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Addis Ababa University
College of Social Sciences
Department of History

MA Thesis

A History of MochaAwraja, 1941-1991.

By

Kalkidan Terefe

November, 2024

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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**A Thesis Submitted to Department of Histroy, Addis Ababa University in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts in
History**

Advisor: Tamrat Wasyihun (PhD)

November, 2024

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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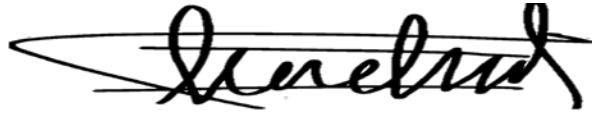
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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and it has not been presented for a degree in any other University, and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged and properly referenced.

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PREFACE

This thesis reconstructs the Administrative History of Mocha *Awraja*, 1941-1991. The discussion is organized chronologically based on three major historical events in Ethiopian history: the restoration of Imperial administration in the country in general and the study area in particular in 1941; the ascendancy of the military government to state power in 1974; and its demise in 1991.

The thesis has four chapters. The first chapter sets the background for eventual discussion of history of Mocha's in the period covered by the study. Major topics covered by the chapter include introduction to people and area (land), socio-economic and political conditions of Mocha people before and after the conquest and eventual incorporation of the area into the imperial state by the Shewan forces. The second chapter elucidates changes and continuities in the history of Mocha *Awraja* in the post-liberation period to 1974. In this regard, the chapter explores the restructuring of the administrative system together with changes in administrative personnel from *Awraja* to lower levels of government and the initiation and reaction of local elites in this process. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the forms and process of imperial land grants to various sectors of the population such as patriots, soldiers, members of the police force, civil servants, and landless and unemployed people. It also explains land reserved for members of the royal family and its administration in the *Awraja*. Moreover, the chapter discusses the measures and tactics deployed by the imperial regime to expand its resource base and/or increase its revenue through land redistribution and imposition of taxes on newly measured lands in the *Awraja*. In addition, the chapter ponders how officials maintained peace and order in the *Awraja*, the transfer of the administrative center and the response of the imperial administration of the area to social problems of civil servants in the *Awraja*. The third chapter discusses the

history of Mocha during the *Derg* in relation to the land reform proclamation and its implementation process, and the formation of peasant associations. It also explores the response of peasants to various programs of the government. The chapter further elucidates the causes, course and consequences of the 1986 uprising of Mocha peasants. The fourth chapter discusses infrastructural developments in the *Awraja* during the Imperial and Military regimes.

ABSTRACT

For so long, studies have been made on administrative history of Ethiopia with almost exclusive focus on the northern and central highlands of the Christian kingdom and the role of the Orthodox Church in state administration. The administrative history of non-Christian province of the south in general and Mocha in particular was not given the deserved attention to date. Therefore, this thesis reconstructs the history of Mocha Awraja which would contribute to redress the gap in Ethiopian historiography. The temporal scope of the study is from the restoration of the Imperial administration in the country in general and the study area in particular in 1941 and the collapse of the military regime in 1991. The study relied on the analysis and interpretation of primary and secondary sources. Archival materials originating from the imperial administration and the Derg period and pertinent academic and institutional literature have been intensively collected, interpreted and integrated into the study. Oral data collected from ex-officials of the imperial and Derg regimes and other knowledgeable informants was used to fill missing gaps and triangulate information collected from existing literature and vice versa. In this regard, some officials of the two regimes and knowledgeable informants nearest to the study events were interviewed with prepared guiding questions. In order to assure the authenticity of the research information, the sources were critically examined through crosschecking with one another. The collected data was analyzed. The study found that the centralization of imperial administration and subsequent changes in the administrative structure and administrative personnel increased the burden of the local population of Mocha Awraja in the post-liberation period. The newly appointed governors had kept the imperial hegemony over the study area through controlling natural resources and exploited the indigenous population. Among others, this led to mass discontent thereby contributing to the

outbreak of the 1974 revolution. Subsequent to the demise of the regime, the land reform of the Derg satisfied farmers with positive radical changes to the disadvantages. The research finding reveals that against the initial popular reform, the Derg launched various unpopular programs. Among others, the forced nature of villagization program in the Awraja raised peasant uprising and the government reacted brutal. Gradually, the political transformation in the globe in general and the country in particular ended the administration of the Military regime.

ACRONYMS

AEPA	All Ethiopian Peasant Association
APC	Agricultural Producing Co-operatives
AMC	Agricultural Marketing Corporation
E.C	Ethiopian Calendar
EPA	Ethiopian Peasant Association
EPRDF	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
ESBU	Elementary School Building Unite
ESLCE	Ethiopian Schools Leaving Certificate Examination
GLSC	Government Land Selling Committee
IBT	Imperial Board of Telecommunication
IDA	Illubabor Development Association
IHA	Imperial Highway Authority
MLGC	<i>Maderia</i> Land Granting Committee
MLRA	Ministry of Land Reform Administration
MoF	Ministry of Finance
MoD	Ministry of Defense
MoI	Ministry of Interior
MoP	Ministry of Pen
PDRE	Peoples Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
PMAC	Provisional Military Administrative Council
REWA	Revolutionary Ethiopian Women Association
REYA	Revolutionary Ethiopian Youth Association
RMCCC	Revolutionary Military Campaign Coordinator Committee
RPCCC	Revolutionary Production Campaign Coordinator Committee
TTI	Teachers Training Institute
WPE	Workers Party of Ethiopia

GLOSSARY

Mocha words

<i>Guudo</i>	A place where one presents offerings, to sprits
<i>Gundo</i>	A unit of local measurement of honey equivalent to four kilograms
<i>Deddo</i>	A place of sacrifice to the lord of the heaven

Amharic Words

<i>Abyotawi Wetaderawi</i>	Revolutionary Military Coordinator Campaign Committee
<i>Zemecha Astebabari Komite</i>	
<i>AbyotawiYe Mirit Zemecha Astebabari Komite</i>	Revolutionary Production Coordinator Campaign Committee
<i>Asrat</i>	Tithe
<i>Atibiya Dagna</i>	Judges at village level courts
<i>Atibiya Fird bet</i>	Local (village) courts
<i>Ato</i>	Mr
<i>Awraja Fird Bet</i>	Sub-provincial court
<i>Awraja Gizat</i>	Sub-administrative structure below province
<i>Awraja Astedader</i>	Sub-administrative structure below <i>Kifle Hager</i>
<i>Balabat</i>	Local chiefs who owned one third land with political power at grassroots
<i>Balambaras</i>	Lower administrative title in Imperial regime
<i>Bejerond</i>	Ministre of Finance and head of treasury at provincial level
<i>Bête rist Meret</i>	Land reserved for the royal family (Emperor Haile Sellassie)
<i>Chika Shum</i>	Village officials
<i>Derg</i>	Committee of a military group that ruled Ethiopia from 1941-1991
<i>Dejazmach</i>	A Politico-Military title below <i>Ras</i> and nominal governor
<i>Etege</i>	Queen, empress
<i>Edigat Be Hibrte Ye Sira Zemecha</i>	Development through Cooperative Campaign
<i>Enderase</i>	On my behalf
<i>Erbo</i>	One third of production paid to landlords
<i>Ferasula</i>	Traditional Measurement for grains, cereals and coffee
<i>Fitawrari</i>	commander of the vanguard force, a title below <i>Dejazmach</i>
<i>Fird Shengo</i>	Tribunals in <i>kebele</i> peasant associations
<i>Gasha</i>	A unit of Land measurement approximately 40 hectares
<i>Geber</i>	Tribute
<i>Gibretel Meret</i>	The practice of reverting land to the state from people who failed to pay land tax.
<i>Gimja bet</i>	A government sub-treasury in <i>Awraja</i> and <i>Woreda Gizat</i>
<i>Girazmach</i>	A Politico- Military title above <i>Balambaras</i> and Commander of the left
<i>Gizot</i>	Banning officials from free movement for wrong doing, especially plot
<i>Hudad</i>	Secret land and free labor services for income of the palace
<i>Ityopia Tikidam</i>	Ethiopia First

