealthy land lords. By using their usufruct rights peasants planted new khat seedlings on their own land. This increased the khat production. Ezikiel stated that peasants of Haraghe were too conscious in making themselves food self-sufficient. So, they continued their habit of inter-planting khat with other food crops.⁴⁵

⁴³ Ezikiel Gabissa, *The Leaf of Allah...* P.145. Informants: Jaffer Jabir and Abdella Jimma.

⁴⁴ A report from auditors (Danál Gäbrä Eyäsus and Tadäsä Asfaw) to the Ministry of Finance, Date 8/06/1974. File No. 16.1.3.07.; A notice from Yerega Šäwa MätäläYä about Aden Khat Exporting Companies, Date 10/04/1960, Ref.No.762/59. File No. 1.1.23.11.; Informant: Abdella Jimaa.

⁴⁵ Ezikiel Gabissa, *The Leaf of Allah...* p.66; Tessfaye Lemma.

The *Darg* period was a time in which, Haraghe peasants in general and that of Haramaya in particular had made rapid transformation of cash crop preference from coffee to khat. As a socialist economy, the military government established governmental organization known as ECMC (Ethiopian Coffee Marketing Corporation), to monopolize the export of coffee by controlling its price as well as domestic consumption. But for some time Khat was out of the state control. As it was stated by Ezikiel, *Darg* had feared the probable loss of the revenue from it if private khat exporting companies were banned immediately. This encouraged peasants to focus on Khat production.⁴⁶

Khat was remained out of government influence only for some time. In 1980, ECEC (Ethiopian Chat Exporting Cooperative) was established. According to its charter, it was a private cooperative but in reality it was a government owned ones. For instance, the key position in the cooperative was held by government picked officials. In addition to this the account of the cooperative was under the direct supervision of the government. The ECEC-SOGIK (Societie Generale D' Importation de Khat) trade agreement was signed by the government on the behalf of the cooperative.⁴⁷

The government sent circular order for the *awrajas* and *waradas* officials of khat growing areas to enforce their respective peasants to sell their product only to ECEC. But this was a burden for farmers because it paid low price, and remained the same whatever the price of the market. This was due to the fixed price of the SOGIK. Higher *Darg* officials had made diplomatic campaign

⁴⁶ Ezikiel Gabissa, p.283.;Birhanu Adinew, p.13 .

⁴⁷ Ezikiel Gabissa,p. 234. Informants: Getachew Wolde and Abdella Jimaa.

among the khat producers by indicating that selling their product to the cooperative means favoring the politics and economy of the state.⁴⁸

Regardless of the extensive government support, ECEC failed to be competitive with the private ones who exported khat to Djibouti illegally via contraband routes. The balance report of the cooperative indicated that there was disparity between the total cost and total sale value, in which the former was greater than the latter. But it reported a profit. Of course at one time SOGIK responded by making a little buying price increment but it was incomparable with the increase of processing costs. Ezekiel concluded that “It is therefore safe to say that the cooperative succeeded in remaining in competitive khat export system by defrauding the producers.”⁴⁹

The 1984-85 famine had left out the old age principle of food self sufficiency as a factor which hindered maximum potential expansion of Khat farms while they knew that they would be economically beneficial from it. In response to the famine different NGOs supplied fabricated foods like pasta and macaroni, and other imported crops especially, rice. Later on, the market was sufficiently supplied with these items by contrabandists. Due to this farmers feel food secured in supply and gave much emphasis in assigning more of their land for khat.⁵⁰

As I had mentioned earlier, khat growing peasants had earned more economical advantage from khat. But it is wrong to conclude that this was the only factor which dragged them to intensively cultivate khat. Rather it was a cumulative effect of social, cultural, environmental and political factors as well.⁵¹

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Ezekiel Gabissa, P.310. Informants: Abdella Jima and Burka Mohammed.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Taye Hailu Feyesa. “Cultivation Chat and Its Impact in the Farming System, House Hold Economy and Food Availability.” (M.Sc. Thesis, Agricultural University Norway, 2001), P.42.

Coffee was a major rival of khat in Hararghe but it failed to win the contest. Birhanu Adinew had clearly indicated this condition by quoting the works of Ralph Klingele as follows.⁵²

Table- 4. Comparing Khat and Coffee cultivation

Criteria	Coffee	Khat
Agro climatic range(without irrigation)	Moist and wet <i>weyna dega</i> 1700-2000m	Lower <i>dega</i> , dry to wet <i>weyna dega</i> , moist higher <i>kola</i> :1400m-2500m Optimal- 1500-2100m
Soil conditions	Well drained, deep and fertile	High range of soils, but well drained
Drought tolerance	Moderate to good(in deep fertile soils)	High
Establishment	3-6 years(first harvest)	3-5 years
Cultivation area	According to agro-climatic range	Only near to at least good secondary roads and not too far from markets and air ports (except for local consumption)
Production management	Complex	Easy
Agro forestry use	Not adapted for its extensive superficial fiber root system	Well adapted
Vulnerability to pests and diseases	High, especially for CBD	Low: in the case of leaf hopper damage produces expensive quality.*
Harvest	1 times per year, generally low due to CBD, soil fertility and management	2 (rain-fed) to 5 times/ year (irrigated) plus regular harvest for local market. **
Storage possibilities	For a long period	None
Price	Good but depending on fluctuating world market.	Medium to high according to quality, fluctuating high tax charges.
Income	Medium	High

Source: Berhanu Adinew,P. 103.

The attempt of the government to control khat production and trade bore no fruit. In the 1980s and early 1990s, khat was extensively produced. By this time the population density of Haramaya was about 440 people per square km with the average size of six families. But they

⁵² Birhanu Adinew. “The Economic Impact of T’ Chat Production and Marketing: A Dilemma of Short Term Benefits and Long Run Costs, ” *Proceedings of the National Workshop on Khat habit* . Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa Health Education Center, 2005,P.19.

sustained mainly due to the high income they earned from khat⁵³.The following poetry, indicated that the khat was their primary and non-optional choice:

Tana jannus taanii- aalaamaa qaajjiimaa	should we say this it is that target of qaajjiimaa(torn plant)
Yoo wayyaa taatee dhabi hundeejiimaa	If you are better plant a root of jimaa(khat) ⁵⁴

Vegetables

Haile Michael Kidane Mariam who conducted research on vegetable production in eastern Ethiopia, indicated that Haramaya was the most suitable area for vegetable production.⁵⁵ Informants also stated that their ancestors who lived around the water supply had made vegetable production, though in small amount. After the establishment of Agricultural College in the area they gained a chance for best seeds and technical advice. The most important hindering factor to commercialize it was lack of sufficient market.⁵⁶

In 1962, the Haramaya Farmers Marketing cooperative was established by the close assistance of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Business of Haramaya Agricultural College. The primary goal of the cooperative was to create market opportunity for vegetable growers of the area to get better price. According to the report of Oklahoma State University, Haramaya Farmers Cooperative was “the first cooperative officially recognized by the Imperial Ethiopia government Ministry of Commerce and Industries.” It exported its product to Djibouti, based on its contract with the French army there. The following Table indicates the kinds of vegetables

⁵³Ezekiel Gabissa, *The leaf of Allah...* P.66.
⁵⁴ Mulugeta Gashaw, p.54.
⁵⁵ Haile Mikael Kidane, *Vegetable Production Guide line for Eastern Ethiopia*, (College of Agriculture, Haile Sellassie I University, May, 1969), P.13.
⁵⁶ Lakew Birke, P.11.; Informants: Jafer Jaber ,Burka Mohammed and Aliya Usman .

bought by the farmers’ cooperatives and comparative analysis of price on cooperative and Haramaya market.⁵⁷

Table.5. Comparison of price of vegetables in the local market and cooperative in Haramaya

Product	Quantity sold (kilo gram)	Average Price Paid (Cents per kilo gram)		Total value	
		Cooperative	<i>Alemaya</i> Market	Cooperative Dollars	<i>Alemaya</i> market(dollars)
Artichokes	1114	32.5	24.5	362.05	272.90
Beets	3183	09.0	10.0	286.47	318.30
Cabbage	23486	11.7	10.7	2747.86	2513.00
Carrot	24988	10.5	09.6	2663.24	2398.85
Cauliflower	1263	23.0	16.4	290.49	207.13
Celery	712	17.2	08.2	122.46	58.24
Leeks	19277	15.8	08.2	3045.77	1580.70
Lettuce(Romaine)	16465	14.5	10.8	2387.43	1778.22
Potato No.1	24727	13.6	Not graded	3362.87	Not graded
Potato No.2	112441	11.9	10.6	13380.48	14492.65
Potato No.3	1555	06.0	-----	933.0	-----
Onion	6902	19.0	15.0	1311.38	1035.30
Total				27540.63	24 655.29

Source- Publication of Oklahoma State University

As we can see from the above table, the establishment of the cooperative initiated vegetable growers. The final analysis indicated that selling their products to the cooperative was more advantageous than in the local market. It increased their income by 23 percent or \$6,016.⁵⁸

In its early years, the cooperative was chaired by *Ato* Getachew Gabra Madhin, who graduated from Jimma Agricultural School. It was also advised by Dr. Victor F. Amann, who was an American staff of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Business in the college. According to the cooperative plan of 1964, in the future it would supply farmers’ with farm

⁵⁷ Oklahoma State University, p.42.;Dmissie Gebre Michael, p.123.
⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

supplies (seeds, fertilizers, insecticides) and credit availability to members with low interest.⁵⁹

But it remained on paper because it was dissolved after a short period of time.

In addition to Marketing Cooperative, Haramaya Agricultural College also took the initiative of the establishment of the Irrigation Cooperative. Demissie Gebre Mikael, interviewed sixty farmers, in 1965, to identify their understanding on the importance of cooperatives (Irrigation and Marketing). The result indicated that 97% of them responded for the market cooperative positively. On the other hand 80% of the interviewed members showed their willingness towards the irrigation ones.⁶⁰

In 1970, the Haramaya Farmers Marketing Cooperative was no more functioning. As I have mentioned above, almost all those interviewed by Demissie responded that the cooperative was helpful, and joined it willingly in a conscious mind. On the contrary, Lakew stated that members joined it due to intangible propaganda which took the attention of the society. They promised a better price for the product though no guarantee for its consistency. At the beginning it acted as a pooling organization, in which vegetables were recollected and sent to Djibouti. But when the contract with the army was interrupted, the cooperative failed to get market. Soon, it started to pay a price lower than the normal market. In addition to this, poor management also contributed to the failure of the cooperative.⁶¹ But I did not get information which indicated the performance and final fate of the Irrigation Cooperative.

⁵⁹Oklahoma State University, p.45.

⁶⁰ Demisse Gebre Michael, *land Tenure in Bate...*, P.22.

⁶¹ Lakew Birke, P.17.

Land Tenure in pre- 1975 period

Kinds of Land Tenure

In his thesis "A Historical Study of the City States of Harar (1795-1875)", Abbas stated that, private property of land in Harar dated back to the 16th century. He also indicated that, in the city there was an old age land registration state document called *Tamassuk*. But before the 19th century, the Oromo of the area were pastoralists in which their land tenure was communal by its nature. So, until this time, there was little influence of the Hararis on the land tenure system of the surrounding people.⁶²

During the 19th century, the area as far as thirty miles away from Harar, which was settled by the Oromo, was under the domination of the Hararis. There was long aged close connection between them which was characterized by, in some times, conflict and in time cooperation. The Emirs sent representative (*garada*) to the area where they erect a house and lived with them.⁶³ There relation was further strengthened during the reign of Emir Mohammed ibn Ali (1856-1875) who was systematic in expanding Islam within the society.⁶⁴

Following the growth of the trade in the area, the Harais focused on commercial activities in the 19th century. Due to this, they started to cultivate their land using the labor of the poor Hararis and the Oromo, who settled near to *jagol* using a share cropping system called *Oyana* (one-fourth) and *hirta* (one-half).⁶⁵

⁶² Abbas Ahmed, P.49.

⁶³ *Ibid*, p.58.

⁶⁴ Ezekiel Gabissa, *The Leaf of Allah...*, P.195.

⁶⁵ Abbas Ahmed, P.50.

The Hararis had different land tenure system in the 19th Century. The first one was Private land. It was too fragmented due to multiple inheritances and made it uneconomical. It was in response to this they changed the system of inheritance. Rather than sharing the land, the claimants received money from his family. If this was not the case, the other option was to sale land and shares the money. The second kind was state land also called *gafa* land. It would be given to civil servants and merchants. It was from this land that the *garada* and *malaq* had received 600 and 300 *jarib* of land respectively. The third one was *Waqf* land. It had two kinds: *Waqf Ahli*(donated by family) and *Waqf kahyr*(given to religious institution).⁶⁶.

According to Bedri Kabira, Private owner ship of land was introduced to the Afran Qallos by the Egyptians. They distributed land for their soldiers and the local individuals. In addition to this the Egyptians also introduced a new taxation system which was based on the amount of produce. It was called *Zakah*(a regular charity).⁶⁷

Following the territorial expansion of Menilek, there was extensive settlement in Hararghe from the North. This was partly responsible for the shortage of land in Harar and its environs. Due to this the local society moved to the less densely populated pastoralist areas. This could be understood from the presence of *Noole* and *Alla* together with the *Ittu*, who settled in the western part of Hararghe.⁶⁸

Tsehay Birhane Sellassie who wrote an article entitled, "Development of Land Tenure in Hararghe Province (1887-1935)," stated that in 1931, Emperor Haile Sellassie introduced a land reform decree in Hararghe. The law declared that all lands below the Burqa River should be

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, P.53.

⁶⁷ Bedri Kebir, P.41.

⁶⁸ Ezikiel Gebissa. "Consumption, Controband and Commodities of Khat in Harerghe, 1930-1991." Ph.D Dissertation, Michigan State University, Department of History, 1991, P.72; Retta Duguma, P.9.

measured. The only exception was Feddis which was the *gult* of the emperor. The responsibility was given to *Dejjazmach* Imru. According to this law the *garadas* and the *malaqas* were allowed to possess 600 and 300 *jarib* respectively. The excess land temporarily stayed in hands of the *malkagna* and *abegaz*(also called *dogigno*). It was reserved to be granted to the settlers, soldiers and civilians.⁶⁹ On May 9, 1935, another decree was introduced which prohibited the use of labor service as tribute, which was a serious case in the area. Tsehay indicated that even though the law did not bring radical change, peasants were saved from being pressurized due to failure to pay labor tribute and losing their land as *mankot*.⁷⁰

It is difficult to get similar name and kind for the land holdings in Hararghe rather it varied from area to area within the same province. Seleshi Wolde Tsadik in his article entitled, "Land ownership in Hararghe province" argued that it was possible to classify the lands in Hararaghe in to three broad categories: Private land, Church land and government land.⁷¹

Private lands include *gabbar*, *maderia* and *rist-gult*. *Gabbar* land owners had full rights to change to any form. They could transfer to any one either by sale or gift. *Maderia* land was given to soldiers and their families who took part at the battle of Maichew. Unlike the *gabbar*, it was not heritable. The possessor was allowed use it as far as he/she was alive. But in 1957, on the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Emperor, a decree was passed which allowed the *maderia* land owners full ownership over one-third of the *gasha* land.⁷²

⁶⁹ Tsehay Birhane Sellassie, "Development of Land Tenure in Hararghe Province(1887-1935),(History Society of Ethiopia, The History and Culture of the people of Harar,N.Y),P.5.; A letter from *Fitawrari* Bizunäh Wäledä Mareyam to Harar Bejirond Office, about specification of the size of the land of *Garada*,*Malaq* and *Gabbar*, Date 25/04/1967G.C, Ref.No.111/19634/28/60.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*.

⁷¹ Seleshi Wolde Tsadik, Land Ownership... P.6.

⁷² Negarit Gazeta, Proclamation No.4, 30th December 1956.

The *rist-gult* land was given to the higher government officials. Unlike the previous lands, the possessors were exempted from various kinds of taxes. But this privilege was taken away by the 1966 decree. It forced not only the *rist-gult* but also *siso-gult* owners to pay land tax, education tax, and health tax.⁷³

Church land, as the name indicates, refers to a land reserved to the church which aimed at covering its different costs of it. It was also called *Semon* land. In the first place such taxes were directly collected by the church but later on, the Ministry of Finance took the responsibilities with 2% commission. But it was not successful and the church regained its right to collect its own tax. In the case of government land, it included all lands of the state which was not neither a private nor church. In addition to this those lands left by the owner due to the failure to pay tax also became government lands.⁷⁴

Demissie Gabre Michael who conducted a study in 1965 on a topic entitled “Land Tenure in Bate, Alemaya Miketil Woreda” stated that “Private ownership is the prevalence type of land ownership in the area. Out of the sixty farmers interviewed, all but one owns some areas of land however small and uneconomic by its size.”⁷⁵ My informants also stated that their fore fathers had also their own land.⁷⁶

The royal family had *rist* in the area. Princess Sara, the wife of Prince Mekonnen had land near to the former Alemaya Agricultural College. Large part of it was found a swampy area of Lake Haramaya. The society of the area used it for grazing for fee, which ranged from 2 to 6 birr, what

⁷³ Seleshi, Wolde Tsadik, Land ownership... P.6.; Negarit Gazeta, Proclamation No.9 (A), 7th March 1966;

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, P.66.; Gilks, p.113.

⁷⁵ Demissie Gebre Michael, P.7.

⁷⁶ Informants: Fieromsa Abdi and Sufiyan Usman.

was locally called *aflame*.⁷⁷ On the other hand, Lemma indicated that 94% of the area of the land of Haramaya was in the hands of private owners. He also stated that the land around Lake Haramaya was the *rist-gult* of Sahle Sellassie. He also pointed out the prevalence of government lands in the area. But he did not mention Church land. The archival document at Wolde Meskel Tariku Memorial Research Center (WMTMRC) indicated that government officials had *rist* land in Haramaya district in the place like Hubata, Hajii, Balaa, Harajituu, Gobee, Utullu, Didimtuu etc. One of them was Leutnant General Kebede Gebre.⁷⁸

In Haramaya district, inheritance was the main means to acquire land. By tradition the son had cultural right to share their family land. According to my informants all the land would be shared into two parts: sons' and parent. Again the former part would be equally shared for the total number of sons, including male infants. The next step would be giving the share of the able sons. But the rest land remained in the hands of the family until they become young enough (eighteen years old). This event was locally called *mirazaa bassu*. Informants also recounted that if there was no son, daughters might gain the chance to inherit their parent's land.⁷⁹

The problem of shortage of land continued as a major problem in the 1960s. The case was further aggravated due to a culture of multiple inheritance, which in turn caused too fragmentation of land. In 1965, the average holding of land in the area was 2.4 hectares. Demssie observed that a farmer who had a total land of 1.630 hectare, which was small by itself but it, was divided in to six small plots (0.045ha, 0.405ha, 0.275ha, 0.304ha, 0.104ha and 0.497ha).⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Retta Duguma, p.19.

⁷⁸ Lemma Ariti, p.14. WMTMRC, A letter from Zäḡäyä Atlaw to Harar Province Land Administration Office, Date 2/12/ 1974 E.C., No. 2/4358/15625/66.

⁷⁹ Informants: Hassen Ali , Abdi Reshid and Yusuf Imero.

⁸⁰ Demisse Gabre Michael, P.10. : See Appendix 14.

As a solution to the above problems, many of the rural societies left their land to their families and went to urban areas, and engaged in khat business mainly in Aw-Waday. Some of them worked as daily laborer. Through time they accumulated capital and invested in transportation and other services. That was why one of Ezekiel's informants described Aw-waday as a "town of farmers."⁸¹

Tenancy

Tenants were landless peasant who worked on the land of others by rent which could be in kind or money. The burden was on the tenant but the benefits were taken by the land lord. It was a major problem in Southern Ethiopia during the imperial era. According to Desalegn Rahmato, 40% of the country's land was cultivated by tenant labor.⁸²

Tenancy was also a serious case in Haramaya district. As I have mentioned earlier it was a rare case to get landless peasants. But their land was too small that they had faced a difficulty to cover their family's expenses. This forced them to search for another opportunity. The most plausible option was to rent land. According to Demissie, in the year 1965 from the 60 farmers whom he interviewed in Bate, 45% of their cultivated land was a rented. Though in rare cases, they also received gift from their relatives. This indicated that most of the peasants of the district were part-tenant (those who had land and also rented the land of others).⁸³

⁸¹Ezikel Gabbisa,"*The Leaf of Allah...*"P.232.

⁸²Desalegn Rahmato, P107.

⁸³Demisse Gebre Michael, *Land Tenure in Bate...*P.9; Informants: Ahmednur Yusuf and Hassen Ali.

According to Lemma, one of the major problems related with tenancy in the area was lack of formal agreement and in most circumstances agreements were oral and the people also accepted it. This emanated from their belief that, “a man has to live up to his words and tradition.”⁸⁴

Words like *ekul* (half), *siso* (one-third) and *erbo* (one fourth) were kinds of contracts, and tenants were also called based on their consensus with the owner of the land as *equl arash*, *siso arash* and *erbo arash* respectively. In Haramya there was fixed and cash arrangements. In some areas, there was payment (in kind) of 4 *dawla* (stack of sorghum for a land area of 1.13 hectare which was also fixed by its nature. On the average the peasants of Bate, Haramaya, paid Eth, Birr 64.43 per hectare. The cash crops, which were market oriented cause to make cash, based agreements.⁸⁵

Another problem which complicated the tenancy conditions in Haramaya was that there was little land available for rent. According to Demisse, from the interviewed land owners 80% of the land was cultivated by the owners, and they leased only 20%.⁸⁶

To get additional land for rent or to maintain the rented ones, peasants of the area used a system called *barcha*. In other context of the culture of the society, *barcha* means khat (*Jimma*) but in the case of tenant land lord relationship it means giving cattle to the *garada*, who was responsible for the land of the area. In the later times peasants also gave labor services, material and even money.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Lemma Arity, P.45; Informant Abdi Reshid and Dawit Negasi.

⁸⁵ Demisse Gebre Michael, *Land Tenure in Bate...* P.6.; Informants: Abdi Reshid, and Sufiyan Usman; Gilks, p.117.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* P.9.

⁸⁷ Lemma, Arity, P. 41. ; Gilks, p.118. ; Informants: Alia Usman, Ingida Gamada, Dawit Negasi and Hussen Ali.

Demissie interviewed some of the tenants of the area to analyze the status of length of tenancy agreement in the area. Accordingly, 44% of the interviewed responded that they had stayed on the rented land only for 1-3years and only 4% of them stayed for 7-9 years. From this we can understand that in most cases the period of tenancy was short, which caused insecurity among peasant, which made them less interested to make further investment on land like virgin land cultivation, irrigation construction, planting tree crops , fences, animal shed etc. Due to this there was no improvement in production.⁸⁸

Tenancy agreement might end by the interest of the land lord or tenant. Both of them had their own reasons to do so. The former one interrupted the contract due to one or a combination of the following cases: failure of tenant to pay rent, to get better rental opportunities, poor management of land etc. On the other hand, tenants would break the agreement due to: the pooriness of the land, too many services demanded by the land lord, to get better land, health problem, old age cases etc.⁸⁹

On the other hand, peasants were forced to cut the tenancy without compensation for any investment on land. In 1967, a tenant reclaimed to the High court of Harar province in question of compensation for the Khat in the field. But no one heard him and the accused ones defended himself in the following way:

⁸⁸ Demissie Gebre Michael, Land Tenure in Bate..... P18. ; Informants: Abdi Reshid Dawit Negasi, and Ahmednur yusuf.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* Demissie Gebre Mikael."Agrarian Reform: A Proposal to Contribute to Economic Development in Ethiopia." (M.Sc.Thesis, The Ohio State University, Department of Agriculture, 1964.), P.92.; Gilkes, p.119.

“...የተከለውን ጫት እኔም ሆንኩ አባቴ ያልፈቅድንለት በመሆኑ ከሳ ሊጠይቅ አይገባም።”⁹⁰

”[... He planted Khat was without the permission of me and my father

So, he should not ask compensation]”

As most scholars argued absentee land lord was the main problem of most areas of the southern parts of Ethiopia. They leased their land to tenants of the area and shared the produce in times of harvest. This affected the life of peasants in various ways. First, they made unfair sharecropping agreement which gave large portion of the production to land lord. Secondly, the owner of the land gave little attention for protecting the fertility of the soil because they themselves had no guarantee for their continual possession of land.⁹¹

The grievances of tenants were continued throughout the Imperial period. The problem of was totally abolished following the 1975 land proclamation, which took excess land of the land lord and distributed to the former tenants.⁹²

Land measurement and Taxation

In Ethiopia, there were different units of land measurement, which varied from region to region. The most commonly known was *gasha*. By common understanding a *gasha* stands for 40 hectares. But, it depended on the fertility of the land. A *gasha* of fertile, semi fertile and poor represented as 34.4, 39.8 and 66.6 hectares respectively. Since it did not take the angle of the land in to consideration there was variation in total area of a *gasha* within the same category.⁹³

⁹⁰ HPA: A letter from Mustafa Mohammed to Harar Higher Court, a response for charge, Date 08/04/1965. ; Gilks, p.120.

⁹¹ Demissie Gebre Michel, "Agerarian Reform: A Proposal to Contribute to Economic Development in Ethiopia"(MSc, Thesis, The Ohiyo State University, Department of Agriculture, 1964),P.24. Gilks, p. 120.;

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Seleshi Wolde Tsadik, *Land Ownership In Hararghe Provience*,...PP.6-7.

In most parts of Hararghe *qallad system* was introduced following Menilek territorial expansion towards the area. So, they used *gasha* to quantify the size of their land. There were additional units used in Harar and its surroundings. This was due to its exposure of the area to foreign powers like the Arabs and Egyptians.⁹⁴

In Haramaya district the kinds of units used as land measurement were *shibeta*, *nus-shibeta* and *Koti*. *Shibeta* is a word taken from Arabic language which means, "Land for which tax must be paid".⁹⁵ A *shibeta* represented around 4.29 hectares. *Neus-shibeta* refers to a land about half of a *shibeta*. The land below *nus-shibeta* was called *Koti*. Ten *Kotis* on the average was equal to 324 square meters. The size of a *shibta* varied depending on different factors like the owner's social status. Rich peasants had large tract of land of land a *shibeta* and the reverse was true for ordinary and poor peasants. Even it also varied within the same owners. Demissie had raised three cases in which peasants designated their lands as a *shibeta* regardless of its size: 9.7 ha and 11.11 ha, 8.94 and 16.00 ha, and 1.55 and 16.22 ha.⁹⁶

In the post 1941 period, the restored monarchy had introduced different tax decrees. The first one was the 1942 proclamation. It claimed uniform rate of taxation by classifying lands in to three broad categories: cultivated land (*lam*), Semsu cultivated (*lam-taf*) and uncultivated (*taf*). By taking the sufferings of the Ethiopians during the Italian occupation period in to consideration, it reduced the 1935 tax by half. After two years, the law was revised. It was different from that of 1942 in which the amount of land tax was increased. On the other hand, it made tribute in labor illegal at the national level. In 1947, a new tax was introduced what was called education tax. Health tax was included to be paid with the land tax in 1959. After seven years a decree was

⁹⁴ Bedri Kabir, P.9.; Lemma Arity, P. 23.

⁹⁵ Lemma Arity, P.23.

⁹⁶ Demisse Gebre Michael, "Land Tenure in Bate... P.6; Informants: Abdi Reshid and Dawit Negasi.

introduced which took the rights of the *rist-gult* and *siso-gult* owners to collect tax. At the same time it ordered the cultivators of such kind of lands to pay directly to the state. In 1967, Agricultural Income Tax was proclaimed, though it failed to be put into practice due to strong resistance from peasants.⁹⁷

According to Sellashi, the above tax reforms enabled the state to increase its revenue by 44.8%. He also stated that the new taxes (health and education) had great impact on this change. He also further explained that the post 1941 period was characterized by increment of cultivable land which intern caused an increase of revenue on land tax. In 1954, the government passed an order, which made vice *Worada* government officials responsible for taxation, though it was resisted by governors of at various levels. One of the reasons raised by them was fear of burden which would affect the efficiency of administration.⁹⁸

The land in Haramaya district was grouped under *kuter gabbar*.⁹⁹ It refers to a land which was not measured. There was no uniform representation of it. Demissie indicated that a land which ranged from 3 hectares to 10 or more hectares as a *kuter gabbar land*. On the other hand Lemma stated that one *kuter gabbar* stands for one *shibeta* in Haramaya district. The land in Haramaya was divided in to five classes based on decreasing level of its fertility and tax: Classes I, II, III, IV and Class V and a uniform tax of Eth. Birr 32, 27.20, 24.00, 16.00 and 8.00 was levied respectively.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991*, (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2002), PP.192-194.; John Markakis and Nega Ayele ,p.36.; Desalegn Rahmato, P.293.

⁹⁸ Selleshi Wolde Tsadik, Land Taxation in Hararghe Province. Imperial Ethiopia College of Agriculture, Experimental Station Bulletin No.48. Dire Dawa, 1966.,P.10.WMTMC: A tax collection principle based on the agreement between Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Finance, 1954, Folder No.2110.

⁹⁹ Lemma Arity, P.47.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*; Seleshi Wolde Tsadik, P.9-11.

One of the problems of taxation in Haramaya district was that land classification was not fair. There were circumstances in which the immediate neighboring lands were most fertile and least fertile. Land classifiers favored their relatives and those who gave money to them by classifying their land in a wrong class which was followed by low tax payment.¹⁰¹

The imperial period of Ethiopia was characterized by variation of total tax between measured and unmeasured land. Desalegn stated that latter paid more tax than the former. He also further argued that these conditions made peasants to retreat from land registration.¹⁰² On the Contrary, Demissie, raised the idea that measured land owners paid less tax than the unmeasured land owners ones. He explained his idea using example. A *gasha* approximately equal to 10 *kuter gabbar* land and if the land is fertile the tax for a *gasha* was 80 birr. But according to the proclamation of a class I (fertile) land should paid Eth. Birr 32. Therefore, the total tax would be Eth. Birr 320.¹⁰³

Most of my informants stated that the area had suffered a lot due to taxation problems. Especially, they stress the unfairness of the tax assessors. In most cases they made guess estimation which resulted in unfair tax. Documents at the National Library and Archival Center indicated how the society lost trust on tax assessors:

እነዚህ ገማቾች እንኳን የመሬትን ጠባይና ሞያ ይቅርና አንድና አንድ ሲደመሩ ሀብት ማስገኛታቸውን በፍጹም አያውቁም፡፡¹⁰⁴

These tax assessors let alone knowledge on the nature of
he land and skills they could not know simple formula of

¹⁰¹ Lemma Ariti, P.47.;Gilks, p.69.
¹⁰² Dessalegn Rahmato, P.229.
¹⁰³ Seleshi Wolde Tsadik," Land Ownership in Hararghe...P.14.
¹⁰⁴ NALA: A complain from Harar(Wobera) peasants' about collection of *asrat* in cash, Date 13/04/1945.
File No.17.1.7.27.05.; Fitawrari Takle Hawariyat, P.381

one plus one is equal to two.”

Tax collectors had no excuse in collecting tax regardless of the status of peasants. The following old saying indicated this:

ደሀ የሚበላው እንጂ የሚከፍለው አያጣም፡፡

The poor may not have enough to eat but
they will surely have enough to pay .¹⁰⁵

The burden of peasants also continued during the *Darg* period. They were pressurized to be member of the producer cooperative. They were conscripted and send to war front. In addition to this they were pressurized to assist the war financially.¹⁰⁶

Land Tenure in the Post-1975 Land Reform Period

On 4 March 1975, the *Darg* introduced a proclamation which made land as a state owned property. As I had mentioned in the previous section, the imperial period was characterized by a complex system of land tenure which varied from region to region, which was difficult to compare. But this reform resulted in having almost similar land tenure system throughout the country. It ended tenancy by allowing the distribution of excess land of the land lord to the landless peasants. It was one of the major events in which a large number of people in the rural and urban areas made a demonstration in support of it.¹⁰⁷

Mulugeta Gashaw had described the implementation of the land reform in Haramaya district in the following way:

¹⁰⁵ Preparatory Committee for the founding of People of the Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Ethiopia from Autocracy to People Democracy, (Addis Ababa: N.P. September, 1987.), p.21.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*; Mulugeta Gashaw, p.13.

¹⁰⁷ Pasewang, P.13.; Desalegn Rahmato, P.321.

“In 1976, land distribution committees were formed, in accordance with the government decree, to relocate land on the basis of head counts of family members. Two hectares of land were given upon which every house hold had to pay a rent of twenty birr.”¹⁰⁸

My informants had raised an idea which was contradictory to Mulugeta’s. They stated that “without measurement, peasants were ordered to hold the land which they were cultivating.” Though they were few in number, there were individuals who possessed relatively large plots of land in which they lost it in the course of the reform. But none of my informants raised the issue of serious conflict. So, the overall implementation of the reform in Haramaya district took place, relatively peacefully. It supported Clapham’s idea that, “The 1975 land reform was carried out fairly and without a vast amount of local conflict.”¹⁰⁹

According to the 1975 decree, land would be given to peasants if and only if they were ready to cultivate their own land by themselves. The other necessity was to live within the peasant association permanently. Clapham argued that the later criterion had limited the free movement of peasants. This in turn led to population increase. He also further stated that this led to shortage of food in the rural areas. So, the expected fruits of the reform were never realized. In the 1980s, the total agricultural production declined. Finally, he concluded that the 1975 land reform decree had brought “agrarian involution” (decline of agricultural production).¹¹⁰

Education

The opening of modern school in Haramaya was an immediate post liberation event. According to the magazine of the Ethiopian Evangelical Lutheran Church, Alemayehu Tsegaye was the pioneer one. He was born at Saqota but went to Harar at the age of twenty and served the

¹⁰⁸ Mulugeta Gashaw, P.32.

¹⁰⁹ Clapham, P.70.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* Eshetu Chole. “Income Taxation in Pre and Post Revolution Ethiopia: A Comparative Analysis.” (*Ethiopia Journal of Development Research, Vol.9. No.1.1987*), p.70.

Lutheran church. In 1945, he was assigned to teach religious education in Haramaya.¹¹¹ According to my informants, the first education started in Bate under a tree. When Alemaya Agricultural College took the area, Alemayehu went to the town Alemaya, in the area where the present Lutheran church is located. Here, he built two big huts and started both religious and secular education. But it was interrupted for some time due to loss of class rooms (of huts) by fire in which its reason remained unknown.¹¹²

In 1962, a building was constructed which contained seven rooms. Then, the school (Alamaya Lutheran School) restarted to teach up to grade four and latter it was upgraded to grade six. In its early years, it was funded from Sweden but it was decreased from time to time, which forced to cover its cost from school fee. In 1990, the town municipality gave land in a new place (the present location of the school) with a total area of 2100 m² and the school was constructed. The former building became a Lutheran Church.¹¹³

The Haramaya Lutheran School is historical in that the former Vice president of the Regional State of Oromiya, and the then Finance Minister of Ethiopia, Abdulaziz Mohammed, spent his early school age there. In his interview with Dire Magazine, he told that the school has an invaluable place for his present day success. He recalled his memory in the following way:

በአለማያ ሎተራን ት/ቤት እየተማርኩ ሳለሁ በአንድ ወቅት የት/ቤቱን ክፍያ መክፈል ተስኖኝ ተባርፎ ነበር። ነገር ግን የት/ቤቱ መምህራኖች የትምህርት አቀባበልን አይተው ከፍለውልኝ ወደ ትምህርት ገበታዬ ልመለስ ችያለሁ። በዚህ አጋጣሚ አየለ ታየና ሽብሩ ማቲ የተባሉ መምህራንን ላደንቅ እወዳለሁ። በዚህ ወቅት ታዲያ በለጋ እድሜ እንደ ተባረርኩ በዛው ብቀር ኖሮ ምን እሆን ነበር የሚለውን ሳስብ ይዘገንኝኛል።¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ The Ethiopian Evangelical Luthran Chruch 50th year national Golden Jubile(Special Eddition 2010),P. 26.
¹¹² Informant: Esayas Shenker and Ayele Taye
¹¹³ The Ethiopian Evangelical Lutheran Chruch, P.27.
¹¹⁴ Dire Magazine. Information and public Affairs Beauru of Provisional Administration of Dir Dawa . Second Year, No.2. February, 2007.p.7.