<i>Kebele</i>	the post-1974 names for villages
<i>Kenagzmach</i>	Title for commander of the right in warring
<i>Laga</i>	Lowest administrative level under <i>kebele</i> peasant Association
<i>Lem</i>	Fertile land
<i>Lem-tef</i>	Semi-fertile land
<i>Lielt</i>	Daughter of Emperor
<i>Liul</i>	Son of Emperor
<i>Madeira Meret</i>	Land in lieu of salary
<i>Melkegna</i>	Settler soldiers and also leader of all <i>balabat</i>
<i>Mikitil Enderase</i>	Deputy and assistant governor of the provincial governor-general
<i>Mikitil Mislane</i>	Sub-units of the sub-district administrative units
<i>Mikitil Woreda Gizat</i>	Sub-district administrative structure under the main districts (also called <i>Mislane</i>)
<i>Mislane</i>	Governor of sub-districts
<i>Nech lebash</i>	Territorial army
<i>Qalad</i>	Rope used to measure land
<i>Rist</i>	Communal birth right to land
<i>Semon</i>	Land reserved for Orthodox Church
<i>Shaleka</i>	Thousands commander (Major)
<i>Shum</i>	Appointed/assigned official to the <i>Woreda Gimja bet</i>
<i>Siso Meret</i>	One third lands left for <i>balabat</i>
<i>Tef</i>	Infertile land
<i>Talky Fird bet</i>	Highest court at provincial administrative level
<i>Tato</i>	Title for kings of Kaffa and Shekacho
<i>Tej</i>	Traditional drink prepared from honey
<i>Timber</i>	Tamp attached to the application of customers with tax payments
<i>Woizero</i>	Title for Women, Lady
<i>Woreda Fird bet</i>	Courts at Districts Level
<i>Woreda Gizat</i>	Administrative structure under sub-province
<i>Waraganu</i>	Land for grazing secretly kept for palace consumption
<i>Ye Irsha Sira Gebi Giber</i>	Agricultural Income Tax
<i>Ye Hager Astedader Denb</i>	Regulation for country's administration
<i>Ye Hager Gizat Astedader</i>	Ministry of Interior
<i>Ye Awraja Genzeb Minister</i>	<i>Awraja</i> Branch office of Ministry of Finance
<i>Kirinchaf Mesiria bet</i>	
<i>Ye Geter Meret Metekemiya</i>	Rural land use tribute
<i>Giber</i>	
<i>Ye Kifle Hager Genzeb Minister</i>	The sub country's administration Responsible Ministry of Finance
<i>Teteri Tsehifet bet</i>	
<i>Ye Mengist Meret</i>	Land owned by the government
<i>Ye Woreda Genzeb Minister</i>	<i>Woreda</i> Branch office of Ministry of Finance
<i>Kirinchaf Mesiria be</i>	

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO LAND AND PEOPLE

Geographical Setting

The people of Mocha *Awraja* (now called Shekacho) inhabited the southwestern highlands of Illubabor. They are one of the Omotic-speaking peoples of Ethiopia.¹ The present Sheka zone is one of the 17 zonal and 7 special *Woredas* of Southern Nation Nationalities and People's Regional State (SNNPR) of Ethiopia. According to the 2007, population and housing census, the Zone had 199,314 populations, of which 101, 059 were male and 98, 225 female.²

Geographically, the *Awraja* is found between 70 24'-70 52'N latitude and 350 13-350 35'E longitude. The *Awraja* has an estimated total area of 238.755 hectare which is covered by natural forest: 64,425.58 hectare is used for agricultural: 20,958 hectare, barren land that cannot be developed and remaining 30, 760 hectare are used by various land uses.³ Mocha *Awraja* is found at an altitude of 741 to 2647 meters above sea level which can be divided into three agro-ecological zones. These are cold temperature (*dega*), moderate temperature (*Woyinadega*) and hot temperature (*Kola*). The *Dega* part covers approximately 17.65% of the area. *Woyinadega* and *Kola* account 59.85% and 22.58% of the climate, respectively. The climatic condition in the region is diverse. Yeki *Woreda* and the Baro lowlands are warm, while Masha and Andracha *Woreda* (districts) are cooler. The annual rainfall reaches 1800 - 2200 mm and the temperature

¹Leslau. Wolf, *The Dictionary of Mocha (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, University of California Publication in Linguistics Vol.18 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), p.27.

²Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Population Census Commission Central Statistical Agency (CSA), The 2007 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, (Addis Ababa, August, 2010), p.50

³Sheka Zone Administration, Sheka Forest Biosphere Reserve Management Plan (2019-1019. MELCA-Ethiopia, Masha, 2015), p.22; Tadesse Woldemariam *etal.* "Forest of Sheka: Ecological, Social, Legal and Economic Dimension of Recent Land Use/Land Cover Changes Overview and Synthesis", MELCA Mahiber and the African Biosphere Network, (2009), p.7.

ranges from 24⁰c-29⁰, the reduction in the forest coverage may have resulted in the decrease of the annual rainfall and increase of the average temperature.⁴

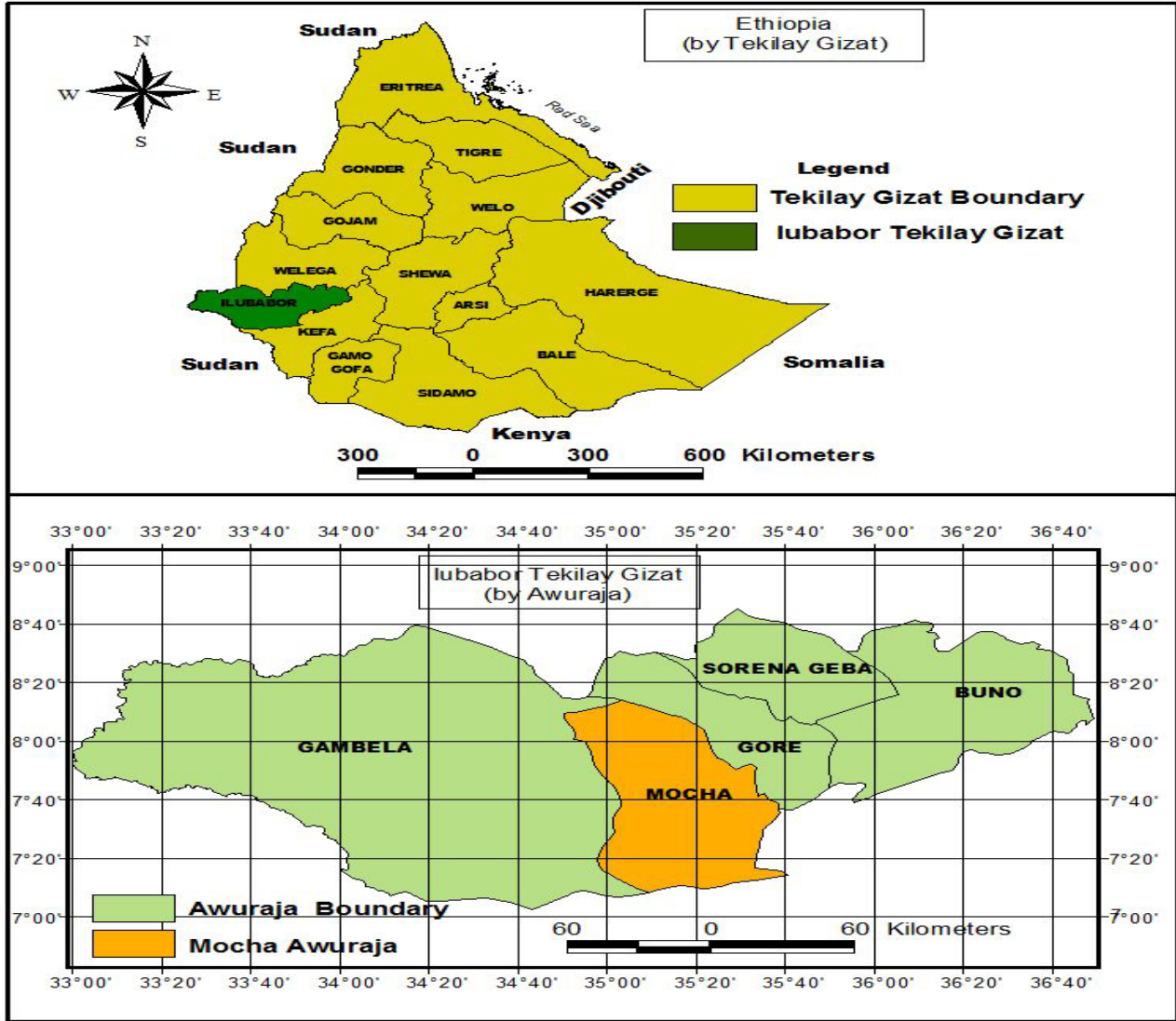


Figure 1: Map of the Study Area

Source: Extracted from GIS Data

⁴Fitsum Birhanu, "Traditional Shekacho Funeral Ceremony"(M.A. Thesis, Department of Amharic Language, Literature and Folklore, Addis Ababa University, 2006), p.58; and also from GIS Data.