“While I was a student at Alemaya Lutheran School, I failed to pay school fee (3birr) and was dismissed from school. I came back to school when my teachers, who were aware of my educational performance, paid it. I would like to use this chance to thank my teachers: Ayele Taye and Shibru Matti. I feel anxiety when I think what would be my fate if I remained out of the school.”

Haramaya became a center of higher education following the opening of Agricultural College in the area. It was established based on the agreement signed between Ethiopia and the USA on May 15, 1951. The first batch of the college students started to attend their education in the Jimma Agricultural and Technical School for two years. They also spent one year at Addis Ababa. In 1956, the building of the college was completed and start to train its students in the newly established campus.¹¹⁵

The opening of the college brought a number of advantages to the local communities. In the first place it gave job opportunities since the beginning of the construction. Later on they were also employed as daily laborers and in some office works. In addition to this, they also gained best seeds and animals as well as technical assistances.¹¹⁶

The college also played great role in providing education for the local community. One of this was the establishment of the school, named ጥገኛ ትምህርት ቤት [Dependent School] in 1956. It is located in front of the main gate of the campus called Bate.¹¹⁷ But literacy rate remained low in the area. In 1965, Demissie examined the education condition of 60 house holds of 82 children. The result indicated that only 10.8% of them attended school.”¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Silver Jubilee, *Addis Ababa University College of Agriculture, 1955-1980*, (Addis Ababa: Graphic Printer, 1980), P.15.

¹¹⁶ Informants: Ahmednur Yusuf and Yusuf Imero.

¹¹⁷ Lemma Arity, P.43.

¹¹⁸ Demissie, Gebre Michael, *Land Tenure in Bate...* P.25.

In 1969, Alemaya College Dependent School had 437 students, from which 23% of them were females. According to Lemma it gave education by payment. Grade 1-3 and grade 5-8 students paid E Birr 2.00 where as grade 4 students were expected to pay Birr 1.50.¹¹⁹

The local people gained another advantage of education when the college opened evening secondary school in 1979. As it was stated in one of the magazines, the program had the following objectives:

1. To provide an opportunity for secondary education to college employees and to others employed in the surrounding areas which otherwise would not get.
2. To provide an opportunity for senior secondary education to those in the vicinity who have completed their junior secondary work but who are unable to continue at the senior level in Harar or Dire Dawa because of financial constraint.¹²⁰

As it was stated above, the beginning of the program gave an opportunity to secondary education for the surrounding areas like Alemaya, Aw-waday, Hamaressa and Adelle. But the most challenging problem for the school was lack of transportation. Regardless of this, the school showed rapid progress in terms of enrollment. For example in 1982, the number of students increased by 100%.¹²¹

In the Dire Magazine, Abdulaziz Mohammed (recent vice president of the regional state of Oromiya) stated that he completed his secondary education in the College evening program. He also expressed that the college employed him as data collector in the research field. Then he

¹¹⁹ Lemma Arity P.30

¹²⁰ Alemayan, P.16.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

became successful in the national examination and rejoined the college as a student in the field of Agro-forestry.¹²²

The *Darg* period was a time in which a number of primary schools were opened in the district. According to the *Warada* education office archive in the period between the 1970s and 1980s, about 24 schools were built. Proclamation No. 103 of 1976, also called Administration and Control of the Schools by the People Proclamation, a school committee was set up which was responsible to supervise the administration and academic aspects of the schools. This encouraged the community to make labor and finance contributions.”¹²³

Literacy campaign was one of the programs of the *Darg* which was used to address basic education to the mass of the people. My informants told me that several of the rural community had gained the chance to learn at least to write and read. The report of the *worada astedader* indicated that, in 1988 about 895 adults of whom 760 were females, were registered for basic education within the five *kebeles*.¹²⁴

In 1986, secondary school was opened in Haramaya. This enabled the society of the town and its surroundings to get an easy access to secondary education. Many parents had economical problem to send their children to Harar and Dire Dawa, even to Bate. Especially, females gained the chance for education. Before this it was a rare case to get female secondary students to get their education complete. Through time additional class rooms were built and the school

¹²² Dire Magazine, P.11.

¹²³ Nagarit Gazata, Proclamation No.4, 9th October 1976; P.71. Informants: Ayele and Mulugeta Wodajo.

¹²⁴ HMA: A report from Haramaya Administration Office to Haramaya District WPE office, Date 26/12/88, Ref.No. 2/20/482/80. FolderNo.12/45. Haile Hagos . *Sectarian Analysis of the Ethiopian Economy (Policies, issues, Strategies and Performance)*. (Addis Ababa: Mega Printing Press, 1995.) , p.145.

enrollment capacity increased. But the increment was not proportional which resulted in a large class.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Informants: Ayele Taye and Tilahun Abera.

Conclusion

The beginning of settlement in Haramaya district was related to the Oromo population movement of the 16th Century. Due to its strategic location and historical developments, the society had active and close inter-state and intra-state relations which shaped the latter's socio-economic and political conditions of the area.

For the most parts of post liberation period of the Imperial era, Haramaya remained under *miketil woreda* level, which was the lowest and ill staffed administrative hierarchy. So, real power was in the hands of the local traditional officials like *daminas* and *garadas*. On the other hand Peasant Associations were at the bottom of the hierarchy but they had decisive power to administer the society in their locality during the military regime. The formation of PCs, SCs and villagisation seems economical in its goal but the study revealed that the real aim was mainly political which targeted to make the society under the state control.

The society of Haramaya had well developed and long aged traditional cooperation and conflict resolution mechanisms. High crimes like death were treated using the *gumaa* method which erased the feeling of revenge on the deceased side and helped them to live peacefully. The people had also a good habit of cooperation in times of difficulties. *Guzaa*, *dimishaa* and *maroo* belonged to it. They also shared their sorrow through *afoshaa*. For the society of Hararghe in general and that of Haramaya in particular, Khat is not only a cash crop rather it is still part of their culture which is closely related with their daily works and social interactions. That is why I expressed Khat as a "spice of social life" for the community.

Agriculture was the main economic activity of the rural community of the district. Sorghum, Coffee, Khat and vegetables were produced. These crops had manifested the character of

competition. Though khat earns a lot of cash, farmers continued to produce sorghum as a source of food. Vegetables were used as a means to diversify their export to ensure their cash income. But later on the society analyzed that it is possible to buy more food crops from market by cultivation of khat which was too beneficiary in terms of income. So, there was rapid expansion of khat farm throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Unlike other parts of Hararghe, where there was large number of northern settlers, the district of Haramaya was inhabited mainly by local tribes. Due to this, land was in most cases in the hands of *Daminas* and *Garadas* who worked closely with the central government. Titles like *malkagna* and *chika shum* were unknown in the area. Land fragmentation was a serious problem in the district which was accelerated by multiple inheritances. The total size of land was too small that peasants were forced to rent additional land to sustain their family consumption. Due to this most of the peasants of the area were part-tenant which worsened their living conditions from time to time.

The 1975 land reform abolished tenancy and made peasants full owner of land, which enabled them to decide the kind of crop they cultivated. But the shortage of land was not solved. Collectivization of fragmented of land was taken as a mechanism to enhance its economic validity. But it was unpopular that only few of them joined Producers' Cooperatives. So, the land reform did not bring the desired result. The farmers of Haramaya made a strategic response to resist the hard ship of the shortage of arable land by effective use of land for cash crop i.e khat.

Regardless of high state revenue from Khat export, the rural areas of Haramaya did not gain appropriate attention for infrastructural developments. Rural road net works were so low that it hindered not only the peasants but also the state to exploit the economic potential of the area.

The early introduction of education in Haramaya was the result of the emergence of institutions in the area like Alemayan Lutheran Church and Alamaya Agricultural College which opened school in the area. But the expansion of education and other social services dated back to the *Darg* era.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Archives, News Papers and Bulletins

Archives

National Archive and Library Agency (NALA)

A report from auditors (Danál Gäbrä Eyäsus and Tadäsä Asfaw) to the Ministry of Finance, Date 8/06/1974. File No. 16.1.3.07.

A letter from Harar provincial governor to Fitawerari Kefel Dadi, about the damage in the time of Italian occupation, Date 11/07/1942. Ref. No. 101.

A complain from Harar(Wobera) peasants' about collection of *asrat* in cash, Date 13/04/ 1945. File No.17.1.7.27.05.

A list of *Daminas* and *Garadas* in Gursum, August 1955. File No. 17.1.7.16.02.

A notice from Yerega Šäwa MätäläYä about Aden Khat Exporting Companies, Date 10/04/1960, Ref.No.762/59. File No. 1.1.23.11.

Wolde Meskel Tariku Memorial and Research Center (WMTMC)

A letter from Zägäyā Aṭelawe to Harar Province land Administration Office, about the land owned by former regime officials in Haramaya district, Date 2/12/ 1974,Ref.No.2/4358/15625/66.

A tax collection principle based on the agreement between Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Finance, 1954, Folder No.2110

A letter from Abedulahi Mumè to Ministry of Interior, about the responsibility *Mikiti* worada governors in tax collection, Date 14/09/1959, Ref.No.**U**/ 1384/751, Folder No.2101/44.

A letter from *Fitawrari* Bizunäh Wäledä Mareyam to Harar Bejirond office, about specification of the size of the land of *Garada*, *Malaq* and *Gabbar*, Date 25/04/1967, Ref.No.111/19634/28/60.

A letter from Fekadu Wäledä Mä sekäel; to Harar *Taklay Gizat* Office about taxation, Date 04/02/1961. Ref. No. 1793/7/53.

A letter from Zagye Atlaw to Harar Provincial Administration Office about the land owned by theformer officials of Haile Sellassie in Haramaya district Date,2/12/1974, Ref. No.2/4358/15625/66.

Haraghe Provincial Archive (HPA)

- A letter from Mustafa Mohammed to Harar Higher court, a response for charge, Date 08/04/1965
- A letter from Gerema Sisay to Hararghe *kefelahägär* Administration Office, Date 5/2/1984, Ref.No. **ሐወሀ**/3/77. Folder No. **ወሐረ** 4.
- A report from Haramaya Administration office to Harar *Awreaja* Administration office, Date 25/01/1982, Ref.No.2/85/4525/75. Folder No. **ወሐረ** 4.
- A report from Haramaya Administration Office about the population of Haramaya to Hararghe *kefelahägär* Administration Office, Date 3/11/86. Ref. No./1/67/79. Folder No.227.
- A letter from Abeduräheman Mähämäd to Hararghe *kefelahägär* Administration Office about the names of places and institutions which were related with the royal family in the district of Haramaya, Date 16/02/1975. Ref. No.2/5257/1/68. Folder No.2419.1.
- A letter from Mäkonän Ayähu to Hararghe *kefelahägär* Administration Office about the statistics of health workers in the *kifle Hager*, Date, 07/08/1980.Ref.No. 2/7769/743/9/72. Folder No.26.24.2.
- A letter from Hararghe *kefelahägär* Administration Office to the Eight Awerajas Administration Office about fertilizer, Date 11/08/1984. Ref. No. 75/1/1/1/76. Folder No. 51-60.
- A letter from Seläši Asäfaw to Hararghe *kefelahägär* Administration Office in request of Membership in the khat Association, Date 10/02/1982. Ref. No. 2/ /99/417/75. Folder No.46.

Haramaya Municipality Archive (HMA)

- A report from Haramaya Administration Office to Hararghe *kefelahägär* Administration Office, 1991.Folder No. 5836.
- A report from Haramaya Administration Office to Haramaya district WPE office, Date 26/12/88, Ref.No. 2/20/482/80. FolderNo.12/45.
- A letter from Haile Sellassie Dañäw to Haramaya Municipality about the land sold to Ethiopian Electrical Corporation Haramaya branch, Date 07/06/1966. Ref. No. 226/36/58.
- A letter from Däjènè Mäkonän to Senetayähu Habetè about the construction of the road between the town of Haramaya and the Agricultural College. Date 29/12/1988.Folder No. 20/14.
- A letter from Senetayähu Habetè to Aw Waday Urban Dwellers' Association Office about the natural damage in the Rare Chilalo Producers' Cooperative, Date 23/08/1984. Ref. No. 2/፯፩h/52/37/77.

News Papers

Addis Zemen, about corruption in the Service Cooperatives in Hararghe, 28/01/, 1981E.C.

Addis Zaman, about literacy campaign in Hararghe, 1/02/1981E.C.

Addis Zaman, about Khat as causes for the shortage of food in Hararghe, 1/02/1981E.C.

Negarit Gazeta

Proclamation No.8, 30th April 1951; Proclamation No.10, 28th June 1951;

Proclamation No.6, 29th November 1952; Proclamation No.126, 23th June 1953;

Proclamation No.7, 14th January 1954; Proclamation No.4, 30th December 1956;

Proclamation No.6, 28th February 1959; Proclamation No.4, 27th October 1960;

Proclamation No.1, 12th September 1962; Proclamation No.9 (A), 7th March 1966;

Proclamation No.9 (B), 11th March 1966; Proclamation No.4, 9th October 1976;

Bulletins

Alemayan. *Year Book of Students of Agriculture Addis Ababa University*. Addis Ababa: Progress Printing Press, 1982.

Ethiopian Evangelical Lutheran Church 50th year National Golden Jubilee Celebration, Special edition May 2010.

Dire Magazine. Information and public Affairs Beauru of Provisional Administration of Dire Dawa . Second Year, No.2. February, 2007.

Geberena bä Hararghe Bäderegit program bämädäbäna Sera bä 1977E.C Yätaqädäna Yätäkänawä Mägeläça Mäşehèt. 1977E.C.

Golden Jubilee of Alemaya University (1954 2004). Addis Ababa: Progress printing press, 2004.

Lesanä geberena. Bä meseraq Qäṭāna Geberena Lemat şehafäte Bèt ena bämasetawäqiya agälgelot bä eyä arat wäru eyätatamä yämiwṭa mäşehèt. Dire Dawa: Kedus alazar Printing press, No.1, December, 1987.

Ministry of Information. *Harar Progress and Development*. Addis Ababa: ____, May, 1963

Silver Jubilee. *Addis Ababa university College of Agriculture, 1955-1980*. Addis Ababa: Graphic Printing Press, 1982.

II. Unpublished Sources

Thesis , Dissertatations and other Materials.

- Abbas Ahmed. "A Historical Study of the City of Harar (1795-1885)." M.A Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1992.
- Abdurehman Amme. "Coffee Supply Response in the Hararghe Highland." M.Sc.Thesis, AAU, Departement of Economics, 1995.
- Alamaya Agricultural College. "Training of Farmers in Improved Soil and Water Conservation" Funded by FAO, April 14- May 4, 1985.
- Badri Kabir. "The Afraan Qallo: A History." BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1995.
- Bashire Saide. "Assessment of Indigenous Soil and Water conservation Practice in Haramaya Lake Catchment, East Hararghe." M.Sc. Thesis, Haramaya University, Department of Agriculture, 2007.
- Chalachew Arega. "Environmental Response to Demographic and Socio-Economic Change in Alemaya District Oromiya Region: A Retro Special Analysis." MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of Demography,,2004.
- Demissie Gebre Mikael. "Agrarian Reform: A Proposal to Contribute to Economic Development in Ethiopia." M.Sc.Thesis, The Ohio State University, Department of Agriculture, 1964.
- Ezekiel Gebissa. "Consumption, Controband and Commodities of Khat in Harerghe, 1930-1991." PhD Dissertation, Michigan State University, Department of History, 1991.
- Haramaya Town land Development Bureau, "Socio-Economic Conditions of Haramaya, East Hararghe," (Haramaya: 2011), p.5.
- Jemal Haji. "Economic Efficiency and Marketing Performance of Vegetable Production in Eastern and Central Parts of Ethiopia." PhD Dissertation, Swedish University of Agricultural Science, 2008.
- Lemma Arity. "A Regional Study of Alemaya Based on the Study of the Alemaya College of Agriculture". BA Thesis, Haile Sellassie I University, Department of Geography, 1969.

- Merid Wolde Aregay. "Southren Ethiopia and the Christian Kingdom, 1508-1708, With Particular Reference to the Galla Migrations and their Consequences". PhD Dissertation, University of London, Department of History 1971.
- Mohammed Hassen. "The Relationship between Harar and the Surrounding Oromo, 1800-1887." BA Thesis, Haile Sellassie IUniversity, Department of History, 1973.
- Mulugeta Gashaw. " The Cultivation and Use of Chat among the Oromos of Harar, with Particular reference to Haramaya Woreda." MA Thesis, AAU, Department of Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University, 1996.
- Nasir Ahmed. "A History of Oromo-Somali Relations in East Hararghe(1941-1991): MA Thesis , AAU, Departement of History, 2010.
- Nejim Taha. "Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Oromaya Regional state Haramaya local Government Infrastructure/ Asset management / Plan for 2013/14 Budget year." ,2012.
- Oromiya Economic Study Project Office. Haramaya District Based Development Program (Main Document). Finfinee, 2013.
- Oromiya Urban Planning Institute. "Haramaya Town Structure Plan Existing Situations Analysis and Final Draft Proposal". Fifinee, July 2011.
- Shiferaw Bekele. "The Rail way trade and Politics. A Historical Survey 1887-1935." M.A Thesis, Department of History, Addia Ababa University, 1982.
- Taye Hailu Feyesa. "Cultivation Chat and Its Impact in the Farming System, House Hold Economy and Food Availability." M.Sc. Thesis, Agricultural University Norway, 2001.
- Tamre Hawanda and yohannis Aluro," Batašaalaä yä Afärena Weha Ṭebäqa ya Aṭäqäqäme Zädéwéče yä Gäbäréwä Seletäna Program." Alemaya Agricultural College, June, 1984.
- Tesfaye Lamma. "Analysis of Cooperativisation Approach to Agricultural Development in Ethiopia, with Special attention to Producers' Cooperative. 'M.Sc. Thesis, Haramaya Uuniversity, Department of Agricultural Extension, 1995.