Topography

Topographically, most of Sheka zone can be categorized as predominantly highland area except Yeki *Woreda* and lowlands of Baro and Ganji Rivers basins.⁵ The *Awraja's* elevation ranges from 741 to 2647 meters above sea level. Its tallest peak is centered on the mountain of Gatiba, which is located between Masha and Andracha *Woredas*. The area is known for its immense natural beauty. Offerings a unique combination of natural and cultural features, including mosaic of dense forest, sacred cultural forest, and managed forests for coffee and beekeeping. It includes bamboo thicket, wetland/ agricultural land, historical places, natural land marking including 2 highland lakes. More than 32 big rivers including Baro, Bako and Gangi Rivers, 39 natural waterfalls, 14 natural caves, and 37 Hora / mineral water bodies are, intended to be a major tourist attractions.⁶

In addition, the *Awraja's* forest includes over 300 higher plants, 50 mammals and 200 species of birds, of these at least 55 plants and 10 birds are endemic to Ethiopia. There are over 38 international unions for the conservation of nature threatened species in the region, including 5 birds, 3 mammals and 30 plant species.⁷ The people of Mocha are highly dependent on the forest and thus conflict is frequented within the community over compute of resources.⁸

Religious, wisethe forests also used as *Guudo* and *Deddo* sites for traditional worshipping and rituals. In general, the use of forest for Mocha is innumerable.⁹ In addition to its aquatic and wet

⁵ Ayele Angello, "A Socio-Cultural Survey of Shekacho Nationality" (B.A. Thesis, Department of Geography, Addis Ababa University, 1987), p.7.

⁶ Washihun Bezabih and Admasu Adrarro, "Indigenous Conflict Resolve Mechanism of Shekacho People and its role in Promoting Peace and Governance" (Department of Governance and Development Studies, Mizan Tepi University, 2022), pp. 8-9.

⁷ Sheka Zone Administration, Sheka Forest..., p.18; Fitsum, p.58.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Wubit Delelegn and Lidiya Assegid, "Indigenous institution, knowledge and their importance for forest conservation: the case of *Guudo* forest of Sheka". A research reported submitted to institute of research and

land features, Mocha forest is important for the role it plays in the protection of watershed of local and international importance in the Nile and Omo-Gibe /Lake Turkana Basins. It is also the source of big rivers such as Baro and Akobo, the main tributaries of the White Nile and Gojeb, the main tributary of the Omo River from the southwestern highland of Ethiopia.¹⁰ In addition, Mocha forest biosphere reserve has high importance for the conservation of biodiversity in the eco-region on a national and continental level.¹¹

According to Ayele Angello traditional tenure right management methods and religious importance of the Mocha people's forest management system was highly honored by the society.¹² In the community, it was normal for *Kobbo* (traditional forest tuner right) owners to be in charge of overseeing the tree in their particular *Kobbo*. Trees are acknowledged, valued and appreciated in the society young people inherit trees just as other properties.¹³

Historical Overview

Origin of the Mocha People

The Mocha people have linguistic and cultural similarities as well as a comparable historical background with the Omotic speakers or the ancient Gonga language-speaking people of Kafficho, Hinnaro, Bosha, Anfillo, and Shinasha peoples.¹⁴

community development support. (Mizan Aman: Mizan Tepi University, March 2019), pp.19-20.; Shemsu Ahmed, Traditional Beliefs and Institutions for the Conservation of Biodiversity in Ethiopia: *A Review from a Conservation Perspective. International Journal of Natural Resource Ecology and Management*. Vol. 7, No. 1, (2022), pp. 1-5.

¹⁰Fite Getaneh and Tadesse Woldemariam, Sheka Forest Biosphere Reserve Nomination Form; UNESCO MAB National Committee; (Addis Ababa, September 2011), p. 9.

¹¹Sheak Zone Administration, ShekaForest...,p.18.

¹²Ayele Angello, "Forest to Sheka People/ Social Capital Forest", 2017. This article provides insights on the roles of Social capital in the protection and preservation of nature forest in Sheka, Ethiopia.

¹³*Ibid.* Sheka zone Administration, Kobo Magazines especial edition, (Masha, 2005), p.24.

¹⁴Abebe Anno, "The Shinasha Relation with other Gonga People". *Science, Technology Art research Journals*, 2012, p.1.

According to sources, the ancestors came from Israel due to harsh persecution and lived on the Western Bank of the Abbay (Nile) River by way of Egypt. The Oromo population pressure and mobility in the 16th century, along with the region's difficult climatic conditions, later compelled them to relocate through Limmu Enarya to the south, where they currently live.¹⁵

Seleshi also supports of the Shekacho oral tradition that they have originated from the same ancestor in Israel. According to him, they were forced to leave and seek exile in Alexandria of Egypt, where there was relative peace and stability at the time, to escape the harsh persecutions that they had suffered in Israel. Latter, when hunger and social unrest began in Egypt, they also left Egypt and followed the route of the Abay (Nile) River, reaching Wonbara, western Gojjam in Ethiopia.¹⁶

Similarly, Lange has collected oral traditions pertaining to the origin of the people. According to the tradition, the people of Mocha traced their origin from Adam and Eve and from the land of Israel. The tradition further explains how the Shekacho reached in Ethiopia and formed their kingdom. The tradition reads like this:

We are descendants of Adam and Eve. Eve had 30 sons. God was with George, Michael, and ten other angels. ... God made a break in the river for us to pass through. Then we came to Gurage, Showa, Harar and other parts of Ethiopia. God then brought us to our land, which he gave us. He made the boundary the Bako River. The Shekacho lived here for a long time. They had many *Gepe-tato*. After a long time Gahochi came from Oso Ombala. His sons settled the problems of the people. One of them later became king. The

¹⁵ Sileshi Chalito, *TheHistoricalOriginoftheGongaPeople*, pp.4-6; Amare Fentaw, "A History of the Shekacho" p. 2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Wallo and the Bushasho came from Wallo, from Oso Ombala, after we had already been living here for some time. We gave the king ship. They did not come with us....¹⁷

The people called themselves “Shekacho,” but they were called by their neighbors and the imperial government “Mocha,” and their language is Mochigna. The derivation of the name “Mocha” continues to cause confusion among academics. According to Lange, the people of Mocha (now Shekacho) were given this name by the Oromo since they are the only ones who grew barley. This argument does not appear plausible and is still unacceptably wrong because the Mocha people used to grow a range of crops in addition to barley; they are mostly recognized for their enset plantations and varied farming methods.¹⁸ However, Yasin believes it is a variation of “Mocho” which translates to “Mister”.¹⁹ But in Shakinnono, the Sheka language, the term for “Mister” is Donno.²⁰ Some of my sources contended that the word “Mocha” denotes “immature (unripe) grain”. According to Ambachew, Emperor Zara Yakob gave the region south of the Gojeb River the names Kaffa and Mocha. In his view, the titles Kaffa and Mocha have reference to *Kifu* (badness) and *Mot* (death) respectively. This was mostly because it was extremely difficult for him to establish authority over the province due to the country's mountains, deep jungle vegetation, rough terrain, and the tenacity of its people in fighting the invading army.²¹

On the other hand, some of my sources link the phrase to a famous military leader named “Doo Mochi,” who valiantly resisted the Oromo force's expansion during the reign of King Bedi Gawochi's reign (1670-1740). The name “Mocha” is also associated in Mocha oral traditions

¹⁷ Lange, *The History of Southern Gonga*, p.99.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.96.

¹⁹ Yasin Mohammed, “A Historical Study of the Land” p.7.

²⁰ Leslau, p.27.

²¹ Ambachew Kebede, *From Entoto to Baro* (Far East Trading Private Company, Addis Ababa, 2005) p.131.

with “spikes”. This is mostly because the area has favorable climate and sufficient rainfall, which enable the locals to cultivate a wide range of grains and other agricultural goods. As a result, the area is year-round lush and productive.²²

Currently, the area and its indigenous population go by the names Sheka and Shekacho, respectively. Another name for their language is Shekinoono. The elders of the Shekacho ethnic group preferred to be referred to as “Shekacho” instead of “Mocha,” and they asserted that this gave the name legitimacy. According to the oral tradition of Shekacho people, the word Shekacho is related to "Shekaa'cho," which in Shekacho language means "great number."²³

Territorial Expansion and Conquest of Mocha

Since the second half of the 19th century, King Menelik of Shawa had been expanding to the south, southwest and southeast of the country. Subsequently, the victory of *Ras* Gobena at the battle of Embabo in 1882 expelled the Gojjam force from the southwest region. The triumph enabled Menelik’s forces to unilaterally expand into this resourceful region. Then, Menelik as *Negus* of Shawa unilaterally gallop over the south-western region and incorporate the region one after other.²⁴ *Ras* Tessema Nadew, one of the known generals of Menelik, led the Shawan army into incorporated Guma through peaceful means in 1882. After getting peaceful submission of Abba Jobir the ruler of Guma, *Ras* Tessema crossed the Diddesa River in its upper course of the

²²Informants: Ambassador Abera Bechro, and *Ato* Zeleke Sachachew, "Doo Mochi" It is a Shekinoono phrase that is used as a prefix before a noun to refer to people as a nickname equivalent to Mr.