III. Published sources

Journals and Books

- Addis Hiwot. *Ethiopia: From Autocracy to Revolution*. London: Review of African Political Economy, 1975.
- Alemayehu Haile and (etal). *History of the Oromo to the Sixteen Century*. Fifinee: Oromiya Culture and Tourism Bureau, 2006.
- Amare Asgedom. "The Spatial Organization of the Population of Ethiopia." *Ethiopia Journal of Development Research*, Vol.9. No.1.1987.
- Amare Getahun . "Chat: Coffee's Rival from Harar Ethiopia. Botany Cultivation and Use." *Economic Botany* ,VXXVII.4, 1973.
- Amir Yunis. *Yameseraq fartoch*. Addis Ababa: Harari Regional Government Tourism Beauru, 2013.
- Andargachew Tiruneh. *The Ethiopian Revolution, 1974-1987. A Transition from Aristocratic to Totalitarian Autocracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Araba Abdella and Birhanu Amnew. "Customary Dispute Resolution Institutions in Oromiya Region. The case of Jaarsa Biyyaa. In Alula Pankhurst and Getachew Assefa.(eds). *Grass Root Justice in Ethiopia. The Contribution of Customary Dispute Resolution*. Addis Ababa: Centre francise d' Etudes Ethiopiennes, 4, 2008.
- Asmelash Beyene. "Some Notes on the Evolution of Regional Administration in Ethiopia." *Ethiopia Journal of Development Research Vol.9. No.1.1987*.
- Ayalew Kano (Trans.). *An Ancient People Great African Nation. The Oromo*. Finfinee :Oromiya Culture and Tourism Beauru, 2008.
- Ayele Kuris. *The Ethiopian Economy (Principle and practice)*. Addis Ababa: Birhanena Selam Printing Press, 2003.
- Bahiru Zewde. *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1891*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2002.

- Bamlaku Tadesse and Zigale Tamir. "The Role of Indigenous Institutions in the Conflict Resolution Mechanism." *30th Annual Research and Extension Review Proceedings*, Haramaya University, March 2013.pp.285-289.
- Birhanu Adinew. "The Economic Impact of T' Chat Production and Marketing: A Dilemma of Short Term Benefits and long run Costs." *Proceedings of the National Workshop on Khat Habit* . Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa Health Education Center, 2005.
- Birhan Gebrekidan. *Ethiopian Sorghum Improvement Project*. Addis Ababa: International Development Research Center, 1976.
- Caulk, R. "Menelik Conquest and the Local Leaders of Harar." *History of the Society of Ethiopia*. The History and Culture of the People of Harar, 1975.
- Clapham, Christopher. *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Cohn, John Michael." Revolution and Land Reform in Ethiopia. Peasant Associations, Local Government and Rural Development. Cromwell University, Center for international Studies, 1976.
- Council of Regional State of Oromiya,Beauro of Planning and Economic Development. *Physical and Socio-Economic Profile of 180 Districts of Oromiya region*. Finfinee: 2004.
- David Abner Talbot(edt). *Imperial Ethiopia Ministry of Education Year Book, 1949-1951*. Addis Ababa: Birhanena Selam Printing Press, 1952.
- Dechasa Lemessa." Khat (Catha Edulis) Botany, Distribution, Cultivation Usage and Economics in Ethiopia." Addis Ababa: UN-Emergency unit for Ethiopia, 2001.
- Demisse Gebre Michael. *Land Tenure in Bate, Alemaya Miktil Woreda, Harar*. Imperial Ethiopia College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts. Department of Agricultural Economics and Business, June 1966.
- Desalegn Rahmato. *The peasants and the State Studies in Agrarian Changes in Ethiopia.1950s-2000s*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University press, 2009.
- Eleichen, Count. *With Mission to Menelik*. London: Bed Ford, 1898.

- Emperor Haile Sellassie, *Heyewotyè ena yä Ethiopia Ermija*. Addis Ababa: Birhanina Selam Printing press, 1965 E.C.
- Eshetu Chole. "Income Taxation in Pre and Post Revolution Ethiopia: A Comparative Analysis." *Ethiopia Journal of Development Research Vol.9. No.1*.1987.
- Eyassu Mekonnen, "An Overview on the Pharmacology of Khat." Addis Ababa University, Faculty of Medicine, Health Education Center, 2005.
- Ezikiel Gebissa. *Leaf of Allah. Khat and Agricultural Transformation in Hararghe, Ethiopia, 1875-1991*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2004.
- Fellows, Perry A. Proposed Imperial Agricultural College Choice Site. Imperial Ethiopia Government Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, 1952.
- Gilks, Patrice. *The Dying Lion. Feudalism and Modernisation in Ethiopia*. London: Julian Friendmann Ltd, 1975.
- Fitawrari Takla Hawaryat. *Auto Biography (Yähywot Tarik)*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2004 E.C.
- Haile Hagos . *Sectarian Analysis of the Ethiopian Economy (Policies, issues, Strategies and Performance)*. Addis Ababa: Mega printing press, 1995.
- Haile Mikael Kidane Mariam. *Vegetable Production Guide for Eastern Ethiopia*. Haile Sellassie University ,College of Agriculture , 1969.
- Imperial Ethiopia Government Central Statistical Office. *Survey of Major towns in Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: December 1968.
- Inter-African Group Center for Dialogue on Humaniterrian, Peace and Development Issues in theHorn of Africa. *The Constitution (1931-1991)*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 1993.
- Haji and Siraj Jawaro. "Adaptation Strategies of the Communities Surrounding Haramaya Lake Towards its disappearance." *30th Annual Research and Extension Review Proceedings*, Haramaya University, March 2013.
- Kebede Michael. *Itopiyana Ena Yämeearabu selṭané*. Addis Ababa: Birhanena Selam Printing Press, 1948 E.C.

- Kohn, peter H. " Local Government in Ethiopia Prospects for the Reform in the 1970s." *Paper Presented to the Seventh Annual Conference of the African studies Association*. Department of Political Science. University of Montana, Chikago, 1974.
- Lakew Birke. *A Survey of the Marketing Method and Facilities in Alemaya District*. Haile Sellassie I University College of Agriculture, March 1974.
- Lapiso G. Dilebo. *An Introduction to Ethiopian History from the Megalism age to the Republic. Circa. 1300 B.C to 2000A.D*. Addis Ababa: Commercial Printing Press, 2003.
- Markakis John. *Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*. Oxford: The Clareadon Press, 1974.
- Markakis John and Nega Ayele . *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia*. Trento: Red Sea Press, 1986.
- Makuria Makash, Battle of Chelenqo. Addia Ababa: Mega Printing Enterprise, 1962.
- Merra Gudina. *Ethiopia: From autocracy to Revolutionary Democracy, 1960s -2011*.Addis Ababa; Champers Printing House, 2011.
- Mesfin Wolde Mariyam. *Rural Vulnerability to Famine in Ethiopia, 1958-1977*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 1984.
- Miller, Leonard. *Developing Ethiopian Agriculture*. Expermental Station Bulletin.No. 22, 1 Imperial Ethiopia College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, Haile Sellassie University, 1963.
- Miller, leonard and Tilahun Mekonnen. *Organisation and Oppression of the Three Ethiopian Case Farms. Experimental Station Bulletin, No. 35*, Haile Sellassie University College of Agriculture, 1965.
- Ministry of Culture and Tourism. *Customary Mechanisms of Conflict Resolution in Awi, Sidama and Guji Oromo*. Addis Ababa: Anal Printing Press, 2013.
- Ministry of Information Publication and Foreign Language Press. *Pattern of Progress Financial and Fiscal Policy of Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Commercial Printing Press, 1968.
- Murph H.F. *A Report on the Fertility Status and Other Data on Some Soils of Ethiopia*. College of Agriculture Hail Sellassie I University. Experimental Station Bulletin.No.44, 1968.

- Lishan Desta and Belay Kassa. "Evolution of Development-Oriented-Ideas in Ethiopia, 1900-1991." Haramaya University, Department of Agricultural Economics, n.d.
- Love, James. "Instability of Ethiopian Export Earnings." *Occasional Economic Paper.No.3*. Haile Sellassie I University, Department of Economics ,1973.
- Oklahoma State University. *The Agriculture of Ethiopia (Report)*. Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, 1964.
- Pankhurst, Richard. *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800-1935*. Addis Ababa: Haile Sellassie I University Press, 1968.
- _____. "Tribute, Taxation and Government Revenue in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century (Part I)". *Journal of Ethiopian Studies. Vol.V.No.2*, 1967, pp.37-106.
- _____. "The Harar- Dire Dawa Road and Road Construction Association." (*Historical Society of Ethiopian Conference*, 1975), P.14
- Pausewang, Siegfried. *Peasants, Land and Society. A Social History of Land Reform in Ethiopia*. London: Welforum Verlag MunchenKoln, 1983.
- Provisional Military Government of Ethiopia. *Principles for the Formation of Producers' Cooperatives in Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, 1978.
- Quenemoen, M.E. *Potential Returns from Commercial Farming Systems in Three areas of Ethiopia*. Experimental Station Bulletin N.o. 56. Haile Sellassie University College of Agriculture, 1968.
- Reijntjes, Cohen (etal). *Farming for the Future. An Introduction to Low External Input and Sustainable Agriculture*. Malasia: Macmilan, 1992.
- Retta Duguma. " Socio-Economic Condition of Peasants in Hararghe, 1941-1974." Haramaya University, Department of History and Heritage Management, 2010.
- Risoud, Bernedatte." Creation and Development of Producers Cooperatives. Innovation and Interaction. The Case Study of Tula in Hararghe Highland. Haramaya University Department of Agricultural Economics, 1988.
- Shimeket Lemma. "State Agrarian Policy and Periodic Market in Ethiopia." *Journal of Ethiopian Studies. Vol.XXXIX. No.1*. June, 1996, pp.78-106.

- Seleshi Wolde Tsadik. *Land ownership in Hararghe Province*. Imperial Ethiopia College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts. *Experimental Station Bulletin*. No.47. 1966.
- _____. Land Taxation in Hararghe Province. Imperial Ethiopia College of Agriculture, *Experimental Station Bulletin* No.48. Dire Dawa, 1966.
- Syntayehu Workeneh and Desta Beyene. "Co-existence of Hyena and Associated Impacts in Haramaya District of Eastern Ethiopia." 30th Annual Research and Extension Review Proceedings. Haramaya University, March, 2013.
- Tassama Ta'a. "Traditional and Modern Cooperatives among the Oromo." Baxter, P.T.W. Hultin, Jan. and Triulzi (eds). *Being and Becoming an Oromo. Historical and Anthropological Enquires*. UPPSALA: Nordiska Afrika institutet, 1996.
- Trimingham J. Spencer. *Islam in Ethiopia*. London: Oxford University Press, 1952.
- Tsehay Birhane Sellassie "Development of Land Tenure in Hararghe Province (1887-1935)." *History Society of Ethiopia. The History and Culture of the People of Harar*. N.d.
- Waber, Emran M. A Brief History of Harer, Its People and Its Literature. N.P.Neo Printer, 2009.
- Water Field, Gordon. *First Foot Steeps in East Africa by Sir. Richard Burton*: New York: Frederic A. Prager, 1966.
- Waldron S.R. The Political Economy of Harar Oromo Relations, 1559-1874. In North East African Studies. Vol.6.No.1-3, 1983.
- Westphal E. *Pulses in Ethiopia, their Taxonomy and Agricultural Significance*. Netherland: Wageninon, 1974.
- Zewde Retta. *Tafari Mekonnen Ena Räjimu Yäseleṭanu Guzo bä Minelik ,Bä Iyasu Ena Bä Tayitu Gizè* Addis Ababa: Central printing Press, 1998 E.C.

List of Informants

N o.	Name of Informants	Age	Place of interview	Date of Interview	Remark
1	Abdella Jimma (<i>Sheikh</i>)	78	Haramaya	15/03/2015	He was a Khat trader and member of the Ethiopian Khat Exporting Cooperatives (EKEC). He knows more about Khat in the local and international trade.
2	Abdi Imere (<i>Oboo</i>)	45	Haramaya	08/03/2015	He was born in the country side but now he is living in the town. He told me a lot about khat chewing ceremonies. He told me a brief comparison analysis between urban rural khat chewers.
3	Abdi Mohammed (<i>Oboo</i>)	51	Iffa Oromiya	09/03/2015	He deals with the elders about the socio-economic and political conditions of the area. So, he is well aware of the different ideas raised by the elders concerning the beginning of settlement in Haramaya district.
4	Abdi Reshid (<i>Oboo</i>)	88	Bate	18/04/2015	He is knowledgeable about the land tenure of pre-1975 period. Since he belongs to the <i>damina</i> family, at present time he got the chance to assume the position. He also served as a leader of PA during the <i>Darg</i> period. He is collaborative and optimist.
5	Abraham Mume (<i>Oboo</i>)	60	Ganda Taree	04/05/2015	He was a farmer but latter he was appointed as government worker. He was actively engaged in the social aspect of the area. He also served as a sales man of the service cooperative during the <i>Darg</i> period.
6	Ahmednur Yusuf (<i>Oboo</i>)	54	Hajii	02/05/2015	He is a private peasant during the <i>Darg</i> era. His father was a Khat trader for a long period of time. Now, he actively engaged in irrigation agriculture from underground water using water pump generator.

7	Aliya Usman (Adee)	92	Haramaya	26/04/2015	She is well aware of the different aspects of the Imperial period. Her father was a <i>garada</i> . She had been engaged in farming around lake Haramaya. She is also cultured women who narrate the tradition of the society in a brief and logical way. She is also too cooperative.
8	Aliyi Dawid (Oboo)	68	Ganda Taree	23/05/2015	He came from the neighboring district of Dader but lived a long period of time in Haramaya. He had a good knowledge about villagisation program in the district.
9	Ayalkebet Yiketu (Oboo)	45	Haramaya	10/03/2015	He is an experienced teacher who is a voracious reader and critical in observing the socio-economic political conditions.
10	Ayele Taye (Oboo)	53	Haramaya	12/04/2015	He is a teacher at Haramaya Lutheran School for a long period of time. His name became popular in relation with the vice president of the Regional State of Oromiya.
11	Burka Mohammed (Oboo)		Aw-Waday	03/04/2015	He was a farmer but later became Khat trader. He had a good knowledge about cooperation works among the community.
12	Dawit Negasi (Oboo)	84	Bate	14/05/2015	He had relatively excess land. He is knowledgeable about the tenancy condition in the area.
13	Dejene Belayneh (Oboo)	64	Haramaya	21/03/2015	He was an urban dweller. He had a lot of information about the development of the town of Haramaya.
14	Essayas Shenker (Oboo)	80	Harar	07/04/2015	He had a Muslim background but worked with Lutheran missionaries. He remembered the early reaction of the community towards the beginning of modern education.
15	Firomsa Abdi (Oboo)	85	Finkille	27/03/2015	He was a part-tenant. He had a good knowledge about the relationship between the <i>garada</i> and the farming community. He was also member of the Raree Chilaloo producers' Cooperative.

16	Getachew Wolde (<i>Oboo</i>)	75	Adelle	22/05/2015	He served as vice Municipality leader of Haramaya. He is a knowledgeable informant especially about the administration of the <i>Darg</i> era in the district.
17	Hassen Aliyi (<i>Oboo</i>)	59	Hajii	11/05/2015	He is a farmer who used <i>maroo</i> as a means to cultivate his land for repeated times. He also remembered the resistance of the community to take part in the villegisation scheme.
18	Hussen Beker (<i>Oboo</i>)	62	Finkile	20/04/2015	He had peasant background at his early life but later he joined government posts. He was victim the collectivisation of <i>Darg</i> .
19	Ingida Gemeda (<i>Oboo</i>)	94	Adele	08/03/2015	He experienced about the rule of the monarchy in the area. He also served as a committee of land distributor following the 1975 land reform. He is naturally talented in social skills.
20	Jafer Jaber (<i>Oboo</i>)	72	Iffa Oromia	15/04/2015	He had large plot of vegetable farm. His father was a member of Alemaya Farmers Marketing Cooperative.
21	Jemal Aliyi (<i>Oboo</i>)	67	Bate	02/05/2015	He got the chance to attend education in Alemaya Dependent School. He was also employed as daily worker in the Haramaya University. He is well aware how traditional cooperatives functioned in the society.
22	Jemal yusuf (<i>Oboo</i>)	33	Haramaya	06/05/2015	He is a youngster who had been chewing khat since the age of fourteen. He explained well the current ceremony of <i>barchaa</i> .
23	Kassahun Yitagesu (<i>Oboo</i>)	55	Haramaya	10/04/2015	He was one of the highest officials of the Workers Party in the district. He was collaborative to discuss socio-economic and political conditions of the area during the military rule.
24	Meftuha Ahmed (<i>Adee</i>)	28	Haramaya	05/03/2015	She is an expert of culture in Haramaya district culture and tourism <i>beauro</i> . She attempted to collect pieces of information mainly about traditional cooperatives in the area.

25	Ale Mohammed (<i>Oboo</i>)	81	Adele	20/05/2015	He is a tenant who worked on his father's fief. He remembered the land litigation in the area.
26	Mulugeta Wodajo (<i>Oboo</i>)	53	Haramaya	16/05/2015	He was a teacher in the Damota peasant Association. He had got the chance to observe the activity the producers' cooperative in the area.
27	Nuriya Beker (<i>Adee</i>)	28	Ganda Taree	05/03/2015	She is a farmer who gave me a lot of information about the role of women in cooperative works and other social affairs. She is too eager red to be interviewed. She also a model in living in peace and love with the family member in general and that of her husband in particular.
28	Sufiyan Usman (<i>Oboo</i>)	65	Haramaya	24/05/2013	His families had relatively large tracts of land during the reign of Haile Sellassie. During the <i>Darg</i> period he was the secretary of the youth of the district. He also served as a chair man of the service cooperative. He is too cooperative.
29	Tilahun Abera (<i>Oboo</i>)	78	Haramaya	15/03/2015	He is knowledgeable about the town of Haramaya. He remembered the administration situation of the area while the center was at Kombolcha. Now, he is an old man but he joined Haramaya TVET and studying wood work.
30	Yusuf Imero (<i>Oboo</i>)	74	Finkille	29/05/2015	He was a secretary of the Rare Chilaloo. He knows much about the expansion of khat production and cooperative .formation in the area.

Glossary of Local Terms

<i>Aanaa-</i>	District
<i>Abba ganda-</i>	Village chief
<i>Abba guzaa-</i>	The one who asked labor assistance
Abba Talaba	Hired khat buyers
Abegaz	District governor in pre-1935 Ethiopia
<i>Adee-</i>	A title equivalent to Mistress (Mrs.).
<i>Adere</i>	Harar town
<i>Adii-</i>	White
Afalame	Fee for grazing
<i>Afoshaa-</i>	Society cooperation in time of death
<i>Attoreraa-</i>	Night khat chewing
<i>Barchaa-</i>	Afternoon khat chewing
<i>Biyyee-</i>	Soil
<i>Bultee-</i>	Un -chewed khat for more than a day
<i>Buuqqee-</i>	Cal bush
<i>Chabala-</i>	Rainy season khat which has excess water and fetch low price
<i>Chayaa-</i>	Shed of tree
Chikashum	Village chief
<i>Daalota-</i>	Pale, yellowish khat
<i>Danfa</i>	Stew
<i>Danuu-</i>	God will
<i>Deema</i>	Red color
<i>Demina-</i>	Chief of tribe

<i>Dimishaa-</i>	Group labor assistance to ones parent-in-law
<i>Dogigno</i>	Abegaz
<i>Dongoora-</i>	A tool with sharp end and a stone at the top to accelerate force in time of digging
<i>Duayii-</i>	Pray for God
<i>Dukake-</i>	Night mare
<i>Doori-</i>	Military war commander
<i>Equil</i>	Half
<i>Erbo</i>	One-fourth
<i>Faraqa-</i>	Turn
<i>Gafa land-</i>	State land in Harar
<i>Ganda-</i>	Village
<i>Garada-</i>	Village chief
<i>Gasha</i>	Fourty hectars of land
<i>Guzaa-</i>	un-reciprocal labor assistance
<i>Gurrachaa-</i>	Black
<i>Haddara-</i>	Un-harvested <i>Ureta</i> for about six months
<i>Hashewa-</i>	Clay soil
<i>Hirta-</i>	Share cropping
<i>Hojja-</i>	a traditional drink made from husks of coffee and milk
<i>Ijia banaa-</i>	Morning khat Chewing
<i>Irbuu-</i>	Made an oath
<i>Jagol</i>	A wall of Harar
<i>Jazba-</i>	Inactive mood
<i>Jarib-</i>	Measurement of land in which a <i>jarib</i> is equivalent to a land cultivated by two oxen in a day

<i>Jimaa-</i>	Khat
<i>Kabira-</i>	A title used by religiously educated individual
<i>Kakabi</i>	Khat brokers
<i>Kashaa-</i>	A food eaten by farmers at the farm
<i>Kishifii-</i>	A filler of khat chewing session made to revitalize the exhausted by work
<i>Koti-</i>	A unit of land measurement in the area, ten <i>kotis</i> averaged about 324 square meters
<i>Kutre gabar-</i>	Tax payer of unmeasured land
<i>Lega</i>	River
<i>Lem</i>	Cultivated land.
<i>Lem-taff</i>	Semi-cultivated land
<i>Luluu-</i>	One mouth chewed khat
<i>Malkagna</i>	Government officials, which was equivalent to <i>damina</i>
<i>Manguddoo-</i>	Elder
<i>Mankot-</i>	A land taken by the state due to the failure of paying tax
<i>Maroo-</i>	Group work in shift
<i>Mencha-</i>	Long handle knife which is primarily used to cut sorghum
<i>Miraaza-</i>	Inherited land
<i>Miraaza bassu</i>	To inherit a land
<i>Mirqaanaa-</i>	The state of euphoria
<i>Nus-shibeta-</i>	Half shibeta
<i>Oboo-</i>	A title equivalent to Mister (Mr.)
<i>Oyiru-</i>	Garden
<i>Oyana</i>	One-fourth
<i>Qaajjmaa-</i>	Torn plant

<i>Qacheroo/chira</i>	Low quality khat
<i>Qalad</i>	Land measurement
<i>Qeefara-</i>	Red
<i>Rabsaa-</i>	Distributor
<i>Rayya Anbaa</i>	Neutral party
<i>Rist-gult</i>	A hereditary right on land which was given for higher officials
<i>Sagleen-</i>	Nine in number
<i>Siso-gult</i>	a land given to the balabats.
<i>Semon</i>	Church land
<i>Shibetta-</i>	A term introduced by the Egyptians during their occupation to designate plot of land varying size privately held by families.
<i>Siso</i>	One-third
<i>Taf</i>	Uncultivated land
<i>Takzina-</i>	A ball of khat in the mouth
<i>Tamassuk-</i>	Land registration state document in Harar
<i>Taziya-</i>	Mourning
<i>Uratta</i>	Long tender leave
<i>Ulee-</i>	A stick of wood
<i>Waqf Akli</i>	A land donated by family
<i>Waqf Kahyru</i>	A land given to a religious institution
<i>Wodaja-</i>	A religious ceremony by the name of the deceased
<i>Zabadu-</i>	Dark-brown sandy clay soil
<i>Zaka</i>	Charity

47 ॐ: ॥ ५२: १ ३०:

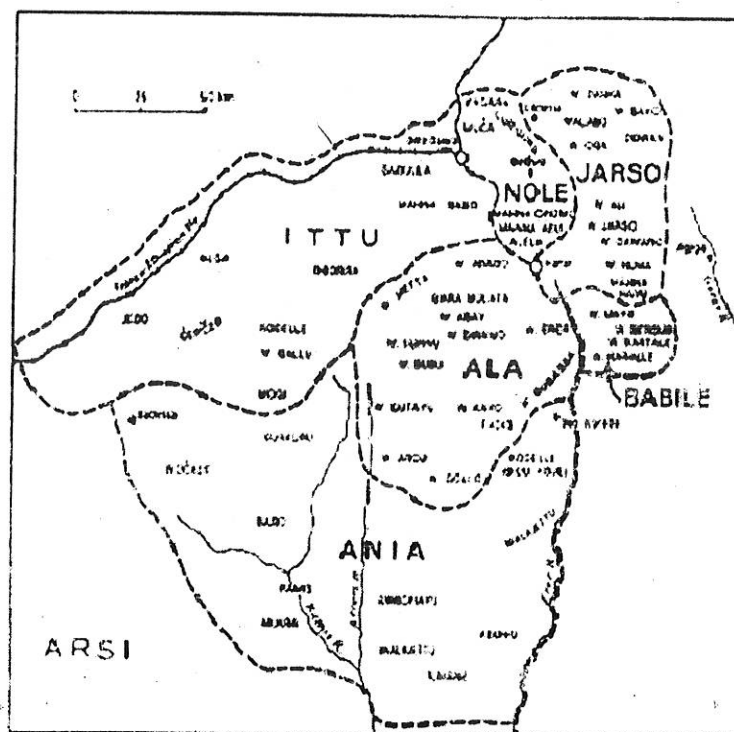
[illegible]

-120-

Appendix - II

History of the Oromo to the Sixteenth Century

Map 7: The Eastern [Oromo]



ጥያቄ = ፊር / ማረ : ገ. ም.

ማመልከት =

ከክቡር : ያገር : ግዛት : መረከብ :-

ከዲስ : ከበባ :-

ክቡር : ሆይ :-

ቻርነት : አገዳጅነት : መጠን : ያሆነ : የግርማዊነት ቸው : መልካም : ረቀቅ :
ሆኖ = ጭንቀት : ሃገራቸው : የምትከበርበት : የምትታረሙበት : ሕዝባቸው : በአው-
ቀት : በሀገራት : የሚያድግበት : የሚፋፋበት : ቅን : ገጠማ : በማደራጀት : በመረ-
ዳም : ገላው : ታሪካዊ : ሥራቸው : አቅድ : የመንግሥት : ዋና : መሃረ : ያሆነ : አራሽ :
ሕዝባቸው : ከመልካም : በርነት : ነፃ : አወጡት :-

ገዢ : ግን : በማወቅ : ይሁን : ገላው : አገሩ : በደቡብ : አዲስ : የተሰጠው : አ-
በቀዳዳሪዎችን : ከልክ : ያለው : ጭቆና : በማድረግ : አስመረጥን :-

ደህንነት : ምንም : በሙሉ : አመዘዘዘ : ገዛ : ገዛ : ወረቀት : ቀላም : የሚረዱ :
በሆንም : ከሙሉ : በገፍተው : አገሩ : አገራችን : ገዛህ : አስከፋካገ : እናመሰግናለን :-

ክቡር : ሆይ : /

አቶ : ሐረርዳዊ : (ወበጭ)

- 1/ - ምረቅ : አገጣጠሙን :-
- 2/ - በየጊዜው : መንገዱ : አገራችን :-
- 3/ - ጭነት : እንዲሆን :-
- 4/ - ቤት : አገር : አገራችን :-
- 5/ - በአገሩ : ገዢ : (ማለት) ከአገር : የገባ : ጥማር : ሞያ : በማደል : መሪነት : ከአገር :
አገር : አገር : ሁሉ : ያው : አገራት : ተገምግሟል :-
- 6/ - ደክሞ : ግምት : አገራችን : በፍሬ : ሊሆን : በቅጣት : ነው :-
- 7/ - ደህን : ሊሆን : በአገር : ነው :-
- 8/ - አገራት : ጥማር : አገራችን : የመሪነት : ጥሪ : ሞያ : ደቀር : አገሩ : አገር : አገር :-
ራሱ : ሁሉ : መስጠት : ቸው : በፍሬ : ሆኖ : አገራችን :-
- 9/ - አገራት : መገጥሞት : አገራችን : በአገር : አገር : ገንዘብ : አገር : አገር : አገር :-
ውም : አገር : የመገንዘብ : መገንዘብ : ገንዘብ : ገንዘብ : አገር : አገር : አገር :-
ገንዘብ : ሥራ : ተገንዘብ : ተገንዘብ : ያለ : መስጠት : በፍሬ : በፍሬ : በፍሬ : አገር :-

/

ገጣ - በሐማራ = ሲያገዝብ = በሐሳብ = መስጠት = ሂሳብ = ሐሳብ = መሆኑ = ድንጋጌ = ፈልገን =
ጨቅ = በበርን =

10/ - ገዢህ : በዓ.ክ. ክፍል : 19 = መንግሥት : ሰነድ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ክፍል : ክፍል :
ከዚህ ቀን ጀምሮ : ተገቢ :

በጥሩ ክፍል : ዓ.ዓ.ክ. = 32 ፊልገን :

በከፊት : " " 18 ፊልገን :

በሐሳብ : በሐሳብ : ገጣ : ገጣ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

በሐሳብ : በመንግሥት : በመንግሥት : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

11/ - የመንግሥት : ሐሳብ : በሐሳብ : የመንግሥት : ክፍል : ሐሳብ :

ገጣ : ክፍል : ዓ.ዓ.ክ. = 40 ፊልገን :

ከዚህ " " 8 " ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

12/ - ገዢህ = በሐሳብ : በሐሳብ : ክፍል : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

ከሐሳብ : የመንግሥት : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

በሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

የመንግሥት : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

13/ - በሐሳብ : የመንግሥት : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

በሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

የመንግሥት : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

ፊልገን : በሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

በሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

የመንግሥት : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

የመንግሥት : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

የመንግሥት : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

በሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ : ሐሳብ :

ከሀያተ አን ሙሀር ከሣ ወረብ ወርቦው በከበርና በጸናጸል
ወበጋናውን ገለጹ ። ከነዚህ ከሀያተ በከገራ ገዛው በራስ ጋሪ
ላይ አቤተታ ለጥቀረብ የውጭ ፄጌ ከሀያተ ናቸው ። አቤተታቸው
ራስ ጋሪ በውገዛት ለቤተ ክርስቲያን የተሰጠውን ሥርዓት አፈረብ
በገን ዓጢኦ ነበር ። ከሀያተም የጊዮ የነበረው ሥርዓት አገዳሪና
የበጭናላቸው ደስ በሏቸው ተሰቡ ።

ደኻዝማች ተፈሪ ወገንን ከባሕር ስለ ሙሳናቸው ።

44 የሐረርጌ ገዢ ደኻዝማች ተፈሪ ወገንን በዚህ ዓመት በሐረ
ጣያ ባሕር የበጥሙት አደጋ በደረሰባቸው በጋላ ድነው ከባሕር
ወጡ ። የነገሩም አባጋን አገደላቸው ነው ።

ባለቤታቸው ወይዘሮ ሙሳን አሰሩው አናታቸውን ወይዘሮ ስሊን
ሚከሊለን ለጥየት ስለረለጉ ወደ አዲስ አበባ ለመጣት በሐረር
ተነሡት ገዛ ጁረው ነበር ። ነገርን ³⁰ ~~ገዛ~~ ¹⁹⁰⁷ ~~ገዛ~~ ገ.።
በከከለ የገ በፊት ሐረጣያ ደርሰው በባሕሩ አጠገብ ከሄዱት ወ
ረር አደረጉ ። ደኻዝማች ተፈሪ ወገንም ከርባቸውን ለመሸጥት
ወጥተው ከጠረው ነበሩ ።

አጭፍ ኢያሱ ከሁገ በፊት ወደ ሐረጣያ ወጥተው ባሉ በባሕሩ
ላይ ሸርሸር ያደረገውን አገዳጅ ጸልባ በሆኑት ነበረና ደኻዝማች
ተፈሪ በጸልባው ሸርሸር ለጥለት ስለረለጉ በከከለ የገ በጋላ
በፀሐፍት በጋላ በጸልባው ተሳፍረው ከባሕሩ ገቡ ። የዘፀ
ጥ በጋላ ስም ከዚህ ተጥሎ ያለው ነው ።

ፊታውረሪ ጋሪ ሥላሴ ዓባይነህ

አባ ተስሩ የደኻዝማች ተፈሪ የነፍስ አባት

የደኻዝማች ገብረ ወልደ ዮሐንስ አልፍኝ አስከልካይ

ልጅ ቢዳነ ጥርያም ጣገያዘጃልአልፍኝ አሸከር

ልጅ አስጦረ አልፍኝ አሸከር

አቶ አዳለ ሥጥም የሐረጣያ ሆኗል ሹም

አባ ባሙኤል ወልደ ከሁገ ፈረገሣዊኛ የጢያስተር ባታላቢድ ቴስ

ልጅ ዘርዌህን አሸኑ አልፍኝ አሸከር ።

~~አቶ አዳለ ሥጥም የሐረጣያ ሆኗል ሹም~~

~~አቶ ዳዊት የሰራተኛ ሆኖ ለሰራተኛ~~ በሕገ አቋርጦው ከጣዶ
ደረሱና በባሕሩ ዓር ለዓር ያለውን አርሻ ገብኝ። ገብኝ ተነ ከፈጸሙ
በኋላም በጀልባው ተሳፋሪው ወደ መጠነ ስሙሰሱ ከባሕሩ መካከል በደረሱ
ጊዜ ጀልባው አርጌ ነበረና ቀዳዳ አውጥቶ ውሃ ጣስገባት ጀመረ። በደ
ኹም ቀዳዳውን በመሰረብና በልብስ አጭቶ ተፈጸሟል ውሃውንም በባርጌጣ አዳጦ
ለፋ አያፈሰሱ ገዛክቸውን ተጠሉ። በባሕሩ ዓር ወደ ነበሩትም በደኙ
ለአርዳታ ደረሱልን ቤት የጥሪ ድምፅ አሰማቸው ነበር። ነገር ነገ ስለ
ርሕተት ለሰውዎቻቸው ሊረዱዎቻቸው አልቻሉም። ስለዚህም ገዛውን በዚያው
ዓይነት የጥለው ወደ ዓር ለመድረስ ተቃርበው ባሉ ቀዳዳው በፍቶ ውሀ
በብዛት ስላስገባ ጀልባው ወዲያው በጠመ።

45

በባሕሩ ዓር የነበሩት በደኙ የጀልባውን መስጠት በተለከተ ጊዜ
ዋነተኛ የሆነ ሁሉ ደኅዝማኝ ተፈሪን ለጣዳን አየተወረወረ ወደ ባሕሩ
ገባ። ደኅዝማኝ ተፈሪ በፊታውራሪ ኃይለ ሥላሴ ዓባይ ነህና ለአርዳታ
በገቡት ዋናተኞች ብርታት ከመስጠት ድነው ከባሕር ወጡ። በጀልባው ከ
ነበሩት በዘጠኙም በደኙ ፊታውራሪ ኃይለ ሥላሴ ዓባይ ነህና ለጅ ዘርዘሁን
አሸቷ ብቻ ቢደት የቀሩት በባተ በባሕሩ ውስጥ ሰጥመው ዋተ። አንዲህም
ከወጪ ለአርዳታ በገቡት በደኙ ሁለት ሰጥመው ቀሩ። አንድ ከጉሻም የ
መጣ የራስ ኃይሉ መላከተኛ ቢሆን፤ ሁለተኛውም ከደኅዝማኝ አብርሃ አር
አያ ተልቦ የመጣ በው ነው። የጭፍቶ ረባ በጣገሥተ በጥናተኛ አየተ
ፈለገ ከባሕር ወጥቶ ወደ ቤተ ክርስቲያን አየተወሰደ ተብረ።

46

ደኅዝማኝ ተፈሪ መኮንን ከባሕር አንደወጡ በውነታቸው ከሩኛ ደ
ከቶ ነበረ። ይከተረ ዚርቦስ የተባሉ አንድ ገሪካዊ ሰው ወይዘሮ መ
ነንን ለመሸኘት ከሰረር መጥተው በአጋጣሚ አዚያው ሥፍራ ስለነበሩ በሕ
ከቶና ረድተዋቸው ከቶ ተረፉ። ከዚያም በኋላ ወደ ሰረር ከተጣ ወሰ
ደዋቸው ገጂቱን ታውቶና ድነው ወጡ። ወይዘሮ መነንም ወደ ሸዋ
ለመሄድ የጀመሩትን ገዛ ትታው በሰረር ቀሩ።

8

x

x

x

40651

266:

no 6677

8925 545:2744:47107:00307107:9731147:0228160:

Formulae: $\sin A = \frac{a}{b}$, $\cos A = \frac{c}{b}$, $\tan A = \frac{a}{c}$

मिहस ०५५५: ५५५५

From left to right: 1. 40:

සැලකීම: 43067

გო/მ. ლ. რამ; ა. ზ. გოგოშ

[illegible]

നാൾകടൽ: നീനിയോളം: കരി: ഒഴുക്കു: ശാശൻ: നീനിയോളം:

How long? 6 hrs.