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴ Teshale Tibebe, *The Making of Modern Ethiopia: 1896-1974*, Red Sea Press Inc (Lawrenceville, 1995), pp. 39-42; R.A. Caulk, “Territorial Competition and the Battle Embabo: 1882” *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*. Vol, 13.No.1, 1975, pp.65-66. Elamin Abdel Karim, “A Historical Study of the Shawan-Amhara Conquest of the Oromo and Sidama Regions of the Southern Ethiopia: 1865-1900” (PhD Dissertation, History Department, Khartoum University, 2009) p.15.

territory of *Abba Kutsal* of Gachi.²⁵ He also peacefully incorporated the adjacent *Buno Bedele Woreda*. *Ras Tessema* pushed forwards Illubabor after incorporating the attempted resistance of the Chora people. Above all, in the process, modern Ethiopia Empire building *Ras Tessema* faced relatively strong resistance from the *Fatansh Illu* (the last king of Illubabor).²⁶ The internal struggle for power among the rulers of Illubabor gave *Shawan* soldiers the opportunity to control. While other rulers continued to curb the advance of the *Shawans* army, others like *Bungul Wachila* helped with *Shawan* soldiers and directed them to control the area under the supremacy of the victors. *Bungul Wachila*, who had stayed in power and became rival of the *Fatansh* and joined the soldiers of *Ras Tessema* in the accordance of the promise.²⁷ *Bungul* played an essential role in the process of incorporation of *Mocha*. With the support of the collaborators and armed with modern weapons of the developed countries, organized in the regiment and war experienced armies, the *Shawan* soldiers defeated the traditional armed and less organized *Fatansa Illu* in 1883.²⁸

Initially, the *Shawan* forces camped at *Gore* which had military strategic importance.²⁹ He made the *Gore* military camp the base of furthering the Ethiopian empire to the adjacent, frontiers pacifying rebellious people of the region and against the external threats to the Ethiopian empire building *Menelik* delivered modern firearms imported from the external world. *Ras Tessema* stored the weapon at the military station of *Gore* to facilitate the empire building in the adjacent and peripheral regions and as far as the *White Nile* in the present south Sudan to confront against

²⁵Taye Nemomsa, "The Motis of Illubabor" (B.A Thesis, Department of History, Kotebe College of Teacher Education, Addis Ababa, 1997) pp.26-27.

²⁶Bahru, "Relation between Ethiopian and the Sudan" pp.24-25; Taye, pp.26-27.

²⁷Taye, *The Motis of Illubabor.*, p.28.

²⁸*Ibid.*; Yasin Mohammed, "A History of Illubabor Ca, 1889-1991" (PhD Dissertation, Department of History, Addis Abba University, 2009) p. 39.; Informant: Ambassador Abera Bechro.

²⁹ Kurimoto Eisei, *Narrative and Outsider: The Historical Experience of the Anywaa of the Western Ethiopian*. *Journal of Asia and Africa studies*, No, 43, 1992. p.7.

the expanding British colonial administration. A decade and half after the incorporation of Illubabor in 1898, *Ras Tessema* expanded his sway from Gore to the surrounding areas inhabited by the people of Mocha.³⁰ Until the Italian occupation of Illubabor, the settlers carved the administration of the natives under *Andracha Woreda Gizat* under Illubabor.³¹



Figure 2: *Ras Tessema Nadew* Governor of the Province.

Source: Gore St. Mary Church, section of archival and heritage store.

³⁰Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile and Tewodrose Deyino, Part I, p.29; Informant; Ambassador Abera Bechro.

³¹*Ibid.* p. 127.

The Role of Mikrecho Council

In the administrative structure of the kingdom, the highest political power was held by the king's councilors. The kings were not absolute kings. The kings at least theoretically were the sole owner of the land in the kingdom.³²

Next to the king in the political hierarchy, were the seven councilors, called the *Mikrecho* and provincial administrators.³³ The kingdom of Mocha was ruled by the Bato dynasty before the Bushasho dynasty came to power in the middle of the 16th century. The exact time when the Bato dynasty came to power is not certain.³⁴

The Sheik *Tato* was at the top in the political hierarchy of ancient kingdom of Mocha. Next to the king, there was the Katerasha, which is equivalent to present-day of Prime Minister. Katerasha was the highest political organ between the king and the *Mikrecho* in the political hierarchy. The member of the councilor (*Mikkire-Oga*) exercised the highest political power.³⁵ There were seven in number: Wolasha, Chierasha, Farasha, Gesherasha, Akakerasha, Shisherasha, and Bushasherasha.³⁶

In one's own province, this office was the last court of appeal. Councilors administered justice, collected taxes, and transferred it to the king often retaining their own share. Except Katerasha, all member of *Mikkire-Oga* were responsible to levy tax in kind from their respective region or from clan that they had represented. They have also organized provincial army and keep the boundaries of the kingdom and administered the respective province with established local

³²AmareFentaw, "A History of the Shekacho" pp.13-32

³³*Ibid.*

³⁴Lange, *The History of the Southern Gonga*, p.96.

³⁵Ambassador Abera Bechro, *Ye Shekacho BehairesebTarikenaYebahelEsetoch*, (*Mesekrem*, 2014) (The History and Cultural Value of the Shekacho Ethnic group, January, 2021), p. 28.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p.29.

administration system. Unlike the *Mikracho*, Katerasha had no his own territorial possession and local army. All *Mikkire-Oga* councilors have their own vice called *Gumbo*.³⁷

The transfer of its political power was not hereditary. Katerashas may be recruited from every clan member as long as the individual fulfills the required criteria such as locality, quality leadership and admiration by people of his heroic did, most of the time in the history of Mocha feudal kingdom candidates for this highest political organ (Katerasha) recruited from Bato, Menja/Ado/, Abelo, Ateso and Dubiyacho clan.³⁸

It was believed that from the second half of 16th century up to the last decade of 19th century, 15 kings of Bushasho dynasty ruled Mocha successfully one after another. Even through king Gaochi (the first king of Bushasho dynasty of Mocha) was not crowned officially as a king however oral traditions and many Mocha elders asserted that he ruled the kingdom roughly from 1552 to 1560 A.D.³⁹

Mocha during the Period of Italian Occupation (1936-1941)

During this critical time, *Dejazmach* Mekonnen Endalkachew (governor of Illubabor) in 1935 mobilized soldiers of the province commanded by Mekonnen.⁴⁰ *Fitawrari* Semu *Negus* remained as the governor of Mocha *Woreda Gizat* up to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1936. At the command of 30,000 men, Mekonnen marched to Ogaden. *Kenagzmach* Haile Denemero, the Abegaz of Mocha, was assigned governor of Mocha *Woreda Gizat* during the conflict. For many years, he served as vice governor of Semu *Negus*.⁴¹ In the latter half of 1936, the Italians occupied southwest Ethiopia. For a very brief time following the fall of Addis Ababa, Gore town

³⁷*Ibid.*, p.32.

³⁸Wendmishesha Ayele Angello, *EnaryanFelega Ke ShekaEske Kush (Mesekerem)*, 2013) pp. 40-41.

³⁹*Ibid.*; See Appendix I.

⁴⁰Informants: *Ato* YassinArebu, *Ato* Haile Arengo, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

⁴¹Amare Fentaw, "A History of the Shekacho," p.82.

served as the seat of Ethiopian government under *Ras* Imiru. Gore was seized by the Italians on November 25, 1936.⁴²

The Italians reorganized the nation into six administrative centers. Accordingly, Mocha and Kaffa were placed under a single administrative center (*Komesrato*). Tininti Antonochi Rase Dansa was the name of the Italian viceroy who oversaw Mocha and Kaffa.⁴³

The Mocha people had participated in the war against Italian both at the time of the invasion and during the period of occupation. Contributed their military service in opposition to the Italian colonial assault during the early war of resistance at the Walwal incident in 1934 up until their eventual evacuation in 1941, much like other states and peoples in Ethiopia. Many people of Mocha who had guns in the area took part in the *Fitawrari* Semu Negus-led campaign against Italian colonial expansion in the Ogaden Region during the Walawal incident. Along with the rest of the Illubabor provincial army, the Mocha unit was deployed to the Ogaden fronts. The Mocha people were greatly involved in the mopping up operation of Italian force. There was an Italian military contingent stationed on the mountain chain of Guraferda, in today's Bench Maji Zone. The Mocha marched to this mountain stronghold and pushed the enemy force out. Then later fall back on Sambe in Gore, they were totally crushed after a fierce battle.⁴⁴

The Battle of Sambe

While the Italian soldiers were advancing under the command of General Malta to Illubabor, officials of the interim government retreated to the surrounding Sambe hill. They hoped that if the enemy force became strong, they intended to march further to the Bench *Awraja* administered

⁴²Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p. 168.