Sample: 6789; P789m-7254.

6705: 876R99

1826

የግምት ገጽ ቁጥር 9900 የሰበሰቡ ግምት ስጦታ: ከም

80104: Нормы: ИПЧЕА. 20.

ከከግግር	ከከግግር	ከከግግር	ከከግግር	ከከግግር
12.00 - 4	8.00 - 4	6.00 - 4	4.00 - 4	0.25 4

ARGO. ARGON: #26. 176666: US: 1817. 7C:

[illegible]

Q. E.g., $\phi(\phi(0)h_5, \delta)$

монитор SE ф3: 1414400, 90.

609: 72H444444:

1/2 db b

၇၈၈၄၄: ၀၀၃၇၇:

$\log_2 = \log_{\frac{1}{2}}$



ደህ: የኢትዮጵያ: ንጉሠ: ነገሥት: መንግሥት:
የእርሻና: የሚካሄድ: ፕላንት:
ኩ ኤ ጽ:

ዘበ: ኢትዮጵያ: ዕድገት: የሚከፋፈልበት: ሀብት: የሚጸግበት:
ን: ዘንድ: ካርቆ: አሳቢው: መሪ: ከግርማዊ: ቀዳማዊ: ኃይለ: ሥላሴ:
ንጉሠ: ነገሥት: ዘኢትዮጵያ: ሐኪና: ተሠርዶ: በጽኑ:
ፊቃደቸው: ተመርቶ: ተቋቋመ:

ኤዘ: ሐንድ: የተፈጸመው: የፓይንት: ፍር: ጸረክተር: በነበረት:
ኤዘ: በደቡብ: ሐንድ: ሆኖ: ለፊት: መከላከል: ምክር: በኢትዮጵያ:
ንጉሠ: ነገሥት: መንግሥት: በዩ. ኤስ. ዲ. ስቴትስ: ኤፍ:
ፊት: መከላከል: ያለው: ጉዳት: የወጸጸ: መተግበር: ተጽግኖ: ነው:
ከፍተኛ: የርሻ: ትምህርት: ቤት: በግርማዊ: ቀዳማዊ: ኃይለ: ሥላሴ:
ሠ: ነገሥት: ዘኢትዮጵያ: በ፳፯ኛው: ዘመን: መንግሥት: ተቀው:
በ1950 ዓ. ም. ተመርቆ: ተከፈተ:

THE IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN COLLEGE
OF
AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL ARTS
IS DEDICATED TO THE WELFARE OF THE
PEOPLE OF ETHIOPIA. THIS INSTITUTION
OF LEARNING WAS CONCEIVED AND BROUGHT
INTO BEING THROUGH THE VISION AND
LEADERSHIP OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY
HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA.
CONSTRUCTION OF THE COLLEGE WAS ACHIEVED
THROUGH FRIENDLY COOPERATION BETWEEN
THE GOVERNMENTS OF ETHIOPIA AND THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND WITH THE
INSPIRATION AND ADVISEMENT OF THE LATE
DR. HENRY G. BENNETT DIRECTOR OF
POINT FOUR FOR THE UNITED STATES.
DEDICATED BY HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY
HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA
DURING THE 27TH YEAR OF HIS REIGN
IN THE YEAR OF 1958 A.D.

Appendix VIII



Ф.Т.С. : 686

[illegible]

ጠቅላይ ጸሐፊ ጸሐፊ

下界:

+0761

ከገቡር፡፡ ሠራተኛዎች፡፡ ገንዘብ፡፡

የገር፡ ግዛት፡ ማደብቅር፡ ዋና፡ ደራሽነት፡

ገዢው ለመገንባት ጥረት ማድረግ አለበት።

[illegible]

11月30日 14:08 12-5 办办 办办办办 办办办办 办办办办 办办办办

የቀረበ አመራጽ ግዛት-ገምስቱ ዳመቅ መኪን-ጠላቅያጦ

400. አገር፣ አካመኖሩን፣ በማክበር፣ አመለካከቱን

44 11/13/13



007770 0.7
 000000 0.7 18.1.25
 10.11.27

16.

Appendix IX

କିନ୍ତୁ ଏହା ସତ୍ୟ :

[illegible]



79

ΦΥΤΕ *Y. B. 2/2/21/22/9516*
No.

አዲስ : አበባ : ግንቦት 13 ቀን : ፲፱፻ 67 ዓ. ም :

የኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ ዴሞክራሲያዊ ጠቅላይ ል.ጋ.ጋ.ዊ ጠንግብ ሥልጣን
ETHIOPIAN PROVISIONAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT

Addis Ababa 19

የፖ. ሣ. ቁ. }
P. O. BOX } 5707

ሰልክ : } 11 30 00
TEL. }

ጥያቄ፡- በሰላሳ ሚሊዮን ሳንቲም የሚጠጋ የጥሬ ምርት

ለኢትዮጵያ ጊዜያዊ ወታደራዊ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር

የፖሊስ ሪፖርት ጽ/ቤት

አዲስ አበባ

የዋናው ኦዲተር መዝገብ ቤት

РЭН. ПТС МУ14/14

№ 14/9/67

በነሐተ ከጃታ ፓሪፖሊስ ቦታዲያና በገበረ አበርቻቸው ላይ ስለሚሰጥ የወገንነት ገንዘብ \$1,120,014.99 ለገደ ሚሊዮን አገድ ወተ ምያ ገዢ አሥረ አረት በር ከዘመናዊ ዘመናዊ ባንክ / ጉዳይ ከኢትዮጵያ ጊዜያዊ ወታደራዊ ወገን ሥት ዋና አዲተር የመርዕረው ሪፖርት ለናንተ ሲተርበ ለኛው በተገር መሀ 14/11 ሚያዝያ 17 ተገ 1967 ዓ.ም የደረሰን ሪፖርት ይጠቀሳል፤ አጥሪያቸው በአስቸኳይ ለሀገር ተርበው ፍርሳቸው ከታዩ በኋላ የወገንነት ገንዘብ በአስቸኳይ ገቢ አገዳሚ አናስታውቃለን።//



7A077

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

አገራችን አጠቃላይ

~~ku / 1000000~~ :

*የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ጊዜያዊ ፡ ወታደራዊ ፡ አስተዳደር ፡ ደርግ

1875

$$KTS_4 : KOT :$$

மு.க.ம.ந.க.பி

(Handwritten notes in Armenian)

Area of Land owned
By Fifty-nine Farmers in Bate, Harar 1965

Appendix XI

Farmers Code No.	Total No. of Fragments	Total Area in Hectares	No. of Fragments	Under Self-cultivation Area in Hectares	Leased Land No. of Fragments	Area in Hectares	Covered No. of Fragments	Area in Hectares
2	3	3.809	3	3.809				
5	1	1.910	1	1.910				
11	3	2.115	3	2.115				
13	4	4.036	3	2.704	1	1.332		
17	5	10.230	2	7.253				
18	3	1.917	3	1.917				
20	4	1.407	4	1.407				
24	4	4.303	4	4.303				
25	1	0.667	1	0.667				
27	3	0.841	3	0.841				
31	4	4.183	4	4.183				
32	3	2.355	3	2.355				
47	7	0.892	7	0.892				
60	5	1.130	5	1.130				
61	1	1.390	1	1.390				
62	3	2.895	3	2.895				
63	3	0.851	2	0.563	1	0.288		
70	3	1.804	3	1.804				
74	3	1.079	3	1.079				
75	6	3.264	6	3.264				
76	2	1.697	1	0.240	1	1.457		
84	3	2.462	3	2.462				
87	2	0.623	2	0.623				
90	10	2.141	6	1.380	3	0.742		
92	1	1.516	1	1.516			1	0.019
94	1	0.530	1	0.530				
97	5	3.046	5	3.046				
100	4	3.079	4	3.079				
104	5	0.790	5	0.790				
105	3	1.554	3	1.554				
106	4	2.135	4	2.135				
107	4	3.900	4	3.900				
117	11	5.235	8	3.721	3	1.514		
118	3	2.169	3	2.169				
121	7	2.195	7	2.195				
125	10	1.302	10	1.302				
132	1	0.082	1	0.082				
133	3	0.688	3	0.688				
232	1	3.171	1	3.171				
136	2	5.754	2	5.754				
139	3	2.502	3	2.502				
143	5	1.092	5	1.092				
155	5	0.819	5	0.819				
151	2	1.142	2	1.142				
161	6	2.011	6	2.011				
164	1	1.181	1	1.181				
181	3	1.681	2	1.216	1	0.465		
182	1	2.160	1	2.160				
187	4	0.850	4	0.850				
190	4	1.328	3	1.179	1	0.149		
192	6	4.425	4	3.602				
197	8	3.019	6	1.630	2	1.389		0.821
218	3	3.630	3	3.630				
222	3	1.778	2	1.140	1	0.638		
223	1	1.959	1	1.959				
228	1	0.719	1	0.719				
241	1	1.237	1	1.237				
251	14	7.546	8	3.838				
262	3	2.499	3	2.499				
Total 59 Farmers	225	136.725	225	121.331	10	3.708		



CHAMBERLAIN

53/13/62
100 6 47 1963 9/10

JULY 860794 744 9479 QJ TOS

9 10 11 12

[illegible]

Mel

[illegible]

63
 71.9
 6
 1000000
 448: 245
 1000000

Feb
11/11/11
10/11/11
10/11/11
2/11/11

51136
62-61-1

December 22, 1988

Comrade Sintayehu Habte
Alemaya City Council Chairman
Alemaya

Dear Comrade Sintayehu:

Engineer Takle Abraham has written the attached letter to help him facilitate the construction of the Alemaya - Bate road. He has indicated that requests have been made for the removal of off-placed houses telephone and electric poles, but he pointed out so far nothing has been done. While I earnestly requesting you to facilitate the operation of the road construction in your area of concern, I would like to inform you Alemaya University of Agriculture will not be responsible for any delay of the construction and the consequences it bears therefrom. By copy of this letter I am soliciting the utmost cooperation of concerned authority to take the necessary measures.

"Ethiopia Tikdem!"

DEJENE MAKONNEN (Dr.)
PRESIDENT



cc:
Alemaya Woreda WPE Committee
First Secretary
Engineer Takele Abraham

Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom right of the page, including dates like 12/27/88 and various initials.



የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝባዊ
የተሰማራት ዲሞክራሲያዊ
የሰነድ ማህበረ ሰነድ

ተባብሮ የሚገኝ የፌዴራል
መስከረም 23, 1977

አዕጋ ቀን ከሰዓት ሰዓት

አወጣጥ ቀን ሰዓት ሰዓት

በረራ ቅላሉ ሁሉ ገምገማ ሰዓት መፍረስ
ሙሉ በሙሉ የሕግ ሰዓት መፍረስ
አመልካች ሰዓት ሰዓት መፍረስ
የተሰማራት ዲሞክራሲያዊ
የሰነድ ማህበረ ሰነድ
አወጣጥ ቀን ሰዓት ሰዓት

አወጣጥ ቀን ሰዓት ሰዓት

የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝባዊ
የተሰማራት ዲሞክራሲያዊ
የሰነድ ማህበረ ሰነድ

አወጣጥ ቀን ሰዓት ሰዓት

03/11/77

Handwritten signature

Appendix XV

136

Appendix XVI

A/Araddaa	T/L	M/Barnoota	A/Araddaa	T/L	M/Barnoota
Finqillee	1	Finqillee	Dir/Oabso	45	D/qabso
Q/Daraba	2	Q/darrab		46	Simbille
Ku/Haroo	3	Biyyoo	Kar/Daadaa	47	K/dada
	4	Kurroo		48	Qacuu
	5	D/Jaalloo	Aumaraa	49	Aumaraa
	6	Biqilltu	Q/Qajima	50	Q/Qjima
Amumma	7	Amuuma		51	Dasoo
Bacqee	8	Baccaqq	G/Qirixxe	52	D/Qilxuu
	9	A/Qallo		53	G/Qirxxe
Xinqqee	10	Xinqee	M/Gamachu	54	Odajanat
	11	Guutoo		55	Sh/kalid
Ifa/Baatee	12	I/Baatee		56	I/Gudina
Haaqaa	13	Diddimt		57	Hundane
F/Lencaa	14	Horoo	I/bal'inaa	58	GO/shriif
	15	T/Lencaa		59	Marsuu
Damota	16	L/amboo	Qer/Sh/kalid	60	Q/Sh/kald
	17	Daamota		61	Maayaa
T/Gabbisaa	18	H/jituu	Nagayaa	62	Hamares
	19	Hajjii		63	Nagayaa
Ad/Walataha	20	Waacuu		64	Burqaa
	21	A/Walta		65	Al-Najaha
	22	B/kumee		66	G/daree
Ifa/Oromi	23	Baallaa	Mad/Bal'ina	67	Qarsahalo
	24	Quubsaa		68	C/Jalala
B/Gadaa	25	Caleysa	Addele	69	Adeele 1-8
	26	Yubdoo		70	M/Jalala
Qorkee	27	Qorkee	Addeellee	71	Sad: 2ffaa
	28	I/Bal'ina			
Har/Adii	29	Har/Adii			
Ugaaz	30	Ugaaz			
Ha/Fillaa	31	Ha/Fillaa			
	32	Subalee			
	33	Saqaa			
Adu/Baatee	34	A/Baate			
	35	Karraa			
Go/Callaa	36	Utuluu			
	37	Madditu			
Go/Salaama	38	Gobbee			
	39	Cafee			
Qar/Gatata	40	Q/Gatata			
	41	Birraa			
a/Tarkanfi	42	K/Tarkan			
	43	Aliyoo			

2005

1863/95/2000

1998

1989/95

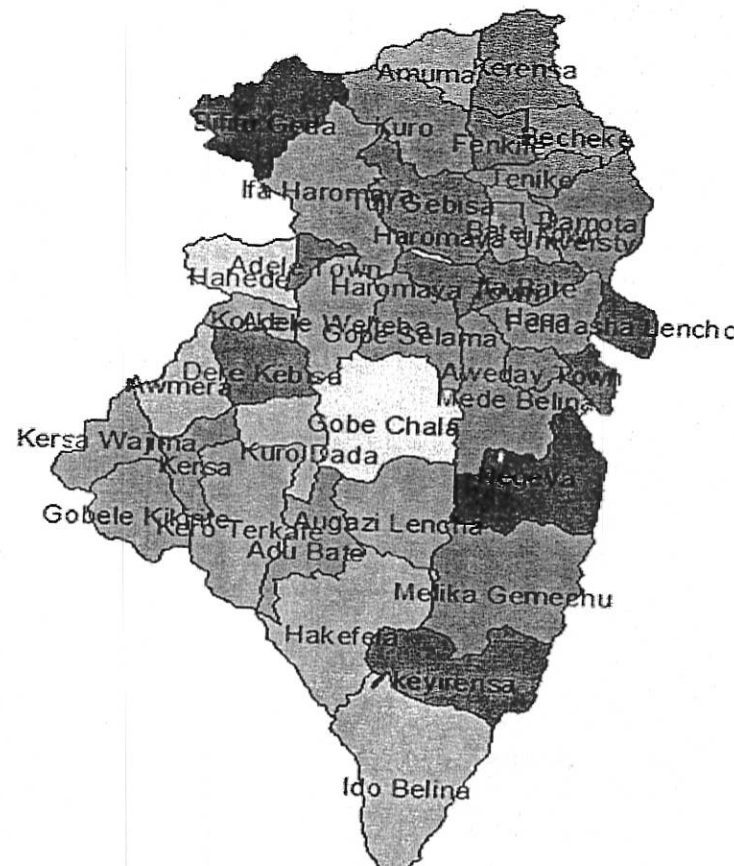
M/ Araddaa	T/L	M/Barnoota	M/ Araddaa	T/L	M/Barnoota
Finqillee	1	Finqillee	Dir/Qabso	45	D/qabso
Q/Daraba	2	Q/darrab		46	Simbille
Kul/Haroo	3	Biyyoo	Kar/Daadaa	47	K/dada
	4	Kurroo		48	Qacuu
	5	D/Jaaloo	Aumaraa	49	Aumaraa
Amumma	6	Biqilltu	Q/Qajima	50	Q/Qjima
Bacqee	7	Amuuma		51	Dasoo
Xinqqee	8	Baccaqq	G/Qirixxe	52	D/Qilxuu
	9	A/Qallo		53	G/Qirxxe
Ifa/Baatee	10	Xinqee	M/Gamachu	54	Odajanat
	11	Guutoo		55	Sh/kalid
Haaqaa	12	I/Baatee	I/bal'inaa	56	I/Gudina
F/Lencaa	13	Diddimt		57	Hundane
	14	Horoo	Qer/Sh/kalid	58	GO/shriif
Damota	15	T/Lenca		59	Marsuu
T/Gabbisaa	16	L/amboo	Nagayaa	60	Q/Sh/kald
	17	Daamota		61	Maayaa
Ad/Waltaha	18	H/Jituu	Mad/Bal'ina	62	Hamares
	19	Hajjii		63	Nagayaa
Ifa/Oromi	20	Waacuu	Addele	64	Burqaa
	21	A/Walta		65	Al-Najaha
B/Gadaa	22	B/kumee	Addcelllee	66	G/daree
Qorkee	23	Baallaa		67	Qarsahalo
	24	Quubsaa	Addcelllee	68	C/Jalala
Har/Adii	25	Caleysa		69	Adeele
Ugaaz	26	Yubdoo	Addcelllee	70	M/Jalala
Ha/Fillaa	27	Qorkee		71	Sad. 2ffaa
Adu/Baatee	28	I/Bal'ina			
	29	Har/Adii			
Go/Calla	30	Ugaaz			
	31	Ha/Fillaa			
Bo/Salama	32	Subalee			
	33	Saqaa			
Ar/Gatata	34	A/Baate			
	35	Karraa			
Tarkanti	36	Utuluu			
	37	Madditu			
	38	Gobbee			
	39	Cafee			
	40	Q/Gatata			
	41	Birraa			
	42	K/Tarkan			
	43	Aliyoo			