⁴³ Informant: Ato Jemere Ambo

⁴⁴AmareFentaw, "A History of the Shekacho," p.8.

by *Dejazmach* Taye Gulilat.⁴⁵ As the governor had close ties with Emperor Menelik, they hoped to choose him *Negus* of the interim government in Bench, similarly to the earlier government established at Gore.⁴⁶ Six months after the Italian occupation of the capital, General Malta invaded Illubabor, Gore, on November 19, 1936.⁴⁷ They occupied Kundi Mountain, built a huge fortification and made the former *Gibi* (compound) of *Ras* Tessema the base of their command.⁴⁸ On November 25, 1936, General Malta sent the Italian forces to Sambe, where the officials of the interim government retreated. They attacked and defeated the Ethiopian force. A group of fighters led by Atinaf Sagad escaped to Kaffa province other officials like *Kenagzmach* Gabru Desta, *Girazmach* Teklehaimanot and others were captured and made war prisoners.⁴⁹ Soon the Italians marched as far as Gambella and declared to the international community that the country was under their full control.⁵⁰

Dejazmach Gezahagnorganized in Mocha, in Illubabor province, and Maji in Kaffa administrative region. A division of the patriots led by Kebede Waldsamayat launched a war of resistance against the Italian garrison in Tepi, Mash (the capital of Mocha), and on the bank of the Baro River. They crossed over to Alle and taught conventional war liberation at the Sambe, Diidu, and Gabre Dima.⁵¹

⁴⁵Mekonnen Dinko, "Sambe Campaign 1941", (B.A Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1980), p.11; Illubabor Zone Culture and Tourism Department, (The History of Sambe battle and Victories over the Italians), Illubabor: Mettu, NY. pp. 2-3.

⁴⁶ Mekonnen, p.11.

⁴⁷Asefa Sutema, "Administrative History of Illubabor from 1889-1974" (M.A Thesis, Department of History, Jimma University, 2015) p.100; Yonas Seifu, "The History of Gore Secondary School, 1928-1974" (B.A Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1995) pp.11-12

⁴⁸Bernard Lindahl, *Local History of Ethiopia: Gor-Goza, Nordic Africa Institute Library (nai.uu.se/library)*(2005) p.2.

⁴⁹ Mekonnen, pp.11-12.

⁵⁰ Tabor Wami, *Ye Dejazmach Garasu Duki Ina Ye LelochArbengochTaric*, (Addis Ababa, 1989), p.39.

⁵¹ Mekonnen, pp. 13-20; Illubabor Zone Culture and Tourism p.2.

The Italian forces in Mocha, Maji, Kaffa, and Jimma allied together. In one incident, they formed about twelve battalions and devastated the eastern district of Illubabor to occupy the military strategy to Gore. They marched to the relatively strategic place, Sambe hill, in June 1941. The inhabitants of Gore and its environs, under the leadership of Waldayes Buluko, tried to prevent the fall of town into the hands of Italians.⁵² The patriots of Mocha joined their forces and chased the Italian garrison stationed in Bench to Sambe in Illubabor. In collaboration, they scored victory and collected arms from the Italians at Sambe battle.⁵³

The patriots scored victory over the Italian forces stationed at Sambe in June 1941. By the year, they inflicted heavy losses on the Italians at different intervals at the battlefield, Garmoli and Guppo hill. Later, the Italian forces stationed at Guppo and avenged their defeat against farmers and patriots. They burned rural houses and killed forty patriots. Nevertheless, the united force from Mocha, Sheko, Bench, and Gore regions, including farmers, campaigned to Guppo hill against the stationed Italians. Yet, they returned from the area without taking any action because the jungle forest of the area did not allow them to engage in open fighting.⁵⁴

In 1941, the patriots of Shawa led by *Dejazmach* Mesfin Sileshi, he was the first *enderase* of Illubabor. *Awraja* arrived in the area.⁵⁵ On July 8, 1941, they marched to Sambe with known patriot leaders such as Jagama Kello, *Dejazmach* Kebede Yohannes, and *Balambaras* Gadamu Gizaw, together with regional patriots and peasants of Mocha, Sheko, and Bench.⁵⁶ Out of

⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵³ Informants: Ato Zeleke Sachachew, *W/ro Tenagna Token.*; Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile and Tewodrose Deyino, Part I, p.78.

⁵⁴ Mekonnen, "Sambe Campaign" pp.24-33.

⁵⁵ Andrzej Bertiniski Yoana. *Ya-Ityopia Taric Ke Majemeria Iskahun Zemen, 7ngn itim*, 2010 E.C. (Ethiopian History from the Beginning to the Present Century, 2018) p.540.

⁵⁶ Mengesha Lukas, "A History of Cooraa District, Illu Abba Boor, ca 1880s -1991" (M.A Thesis, Department of History, Jimma University, 2019) p. 29.

12,786 Italian troops, only 7,578 surrendered; the remaining Italian forces were killed at the Sambe battle and Guppo hill.⁵⁷

In the post-war period, however, the restored Imperial Government did not give recognition to the determined fight of the patriots and peasants who made sacrifices at the battle. *Dejazmach* Mesfin Sileshi considered himself the sole liberator of the province, even though he put 350 Mocha, Sheko, and Bench patriots under ban because they protested for their rights. Consequently, he let them go to their homes without any title or reward. Among the leaders of the patriots, Debebe Eshete, who was imprisoned by the Italians, was given the title *Girazmach*. They granted him a *gasha* of land and appointed him judge of the Gore *Awraja* Court.⁵⁸ But the majority of the patriots left without any reward or position to go up the ladder of the feudal hierarchy.⁵⁹ Further, the government did not study well the role of patriots in accordance with the 1944 decree of the emperor. Two decades later, based on the directive of the Ministry of Defense (MoD), sincere patriots received recognition in 1963. A committee was established by the high ranking officials of Illubabor province to thoroughly examine and validate the candidate's patriot testimony of the background.⁶⁰

During their occupation, the Italians left negative impact over the indigenous culture of the community. Some of these were prostitution, homosexual intercourse, forcing people to carry heavy luggage and using individuals as means of transportation for long journeys, and forcing people to hunt and bring wild animals from all mammal species, including dangerous animals like leopard, lion, monkey, buffalo, porcupine, pig, ape, antelope, etc., to establish wild animal

⁵⁷ Asefa Sutema, "Administrative History Illubabor, p.104.

⁵⁸Office of Provincial *Bejeron*d to Gore *Awraja Gimja Bet*, 16/8/1963 E.C. Ref No, 674/352/108, File No, 212.

⁵⁹Mekonnen, p.44.

⁶⁰Office of Illubaborprovince administration to Gore *Awraja Gizat* 21/3/1967 E.C Ref No 224/11/32, File, No. 423.

museums for recreation. *Kenagzmach* Worke of Atile from the Humacho clan was a victim of the above enforcement from Tininti (the viceroy of Italians) in Mocha *Awraja* to bring alive such dangerous animals. If he had not done this, he would have been forced to have homosexual intercourse with him. Except for those dangerous animals, such as lions, leopards, and buffalo, to which a month was given to find, individuals were ordered to bring other wild animals within a week. In addition to this, one should also bring their food.⁶¹ On the other hand, the Italian occupation period (1936–41) was also marked by various social and infrastructural changes in the region and throughout the country.⁶²

⁶¹Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile and Tewodrose Deyino, Part I, p.78.

⁶²Teshale, p. 106; Donald L. Donham, *Work and Power in Maale, Ethiopia*. (Studies in Cultural Anthropology, N.8. Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1985) p.37.

CHAPTER TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF MOCHA AWRAJA, 1941-1974

Administrative Structure from Provincial to *Woreda* Levels

There were 34 administrative units in Ethiopia prior to the Italian conquest of the country in 1936. But new arrangements were implemented after 1941.¹ Soon after the restoration of imperial power, Emperor Haile Selassie carried out administrative reforms by decree No. 1 of 1942 called *Yehager Astedader Denb* (administrative regulation). In accordance with the decree, the country was divided into twelve *Awraja Gizats* (province).² The administrative units were Arsi, Begemider, Gamo-Gofa, Gojjam, Hararge, Illubabor, Kaffa, Shawa, Sidama, Tigray, Wallo, and Wollega. The *Awraja Gizats* were further structured into 60 *Woreda Gizats* (districts) and 339 *Mikitil Woreda Gizats*, also known as *Misilane* (sub-district). Further, the *Mikitil Woreda Gizats* were structured into 1,176 *Mikitil Misilane* (sub-units of the sub-district) at the lower level of administrative units of the country.³

According to the decree the governor-general of the province was to be appointed by the Emperor with a fixed monthly salary. The administrator, at all administrative levels, was accountable for *Yehager Gizat Astedader* (Ministry of Interior).⁴ The emperor used to directly

¹Engidashet Bunare and Shiferaw Lulu, "Proposed New Ethiopian Government Administrative Boundary System for Unified Nation Building," (Presented for National Debate, Ethiopia: Addis Ababa), p.27.