9276 659

3-Sch. 1162

EXHIBIT 100-100

MAP OF HAROMAYA WEREDA



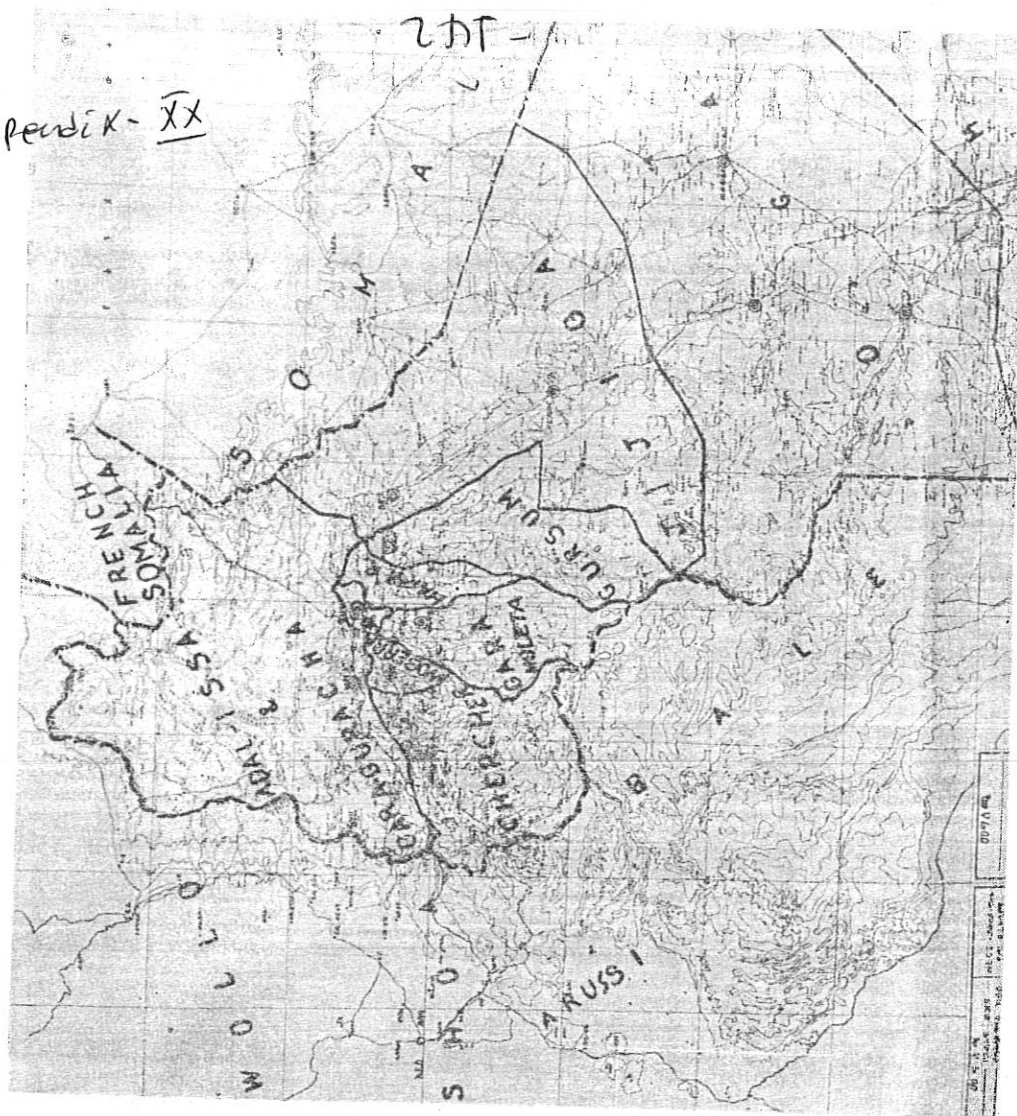
- Haromaya_w.shp
- Adele Town
 - Adele Welteha
 - Adu Bate
 - Amuma
 - Augazi Lencha
 - Aweday Town
 - Awwmera
 - Bate Town
 - Becheke
 - Bifitu Geda
 - Damota
 - Dere Kebisa
 - Fendasha Lencho
 - Fenkile
 - Gobe Chala
 - Gobe Selama
 - Gobele Kikirite
 - Hahede
 - Hakefela
 - Haqa
 - Haromaya Town
 - Haromaya University
 - Ido Belina
 - Ifa Bate
 - Ifa Haromaya
 - Kerensa
 - Kero Terkafa
 - Kersa
 - Kersa Wajima
 - Korke
 - Kuro
 - Kuro Dada
 - Mede Belina
 - Melika Gemechu
 - Negeya
 - Tenike
 - Tuji Gebisa
 - keyirensa
 - Haromaya_p.l.p.shp

1:162400

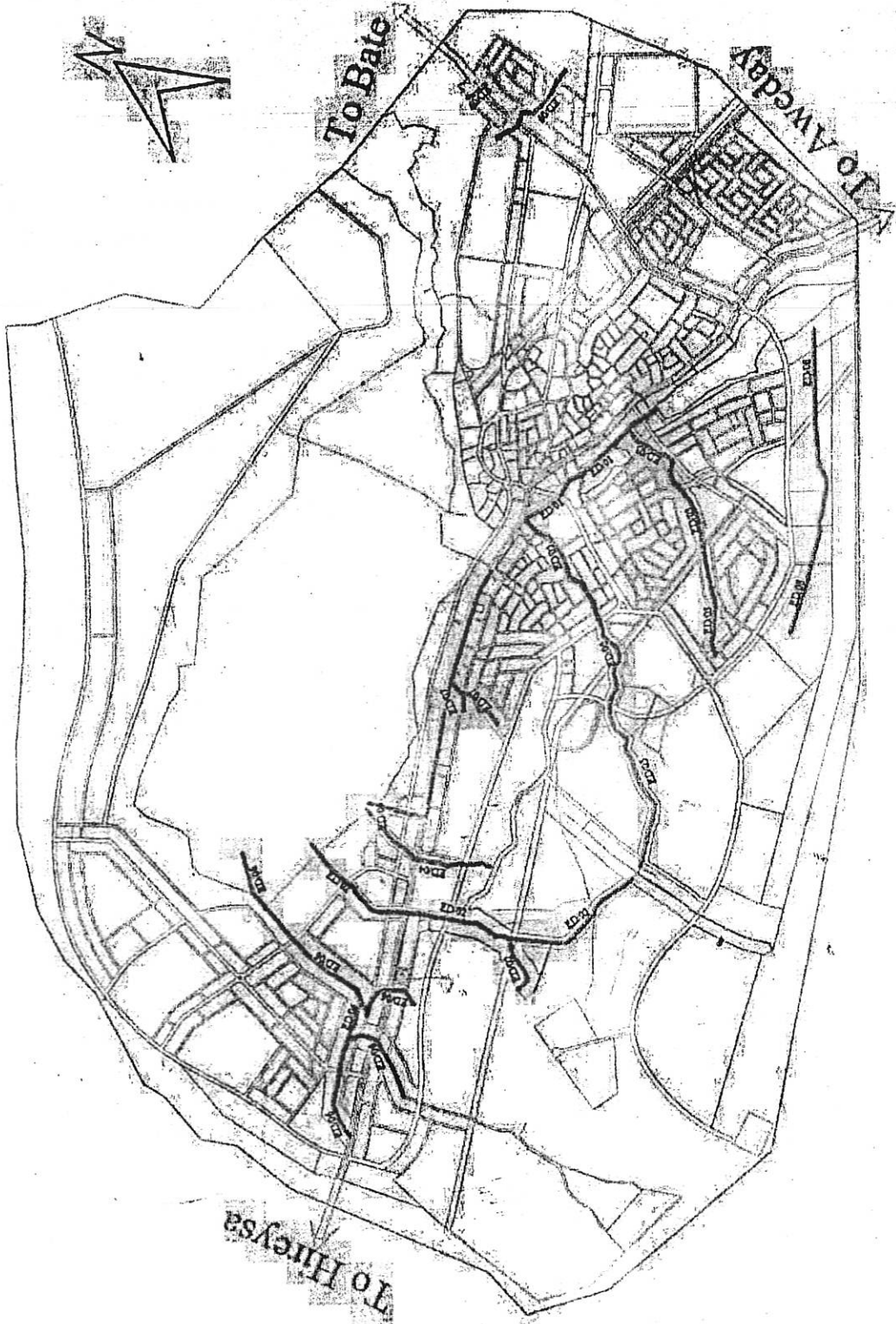
1/1/1/1

Appendix - XVIII

Appendix - XX

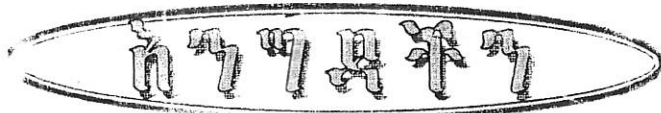


Map 3: Map of Hararghe Province in 1960s.



Details locations of Gorge drainage line that affect the town

Appendix - XXII



አቶ አብዱላዚዝ መሐመድ ኢብራሂም
የድሬዳዋ ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደር ከንቲባ

ከኦሮሞ ብሔረሰብ አርሶ አደር ቤተሰብ ከአባታቸው አቶ መሐመድ አብራሂም እና ከእናታቸው ወ/ሮ ነፊሳ ኢብራሂም በ1965 ዓ.ም በምስራቅ ሐረርጌ ዞን ሐሮማያ ወረዳ ሐሮማያ 01 ተባሉ የተወለዱት አቶ አብዱላዚዝ መሐመድ ኢብራሂም በወርሃ ሐምሌ 1998 ዓ.ም በድሬዳዋ ጊዜያዊ አስተዳደር በከፍተኛ አመራር ከንቲባነት እያገለገሉ ይገኛሉ። አቶ አብዱላዚዝ መሐመድ ባለትዳርና የ3 ልጆች አባት ናቸው። ድሬ መጽሔትም እንግዳትን አድርጋቸዋለች።

—ልክም ገይታለሁ—

በመሆኑ ትልቅ ድካምና ልፋትን አላልፈለሁ።

አሁን ለደረሰኩበት ማህበራዊ ደረጃ ምክንያቶች መካከል አንዱ ነው ብዬ አምናለሁ።

አቶ አብዱላዚዝ፡ አባቴና እናቴ ከጋብቻቸው በኋላ ለረጅም ጊዜ አብረው አለመኖራቸው የአባትን ጣዕም ለማጣጣም አልታደልኩም። ያሳደገችኝም እናቴ ወ/ሮ ነፊሳ ነች። እናቴ ገና እኔን የመጀመሪያ ልጄን ወልዳ አራሰ ቤት እንዳለች አባቴ ጥሉን ከቤት ወጥቶ በቤታቸው ልዩ አካባቢ 02 ተባሉ ሌላ ኑሮ የጀመረው። ነብስ ካወቅኩም በኋላ አባቴን የማወቅ ዕድል ቢገጥመኝም እንኳን እሱ እንደ አባት እኔ እንደልጅ ፍቅር ለመለዋወጥ ተርቶ እስከጭራሹ አንጠያየቅም። የእናቴ የአባቴ ፍቅር መንስኤ እናቴ ልትነግረኝ ስለማትፈልግ እስካሁን የመለያያቸው ሚስጥር ልረዳው አልቻልኩም። ይህ ምናልባት በግል ሕይወቴ ይህ ነው የምለው አሉታዊ ተዕዕኖ ባይኖረኝም ለኔ ከልጅነት ጀምሮ ያለ እስገራሚ ገጠመኝ ነው።

ቤተሰቤ በገዛታች የኑሮ ደረጃ ላይ ያሉ ነበሩ። የኢኮኖሚ መሠረቱም ግብርናና በአነስተኛ ገንደ እንቅስቃሴ ሲሆን እኔና እናቴን ጨምሮ ከ2 ወንድሞቼና ከ3 እህቶቼ በጠቅላላው ሰባት የቤተሰብ አባላት በዚሁ አንተዳደር ነበር። የነበረን ማህበራዊ ግንኙነትም በተመለከተ በተለይ እናቴ በጣም ታታሪና ልጆቿን ለወግ ለማዕረግ ለማብቃት ያላት ጥረት በተጨማሪ በአካባቢው ከሚኖሩ የተለያዩ ህብረተሰብ ክፍል የነበራት ሰላማዊ ፍቅርና ክብር እጅግ ጤናማ ነበር። እኔም የበኩር ልጅ እንደመሆኔ ታናናሾቼን ለማስተዳደር ከእናቴ ጋር

አቶ አብዱላዚዝ፡ በርግጥ የሰው ልጅ የልጅነት ባሕሪውን ታላላቅቻቸው ከእደገ በኋላ እንዲህ ነበርከ፤ ይህን አይነት ልጅ ነበርከ፤ ወዚሁ ሆኖ ሲያወጡ መስማት የተለመደ ነው። ታዲያ እኔም የአካባቢው ነዋሪ ህብረተሰብም ሆኑ እናቴና ዘመዶቼ መልካም አመለካከትና ተግባሩ እንደነበርኩ ሲያወጡ እስማለሁ።

በወጣትነት እድሜዬ ከተለያዩ ብሔር ብሔረሰቦች ጋር ተግባብቼ ለመኖር ችያለሁ። ለዚህም መጥቀስ የምፈልገው ሰው እስከሆነ ድረስ አክብሮት መስጠትና ተከብሮ መኖር እውቃለሁ። በሌላ በኩል በአካባቢው የሚነገሩ አሮሚፋ፣ ሐረሪና አማርኛ ቋንቋዎች ተናጋሪ በመሆኔ ከሁሉም ብሔረሰቦች ጋር የመግባባት ችሎታው ነበረኝ። አሁንም ከፈጣሪ ቀጥሎ ከሰው ልጅ በላይ ክብር የምሰጠው ነገር የፅም። ለዚህም ይመስለኛል ተግባብቶና አብሮ የመስራት ልምድ ያዳበርኩት።

ነገር ግን በወጣትነትም ሆነ በተማሪነቴ ጊዜ የምጠላውና ጓደኝነቴን ለማቋረጥ የሚያስገድደኝ ምክንያት ቢኖር ለማወቅ ማጥናት፣ መማር፣ ዕውቀትን ለማሳደግ ዕውቀጠኝነት ከሌለው ወይም የትምህርት ጊዜን በመሻማትና ለወጪ የሚዳርጉ አመል ወይም ሰብ ተጠቃሚ የሆነ ጓደኛ በመጀመሪያ ጊዜ ከነዚህ ድርጊቶች እንዲቆጠብ በተደጋጋሚ ጥረት አደርጋለሁ። ይህ ካልተሳካ ግን ያለኝ ጓደኝነት ፍፁም አይቀጥልም። ይህ ደግሞ

አቶ አብዱላዚዝ፡ በልጅነቴ በርግጥ እግር ኳስ መጫወት በጣም አወድ ነበር።ጥሩ ተጫዋች ግን አልነበርኩም። በተቀረው እድሜዬ ደግሞ ለተፈጥሮ ያለኝ ስሜት ለመግለፅ ይቸግረኛል ብል ማጋነን እይሆንብኝም። ማናቸውንም ተከሎች መንከባከብና አካባቢ በተከሉች ተውበው ማየት ያስደስተኝ ነበር።

አሁን ባለሁበት ደረጃም ቀደም ሲል በአካባቢያችን ሐሮማያ ሀይት ስለነበረም ይመስለኛል ዋና ልምድ ያደበርኩት። አሁንም መዋኝት አወዳለሁ። ከዚህ በተጨማሪ ማንበብ፣ ዘወትር አዳዲስ ነገሮች ለማወቅ መጣርና ማህበራዊ አገልግሎት መስጠት፣ ጊዜን በሥራ ማላለፍ እጅግን ያረካኛል። እነዚህ ላይ ታዲያ የመጀመሪያ ዲግሪዬን በደን ሳይንስ ለማግኘትና አሁን ላለሁበት የአገልጋይነት ኃላፊነት ለመብቃት የቻልኩት በዚሁ ውስጣዊ ፍላጎቴ እንደሆነ በርግጠኝነት መናገር እችላለሁ።