²Negarit Gazeta, Decree No 1 of 1942; Lapiso Gedibo, *Yä-Ityopia Yegabare Serate Giemere Capitalism 1900-1966*, 2nd ed, (Addis Ababa University 1983), p.84. Alula Yohannes, "A History of Dambaca *Woreda* to 1991," (M.A Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2011) p. 65; Mulatu Wubneh, "Identity, Politics and the Restructuring of Administrative Unities in Ethiopia", *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies* Vol.11, No. 1&2, Special Issue, 2017, p.110.

³*Ibid.*

⁴Mulatu, p.110.

appoint the governor to rule the province at the will of the emperor in the absence of independent powers.⁵

The decree prohibited independent (privilege) power from collecting tribute, raise armies and appoint tribunals a privilege which they had enjoyed in pre-1935 period.⁶ Thus, the governor-generals of the province and the *Awraja Gizats* (sub-province) in the post-liberation period were dependent on the crown and served the interests of the emperor.⁷ The emperor appointed the governor-generals of the province with the title *enderase* literary means on my behalf.⁸

The emperor was also directly appointing public officials at all administrative hierarchies with a monthly salary, except agents in lower administrative units (at grassroots).⁹ As was the case the pre-war period, the government rewarded officials with traditional military titles of the Christian highland kingdom titles such as *Dejazmach*, *Kenagzmach*, *Girazmach*, *Fitawrari*, and *Ras*. Nonetheless, the titles had little significance for the economic and political gains of the governors compared to the pre-Italian occupation of the country.¹⁰

The first governor of Illubabor *Awraja* in 1942 after the liberation was *Ras* Mesfin Sileshi who ruled the area until 1946.¹¹ Formerly, the *Ras* led the Shawan patriots to Illubabor against the Italians at Sambe and also scored victories over the Italians. As he was one of the royal patriots

⁵Teshale, p.116.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷Mulatu, p.110; Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

⁸Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel; A letter from provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 6412 /1641/ 64, 2814/1964 E.C, File No. 239.

⁹Dessalegn Rahmeto, "The Peasant and the State" *Studies in Agrarian Change in Ethiopia: 1950-2000* (Addis Ababa University Press, 2009), p. 326.

¹⁰Teshale, p.116.

¹¹Bernhard (Gor-Gozza), p.6.

and supporters, the emperor gave him leadership over the province, liberated it from the Italians.¹²

Ras Mesfin Sileshi restructured Illubabor into four administrative hierarchies: IllubaborAwraja Gizat → four Woreda Gizats (Buno Bedele, Gore, Gambella, and Mocha) → sixty-six Miketil Woreda Gizats (Misilane) → and a number of Miketil Misilanes at the lower administrative units.¹³ Administratively, under IllubaborAwraja Gizat, the Mocha Woreda Gizat was structured into two Miketil Woreda Gizats, also known as Misilane (sub-district), Yeki and Gecha. The two sub-districts were further organized into Miketil Misilanes (sub-units of the sub-district) at the lower level of the Woreda Gizat. The Yeki Miketil Woreda Gizat (Misilane) was organized into three Miketil Misilanes: Tepi, Bechi, and Yalga. Similarly, the Gecha Miketil Woreda Gizat was also structured into three Miketil Misilanes: Masha (also called Atile), Nonno, and Sale-Massango.¹⁴

In 1946, the emperor enacted another decree that converted the twelve Awraja Gizats of the country into Teklay Gizat (provincial administrations). In accordance with decree No. 6 of 1946, IllubaborAwraja was heightened to Teklay Gizat (province). Likewise, the former four Woreda Gizats under the Awraja were elevated to Awraja Gizats (sub-provinces): Buno Bedele, Gore, Gambella, and Mocha Awraja.¹⁵ The former Miketil Woreda Gizats, under the main Woreda Gizat of IllubaborAwraja, were also elevated to Woreda Gizat (district). The Miketil Misilane merged together in their adjacent area and became Miketil Woreda Gizats. Though the Miketil

¹²Mekonnen, pp.37-45.

¹³See Appendix III, Illubabor administration office to police force Addis Ababa, File No 13/23124/1015/Hedar 11, fade the year.; Informants: Ato Haile Arengo, Ato Sharew Denbel, and Ato Kebede Tafese.

¹⁴Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile and Tewodrose Deyino, Part I, pp. 41-42. a

¹⁵Mulatu, p.110.

Misilanes had remained the administrative unit at grassroots level, they disappeared from the administrative hierarchies of Illubabor province. In 1946, Illubabor was one of the twelve restructured province of the country, with four administrative hierarchies: Illubabor province → four sub-province (Buno Bedele, Gore, Gambella, and Mocha) → *Woredas* under the sub-province → *Mikitil Woreda Gizats (Misilane)* under the main *Woreda*. Overall, 87 *Awraja Gizats* in the country were reorganized under the twelve provinces, of which Mocha was one of the four *Awraja Gizats* of Illubabor province.¹⁶

Under the twelve provinces, 387 *Woreda Gizat* 1, 086 *Mikitil Woreda Gizat* were reorganized in the country, of which 28 and 56 were in Illubabor province respectively. Out of the 28 *Woreda Gizats* and 56 *Mikitil Woreda Gizats* in the province, the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* shared respectively three *Woreda Gizats* (Gecha, Yeki, and Sale) and eight *Mikitil Woreda Gizats*: Zinki, Tepi, and Bechi under Yeki *Woreda Gizat*; Nonno, Sale-Massango, and Walga under Sale *Woreda Gizat*; Masha, and Gecha surrounding under Gecha *Woreda Gizat*.¹⁷

Until 1970, *Mikitil Woreda Gizats* had been one of the administrative units of Illubabor province, in general and the Mocha *Awraja* in particular. They had played an intermediary role between the grassroots and the *Woredas*.¹⁸ Nonetheless, successive governor-generals of the province attempted to reorganize the *Mikitil Woredas Gizat* into the *Woreda Gizats* in the province. In 1961, *Mikitil enderese* (deputy governor-general) under *Ras Hailu Belew* (governor-general), *Fitawrari Walde Samayat Tessema*, suggested to the Ministry of Interior (MoI) that the sub-district would convert into district. As its approval was delayed, the successor of the governor,

¹⁶Asefa, “Administrative History of Illubabor” p.107.

¹⁷Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part, I. pp. 41-42.

¹⁸Informants: *Ato Sharew Denbel*, *Ato Daressa Dureso*, and *Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*.

Dejazmach Girmachew Taklehawariat, again restructured the *Miketil Woreda Gizats* into *WoredaGizats* and sent them to the Ministry in 1965. Though agreed, the MoI once again delayed its approval until the emperor appointed *Dejazmach* Warqu Inquassielassie in 1968, as a governor-general of Illubabor province.¹⁹

The need for reorganizing the sub-district into district emanated from the absence of employees and well-organized offices at the lower administrative units of the province. Besides, the higher authorities did not allot budgets for administrative activities performed in *Miketil Woreda Gizats* (sub-district). The grassroots also look down on the sub-district as having less authority in the administration. All these led to passive governmental work in sub-district of the province in general and the Mocha *Awraja* in particular.²⁰ These problems forced successive governors of the province to reorganize the administrative unit into district in the *Awraja Gizat* of the province.²¹

The newly appointed governor-general of Illubabor province in 1968, *Dejazmach* Warqu is credited for reorganizing the sub-district into district in the highland *Awraja Gizat* of the province: Buno Bedele, Gore, and Mocha. Having no difference from the former governor-general, the governor sent his administrative restructuring study to the MoI for approval. Yet, he added his views, if importantly, found that some *Miketil Woreda Gizats* would be merged into the adjacent *Woreda Gizats* in the *Awraja Gizats* of the province. Finally, his restructuring got the approval of the Ministry of Interior in 1970.²²

¹⁹*Dejazmach* Warqu Inquassielassie to the MoI, 8/1/1964 E.C Ref No, faded. File No, 846.

²⁰*Ibid.*; Informants: *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato*Shibru Kumsa, and *Ato* Sharew Denbel.