አቶ አብዱላዚዝ፡ በአካባቢያችን እንደዛሬው ትምህርት አልተስፋፋም ነበር። በአካባቢያችን ያለው ት/ቤት በሚሲዮኖች የተቋቋመ የአለመያ ለተራን ት/ቤት ሲሆን ከገና እስከ 6ኛ ክፍል በከፍተኛ የሚያስተምር ብቻ ነበር።

በላይ አልፎ መልክኛ የባላገሩን ገንዘብ እንዳይወስድበት ጠብቁ። ባላገሩ አልፎ የተባለበትን ገንዘብ ለናንተ ነግሮዋችሁ ሳትመልሱለት ቀርታችሁ ሥራውን ፈትቶ ወደኔ መጥቶ የጮኽ እንደ ሆነ ጥፋቱ የእናንተ ነውና ገንዘብ በን እናንተ ከፍላችሁ እናንተ ከዚያ ከወሰደበት ሰው ላይ ትቀበላላችሁ። ባላገርም ለአበጋዝና ለደሚናህ ሳትነግር ወደኔ አትምጣ። ለሦስቱ ዓመት በዓል ለመስቀል፣ ለገና፣ ለፋሲካ ስለ መክት ሁለት ሁለት ብር ተቀበል እንጂ ከዚህ በላይ አትቀበል።

ሐምሌ ፲፫ ቀን ፲፱፻፭ ዓ. ም. ሐረር፤

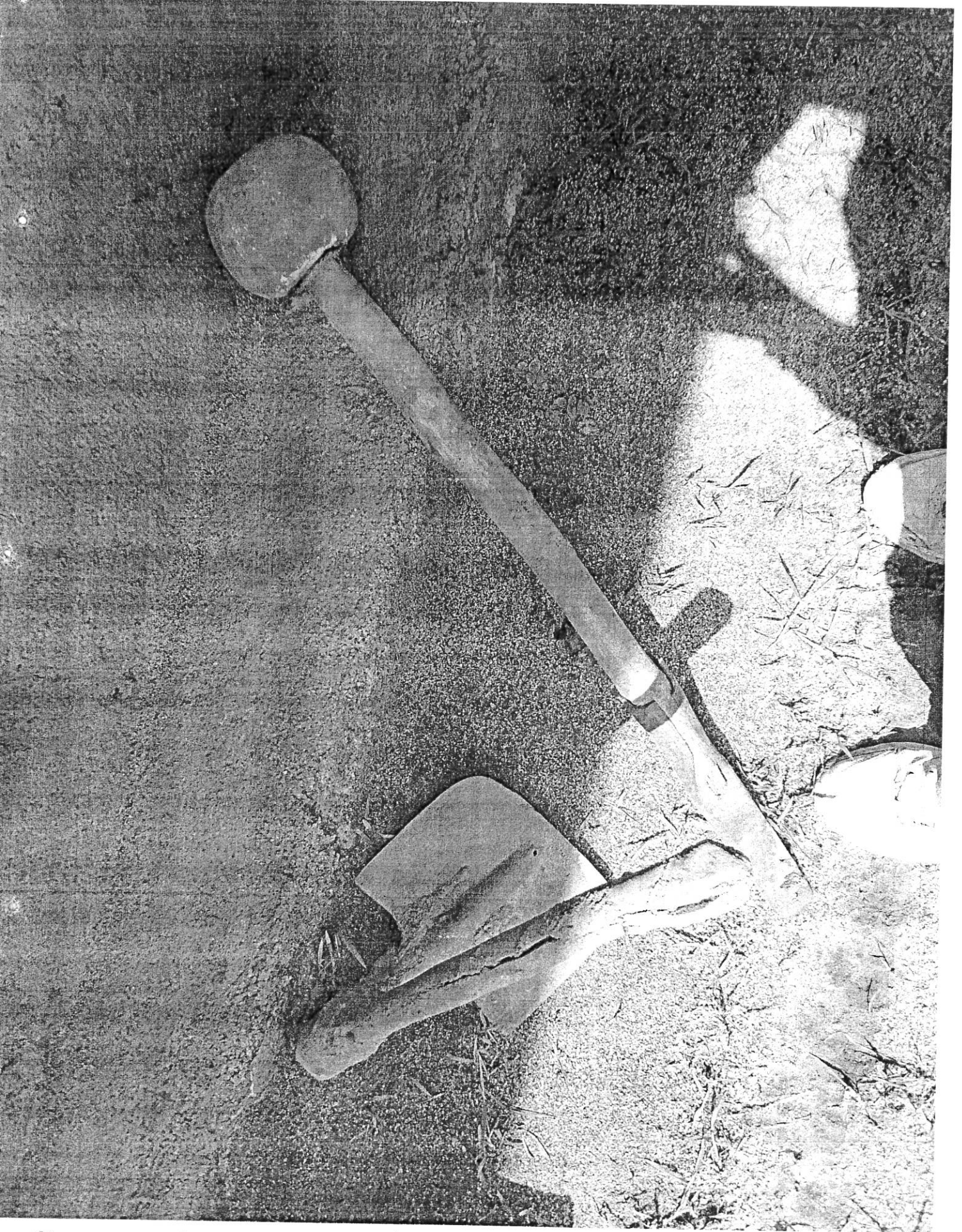
ዐዋጁም ከተነገረ በኋላ አበጋዞችና መልክኞች ምንም እንኳ ለጊዜው ደስ ባይላቸው ከጥቂት ወራት በኋላ ያስተዳደሩን ደንብ እየለመዱት ጥቅሙንም እያገኙት ስለ ሐዱ፣ ባላገሮችም ያገዘዙና የግብሩ ቀንበር ስለ ቀለላቸው ሁሉም ልባቸውን አሳርፈው ሥራቸውን ይሠሩ ጀመር።

ዳው ባሉት ሕዝቦችና በመልክኛው መካከል ሆኖ ባላገሩ ግብሩን በጊዜው እንዲሰጥ፣ መልክኛውም ባላገሩን በግብርም በሌላም ነገር እንዳይገቡዳው እንደ ተቆጣጣሪ ሆኖ የሚሠራ ነው። ምናልባት አንዳንዱ ደሚና ከጄ እስከ ፲፪ ባላገሮች ያገዛል። ገራዳ ማለትም ከደሚናው በታች ሆኖ የሚያዝዝና የሚሠራ ሹም ነው። ይኸውም ቱርኮች ሐረርን ለጥቂት ዘመን (ዐሥር ዓመት ያህል) ይዘውት በነበሩ ጊዜ ተለምዶ እስካሁን የቆየ ነው።

አባቱ አቀመውት የነበረው ያገዛዝ ደንብ ከሞቱ በኋላ እየፈረሰ በመሔዱ ምክንያት አንዳንድ አስገባሪዎች ባላገሩን በመራቱ በሚከፍለው የማር ግብር፣ ሲታግረው በማሩ ፋንታ እስከ ፲፪ ብር ይቀበሉት ነበር። ሌላም ይህን የመሰለ ለባላገሩ ጉዳት የሚሆን ሥራ ለመሥራት ጀምረው ነበርና አበጋዞቹንና መልክኞቹን ብቻ ባላገሩን ባገዛዝ አትገዱት ብለን አዘዝናቸው። ነገር ግን ባላገሩ ይኸንኑ ትእዛዝ ባዋጁ ካልሰማው ይህን የመሰለውን ግብር አልከፍልም ብሎ ለመከራከር እንደማይችል ስለ ተረዳነው ከዚህ ቀጥሎ ያለውን ባዋጅ አስታውቅነው።

ዐዋጅ

አበጋዝ የሆንን፣ በእንደራሴነት በምትገዛው አገር ሌባና ቀማኛ ጠብቅ፣ በእገሉ ግዛት ሰው ተቀማ የሚሉ የሰማሁ እንደሆነ የሚከፍለው አበጋዞ ነው። ገታ የሌለህ፣ ሥራ ፈት፣ አበጋዝ በሰጠሁት ከተማ ገብተህ ተቀመጥ እንጂ ባገር ቤት ሆነህ ባላገሩን አታውክ። በየአበጋዝነትህ ያለው መንገድ ተባላሽቶ ወጪ ወራጅ፣ ነጋዴ እንዳያስቸግር መንገድህን ሥራ፣ በሰንበት ሥራ ከዚህ ቀድሞ ክልክል ነው። አሁንም በሰንበት ስትሠራ የተገኘህ ትቀጣለህ። የማር ግብር ያለብህና ማር ያለህ ሰው ልኩን አበጋዝህ ሰጥቼልሃለሁና በዚያው ልክ ማርህን አግባ። ማር የሌለህ ግን ስለ ማሩ ገራዳ አራት ብር፣ ሽቦታ ሦስት ብር፣ ጭሰኛ ሁለት ብር፣ አረኛ አንድ ብር ስጥ። ነገር ግን ማር ያለህ ብር እስጣለሁ ብለህ ማርህን ስትሸጥ የተገኘህ እንደሆነ ማሩን በእጥፍ ትከፍላለህ። ገራዳም ሆነህ እንደ ሽቦታ ትክክል የምትገብር፣ ማርህንም እንደ ሽቦታ ሦስት ብር አውጣ። ገራዳ፣ ሽቦታ፣ ጭሰኛ፣ አረኛ፣ ካልተቸገርህ በቀር ግብርህ ማር ነውና ቀፎህን ስቀል። መልክኛም የማር እሸት አትገነካ፣ ወደ ፊትም ለሚሠራው ሥራ ሁሉ እንደ ጥንቱ ደሚናህን ይዘህ ሥራ። ከዚህም ቀድሞ «ካገር ወደ አገር ተዛወርህ እንጂ አዲስ አገር አላወጣህምና ኮቢ ባሳ አትብላ» ብዬ ባዋጅ ነግሬህ ነበር። አሁን ግን ከባላገሩ ላይ ትቀበላለህ ማለትን ስምቻለሁና ይህን ከዐዋጅ በላይ የተቀበልክውን ገንዘብ ለባላገሩ መልስ። ወደፊትም አበጋዝና ደሚና ከተደነባለት



Picture 4.2. Local Agricultural tool
source: photo by the researcher



Picture 4.3. Tiahun Mena, a 18 Years Old TVET Student at Haramaya

-147-

Source: Photo by the Researcher

Khat & Agrarian Transformations

This study has shown how independent-minded farmers cope with environmental, political and economic adversities. Government policies that centered on prescribing the strategies farmers must follow, without taking into account the views of farmers themselves, have not succeeded in bringing about agrarian transformation. It seems that Harerge's farmers have identified a successful rural development strategy. Most use their cash wealth to enter nonfarm life, but they have limited knowledge of the opportunities that are available. Policy-makers could benefit the farmers by helping them identify and invest their own money in workable, nonfarm economic activities rather than insisting on the perpetuation of smallholder agriculture. Harerge's agricultural and developmental problems cannot be solved by allocating 'land to the tiller,' for it is no longer available. The popular political motto of yesteryear, which galvanized the masses of Ethiopia into launching a radical revolution in 1974, has outlived its political usefulness, much less its practical viability as a policy choice. The only solution to agricultural problems resulting from land scarcity is what Harerge's farmers have already figured out: shift to nonfarm economies.

□ Shift to non farm economies

Appendix - XVII

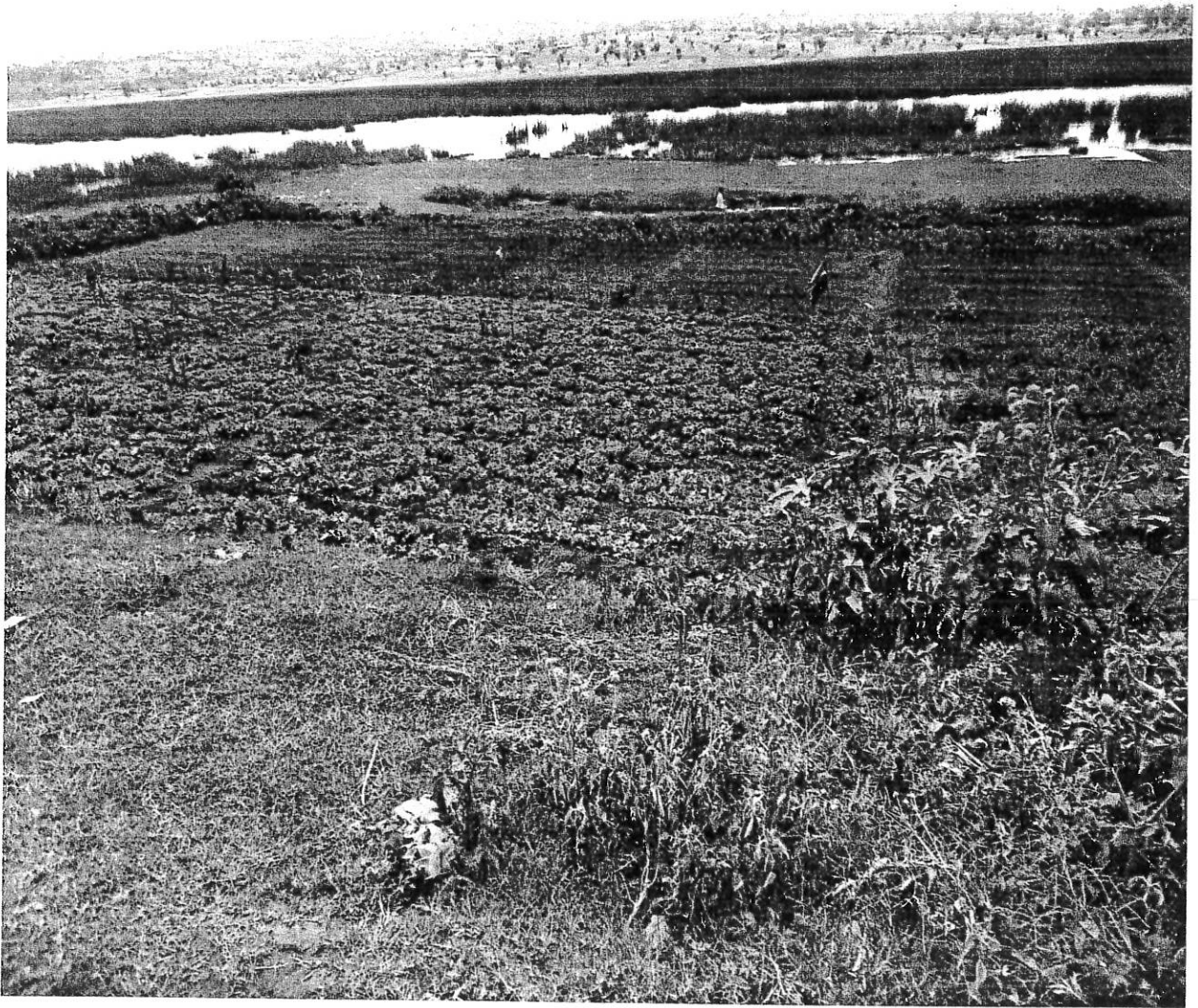
Appendix A

Coffee & khat exports from Harerge, 1936-91

Year	Coffee		Khat	
	Volume (tons)	Value ('000 birr)	Volume (tons)	Value ('000 birr)
1936	11,883	12,153	---	---
1937	7,052	12,031	15	7
1938	15,228	18,326	26	13
1946	---	---	26	14
1947	---	853	81	43
1948	---	818	204	147
1949	---	1,082	186	183
1950	---	1,088	368	246
1951	---	---	470	723
1952	---	---	768	1,44
1953	---	---	1,176	1,806
1954	---	---	1,228	5,058
1955	---	---	1,522	6,556
1956	---	---	1,618	6,996
1957	---	1,229	821	3,601
1958	---	971	1,386	1,782
1959	---	979	2,300	7,317
1960	---	---	2,149	6,900
1961	---	---	2,690	8,686
1962	---	---	3,856	10,444
1963	---	---	4,798	12,541
1964	---	---	1,966	5,051
1965	---	---	---	---
1966	---	---	799	2,170
1967	---	---	851	2,921
1968	---	---	842	3,003
1969	---	---	1,212	5,009
1970	7,238	18,897	607	1,717
1971	5,358	12,283	1,931	4,042
1972	7,964	19,384	2,751	4,267
1973	7,934	20,453	2,059	3,838
1974	6,907	21,041	2,335	5,538
1975	5,816	17,667	2,504	5,425
1976	8,420	45,046	3,381	7,808
1977	4,109	49,207	747	5,335
1978	---	---	1,062	6,625
1979	2,355	16,213	1,507	13,978
1980	3,103	25,625	1,874	19,379
1981	1,254	11,057	2,581	28,480
1982	1,072	10,654	2,824	31,067
1983	2,260	18,646	2,805	30,854
1984	2,663	17,881	2,904	32,028
1985	604	6,152	2,904	31,424
1986	659	9,695	2,699	28,348
1987	804	11,355	2,863	32,157
1988	544	6,643	2,182	20,881
1989	807	8,461	2,968	36,334
1990	1,228	15,210	2,425	31,760
1991	1,281	12,577	1,184	15,228

Source: Etikie! Gabissa, Leaf of Awa - pp. 186-187.

Appendix: XXVIII



Picture: Irrigation from Lake Haromaya

Source: Photo by the researcher



Picture: Former Recreation area near Lake Haromaya

Source: photo by the researcher

λ : XXVX



re: Former Recreation area near Lake Haromaya

Source: photo by the researcher

Appendix: Xxx



Picture: Inter-planting (Khat and Maize)

Source: photo by the researcher



Picture: Irrigation in Lake Haromaya