²¹*Ibid.*

²²Asefa, “Administrative History of Illubabor” pp. 111-112

By the year, 34 *Woreda Gizats* were reorganized with the elimination of the *Mikartil Woreda Gizat (Misilane)* from the administrative units of the province. The administrative reorganization in Gore *Awraja* led to the birth of Sorena Gabba *Awraja* which made the number of the sub-province five: Buno Bedele, Gore, Gambella, Mocha, and the newly structured Sorena Gabba. The administrative hierarchies of the province were minimized into three levels. Illubabor province → 5 sub-province and 34 *Woreda Gizats* (district).²³

Similarly, in Mocha *Awraja Gizat*, the reorganization of the *Mikartil Woreda Gizats* led to the emergence of three new *Woreda Gizats*: Masha, Sale and Godere. With the former two *Woreda Gizats*, the *Awraja* was restructured into six *Woreda Gizats*: Andiracha, Masha, Yeki, Godere, Sale, and Nonno. Out of 34 *Woreda Gizats*, six of them were reorganized in Mocha *Awraja Gizat*. Therefore, from 1970, to the downfall of the military regime in 1991, the Mocha *Awraja* had consisted six *Woreda Gizats*, with the *Mikartil Woreda Gizats* being removed from the administrative hierarchies of the *Awraja Gizat*. The *Awraja* remained one of the five *Awraja Gizats* (sub-province), until the demise of the military regime in 1991.²⁴

Administrative Structure from *Woreda Gizat* to Lower Administrative Units

Based on salaried employees, the *Awraja* had two types of administrative structures. Salaried employees filled the essential posts from the *Awraja Gizat* to the *Woreda* administration.²⁵ As discussed above, the emperor used to appoint governor-generals with a monthly salary. In turn,

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 107-109; office of Illubabor Provincial administration to the Department of Police force in Addis Ababa, Ref No. 23/23124/110/57, 11/3/1996 E.C, to the MoI, Ref No. 13/1412/10/51, 11/3/1969 E.C. File No. 8107; Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile and Tewodrose Deyino, Part, I. p. 42.

²⁴Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part, I. pp. 41-42; Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

²⁵Dessalegn, p. 320; Informants: *Ato* Shibru Kumsa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

the provincial government nominated and recommended the *Awraja* governors to be assigned with a salary by the emperor.²⁶ The sub-provincial governors also used to nominate the *Woreda* governors to be appointed from the center by the emperor.²⁷ The appointed officials with monthly salaries in the *Awraja Gizat* were mobile officials responsible for the MoI.²⁸ Therefore, the sub-province and its districts were only administrative sub-divisions of the national government, not political ones.²⁹

Under the main district, the sub-provincial governors were nominating governors of the *Mikutil Woreda Gizat* called *Misilane*. Under the information, delivered by the governors of the *Woreda Gizats*, the provincial governors used to assign *Misilanes* to the *Mikutil WoredaGizats*. The emperor approved the assign with monthly salary in the *Awraja Gizat*. The *Misilane* controlled all matters related to land: government land sale, lease tax, and tribute collection in the respective administrative jurisdictions. They also punish law breakers and activate the local community in communal works such as clearing roads, building schools, and bridging rivers. Thus, they play an intermediary role between the community and the district authorities.³⁰

Though governmental organizations were almost non-existent, a limited number of militias called *nech lebash* were assigned to *Misilanes* to enforce law in the lower administrative units of the *Awraja Gizats*. The assigned militia, on behalf of the *Misilane*, used to arrest lawbreakers and

²⁶Illubabor Provincial office of *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet, Kenagmach* Haile Denemero assignments as the governor of Andiracha *Woreda* governor, Ref No. 69/2897/57, 7/5/1957 E.C. File No. 832; International Development Association, Documented of International Bank of Reconstruction and Development Report, No.PA 143a Agricultural Sector survey Ethiopia Vol, 3 annexes 12-23, East African Region, 1973, annex 18. p. 3.

²⁷Informants: *Ato* Shibru Kumsa, *Ato* Kebede Tafese and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa; See Appendix IV, Illubabor Provincial office of administration to Mocha *Awraja* office of administration appointment of Haile Denemero, Ref No. 4179/342, 26/4/1957 E.C. File No. 2234.

²⁸Harrison C. Dunning, "Land Reform in Ethiopia: A Case Study in Non-Development Land Reform in Ethiopia," *UCLA Law Review*, Vol. 18, 1970, p. 292.

²⁹International Development Association..., annex 18, p. 3.

³⁰Informants: *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

acted as a security force in rural areas. In return for his service, officials used to grant him temporary land that could pass to his successor when he was transferred to another *Miketil Woreda Gizat* or *Woreda Gizat*, where he could receive another land that was given up by another militia, and the process continued in such a manner.³¹

Below to the *Miketil Woreda Gizats*, the administrative system remained through the selection of local agents without a monthly salary. At this level of administration, the higher authorities delegated tasks to the loyal agents below the *Miketil Woreda Gizats*. The *Woreda* governors nominated and the *Awraja* governor used to assign the agents. Despite being unsalaried, the higher officials for whom they were responsible informally compensated the assigned agents for their loyal service. Besides granting government land, they informally permit them to take advantage of the government land they contracted with individuals. The *Melkegna* under *Misilane* were two types. The first was a soldier who served the government on the battle field, and the second was the head of many *balabats*. They enforce orders passed by the *Misilane* and acted as disciplinary officers.³²

Below the *balabats*, the *chiqashums* (village heads) assisted the *balabats* in their administration of their localities. Based on their talents in administration, *Woreda* officials used to assign *chiqashums* to extended villages. He used to maintain peace in the village by apprehending criminals.³³ He also represented his village in administrative hierarchies. They had to coordinate and lead the local people to the communal works. Moreover, he was expected to solve disputes arising between the local people, particularly those related to land. He was used as a stepping stone between the local community, the *balabat*, *Misilane*, and officials of the *Woreda Gizat*. He

³¹*Ibid.*; Dessalegn, p. 326.

³²*Ibid.*

³³Teshale, p.85.

also delivered information upward and passed orders downward. Like the *Melkegna*, the *chiqashum* assessed and collected tribute and taxes and passed them to the state treasury in *Woreda Gimja Bet* (sub-treasury in *Awraja* and *Woreda Gizat*). Though the *chiqashum* had no monthly salary, they had advantages for their loyal services; higher officials allowed them to retain some amount, up to 5%, from the collected state revenue in their administrative localities.³⁴

Further below the *chiqashum*, the *Misilane* used to assign his assistant, locally known as *Lega*, at the lowest administrative level of the *Mocha Awraja Gizat*.³⁵ The *Lega* had no recognition from the government and had neither a salary nor land from the *Misilane*.³⁶

The judicial system is one of the the administrative bodies of the government from provincial to grassroots level. In descending order, the *Teklay fird Bet* (higher court) was at the town of the province, the *Awraja fird Bet*, (sub-provincial court) is at the *Awraja Gizat fird Bet* (*Woreda* court) is at the *Woreda* administrative towns. Below *Woredas*, *atibiya fird Bet* (village courts) were also structured to make decisions on non-criminal cases.³⁷ *Woreda* courts extended their branches to the village and assigned *atibiya dagna* (a village judge) to hear cases brought before him and pass judgments. In most cases, they punish those who delay payments of land tribute and tax the *Woreda Gimja Bets*.³⁸ But the offices were held by indigenous authorities.³⁹ Archival sources indicate that a person is only eligible for the office of *atibiya dagna* if his line of descent

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 124; Dessalegn, p. 26; Informants: *Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*, *Ato Taresa Dureso*, and *Ato Zena Welede Gabriel*.

³⁵Yasin Mohammed, *The Peopling of Highland Illubabor*, Proceeding of the Fifth Seminar, Department of History, Debre Zeit, 30 June-3 July 1989, Addis Ababa University Press, 1990, P. 114.

³⁶Informants: *Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*, *Ato Taresa Dureso*, and *Ato Zena Welede Gabriel*.

³⁷Asefa, "Administrative History of Illubabor" p. 111; Informants: *Ato Jemere Dakito*, *W/ro Aster Endesha*, and *Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*.

³⁸Informants: *Ato Haile Arengo*, *Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*, and *Ato Zena Welede Gabriel*.

³⁹Teshale, pp. 124-125.

held the position in villages in the district of the Mocha *Awraja Gizat*.⁴⁰ As with other local agents, the *atibiya dagna* had no monthly salary. But they had land grants. Besides, they were paid for their service from the proceeds of their offices.⁴¹ Higher officials were responsible for permitting them to retain from 20% to half of the collection of incomes at the lower administrative units of the Mocha *Awraja Gizat*.⁴²

Change of Administrative Center

Ras Tessema Nadew was responsible for the incorporation of Illubabor in 1883.⁴³ Following the conquest, the *Ras* and his soldiers stationed on the hill of Gore consolidating imperial administration and preparing for further seizure to the adjacent peripheral regions.⁴⁴ A decade and a half later, the war general extended his territorial expansion by crossing the Baro River to present day Sheka Zone.⁴⁵ Until the arrival of Emperor Menelik's soldiers under *Ras Tessema Nadew*, the kingdom of the Sheka existed with its political, cultural and economic system.⁴⁶ Subsequent to the expansion, however, the Shewan rulers assigned indigenous rulers to administer the human and natural resources of the Mocha *Woreda* on behalf of the newcomers. The assigned rulers also used Gecha as an administrative center, from where they had ruled over the people and natural resources of the *Woreda*.⁴⁷

⁴⁰See Appendix XVII, Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to *Teklay endereseDejazmach* Girmachew Taklehawariat, Ref No. 4008/2662/44, 19/12/1958 E.C. File No. 226.

⁴¹Dessalegn, pp. 326-327.

⁴²Informants: *Ato* Tamiru Beyene, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *W/ro* Aster Endesha.

⁴³Kurimoto, p. 7.

⁴⁴Taye, pp. 2-5.

⁴⁵Lange, *The History of the Southern Gonga...*, pp. 32-33. Yasin Mohammed, *The Peopling of Highland Illubabor*, (Proceedings of the Fifth Seminar Debre Zeit, 30 June-3 July 1989, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1990), p. 116.

⁴⁶Yasin, *The Peopling of Highland Illubabor*, p. 116.

⁴⁷Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part, I, pp. 38-40; Informants: *Ato* Ambachew Chorito, and *Ato* Haile Arengo.

In 1946, the *Woreda Gizat* was elevated to *Mocha Awraja Gizat*. The governors of the *Gizat* also continued to use Gecha as the administrative center of the *Awraja Gizat*. According to archival and oral sources, successive governors have used the *Mocha Woreda Gizat* and then the *Mocha Awraja Gizat* for more than six decades until 1961. In 1962, the center of the administration was moved from Gecha to Masha, relatively nearer to the provincial town of Gore,⁴⁸ for the following reasons: First, *Dejazmach* Girmachew Taklehawariat, the governor-general of Illubabor province, wanted to ensure the development of the province with social services such as modern governmental offices, schools, health centers, and airfields in each *Awraja Gizats* of the province.⁴⁹

To this effect he invited each *Awraja Gizat* official to attend a meeting he arranged at the provincial town, Gore. After the meeting officials returned with new ideas to develop the sub-province with the social services discussed at the meeting. However, they viewed that the climate (wet and cloudy throughout year) and topography (mountainous) of the surrounding Gecha town would not suit the social development of the *Awraja Gizat*. Therefore, the officials unanimously agreed to transfer the administrative town of the *Awraja Gizat* to Masha for its relatively suitable landscape that would accelerate the expansion of the town in particular and the overall social developments of the sub-province.⁵⁰

Secondly, Gecha is far from the capital of the province, Gore, about 110 kms. The long distance between Gore and Gecha posed a challenge for people who sought to purchasers of land who

⁴⁸Illubabor Provincial office of *Bejerond* to *Mocha Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No, 6532/464/13/1946; Ref No. 3/949, 9/4/1944, Ref No. 6531/46, 4/13/1946 E.C.; *Mocha Awraja Gimja Bet* Ref No. 318/56, 26/10/1956. File No. 3223.

⁴⁹See Appendix XVII, *Mocha Awraja* office of administration to Illubabor office of administration, Ref No. 4008/2662/44, 19/11/1957 E.C. File No. 28.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

wanted to get approval for land sales, inheritances, and other services from the provincial level experienced hardships on their long journey to Gore. This was one of the reasons that led the *Awraja* officials to get the short distance and proximity of the *Awraja* capital to the provincial capital by transferring the administrative town to Masha, which is 56km's away from Gore in the south.⁵¹

Thirdly, the sub-provincial officials and civil servants went to Gore, with animal transportation, which took four days to and back to the *Awraja Gizat* administrative town, Gecha. Considering the aforementioned reasons, Mocha *Awraja* office of administration, in addition to the provincial office of administration, shifted the seat of the *Awraja Gizat* from Gecha to Masha in 1962. While Gecha was reduced to the capital of *Andracha Woreda*, Masha was made the administrative town of the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* and also the newly reorganized *Masha Woreda Gizat* from *Misilane* since 1970.⁵²

Administrative Problems

The government attempted to provide government land to the civil servants of the *Awraja Gizat* aiming to solve economic problems they were confronted with during their pension time. Archival sources show that the MoF issued decree to provide salary credit to overcome social problems of permanent employees of the government. The ministry used to permit a four months salary credit provision payable at least in four months or at most a year. At each administrative hierarchy, a committee for credit provision was set up at the provincial level, *Awraja* and

⁵¹*Ibid.*; Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part, I, pp. 38-44

⁵²Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part, I, pp. 38-44; Informants: Ambassador Abera Bechro, *Ato*AmbachewChorito and *Ato*Haile Arengo.

Woreda Gizats. Employees at each administrative level were required to apply to the committee and request the salary credit provision to solve their social problems.⁵³

Based on the applications of the employees, the committee used to examine the social problems of the applicants and reported to the office of provincial *Bejerond*. The *Bejerond* also further used to report to the MoF at the capital to get the salary credit for the applicants. The credit was only provided for necessary social affairs such as marriage ceremonies, deaths, and serious sickness. For the former two and later, municipality and physician certificates were respectively required to be reported in attachment with the employee's application and recommendation of the office where the applicant worked to the provincial *Bejerond* and the ministry. The committee for salary credit provision at the ministry used to examine the request and gave a final decision to the office of the provincial *Bejerond*. The office used to order the Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* for the provision of the credit. The *Gimja Bet* or the *Woreda Gimja Bet* used to collect a 3% interest rate from the employee's salary for the provided credit. The provision, however, gave emphases to employees of the provincial level rather than the Mocha *Awraja* and its *Woreda Gizats*.⁵⁴

Nonetheless, based on the application and social problems of officials and employees, the *Woreda* and *Awraja Gimja Bets* under the knowledge and approval of the provincial *Bejerond* used to pay one or two month salary to the applicants.⁵⁵ Moreover, they could receive their salary from the hierarchical administrative units responsible for their social problems. Based on the

⁵³See Appendix VI, Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No.51/987/18, 17/2/1966; Illubabor office of provincial administration to Mocha *Awraja* office of administration, Ref No.□/71/34/6/601, 15/1/1966. File No. 987.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵Nonno *Woreda Gimja Bet shum* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet shum*, Private No. 1/66, 13/02/1966 E.C; provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. faded, 9/5/1949 E.C. File No. 209; Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 1028/6539/70, 15/6/1967 E.C; Provincial *Bejerond* to provincial office of administration, Ref No.2968/9640/68, 5/10/1966 E.C.

application of officials and employees, the office where they work used to request the *Woreda Gimja Bet*. Under the request of the *Gimja Bet*, the applicant could have received the *Awraja Gimja Bet*.⁵⁶

Though the transfer of officials and employees from Mocha *Awraja* to other *Awraja Gizats* in the province or to other provinces was common, immediate social problems were considered to transfer applicants where they chose to solve their social problems. Further, based on disagreement, the administrative councils at each administrative unit of the *Awraja Gizat* suggested the transfer of one of the employees from the offices. The *Woreda* or, *Awraja* office of administration used to transfer one of the suggested employees in the *Woreda* or *Awraja* office to another as a solution for stable working in general and solving the disagreement in particular.⁵⁷

Maintenance of Peace and Order

Mocha *Awraja Gizat* administration had been providing priority to the security of the *Awraja*. Hierarchically, the *Awraja Gizat*, the *Woreda Gizat*, and the *Miktil Woreda Gizat* had a police department, and police stations with limited *nech lebash*. While orders for peacekeeping passed in descending order, its reports came in ascending order to the higher officials of the sub-province and also further to the province.⁵⁸

The *Woreda* police compiled reports of incidents, criminals, or the security of the *Woreda* from police stations in *Miktil Woreda Gizats* to the *Woreda* office of administration. The offices also disseminated the reports vertically to the *Awraja* police department. The department, in turn,

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷Yeki *Woreda* administrative council decision, 19/1/1946 E.C; provincial *Bejeron*d to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. faded, 9/8/1953 E.C. File No.209.

⁵⁸Informants: Commander Wondimu Negerasha, *Ato* Feleke Teferi, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

used to dispatch it to the provincial main police department. Likewise, the *Woreda* office of administration disseminated the reports vertically to the *Awraja* office of administration, which in turn reported to the provincial office of administration. The office *Woreda Gizat* police summarized statistical data on insecurities or security, criminals, and judiciary of the *atibiya firdBet* on monthly, quarterly, and annual bases. The office dispatched the report horizontally and vertically to the administrative units as described above. Therefore, based on the reports of *Woredas*, the Mocha *Awraja* office of the police department and the administration disseminated insecurity incidents and also the stability of the *Awraja Gizat* to the office of the provincial main police department and the office of the administration. Report from Yeki sub-district in 1945, the Mocha *Woreda Gizat* (before converted to *Awraja Gizat*) reported from Illubabor *Awraja* (before elevated to province) revealed that pastoralists (Majang) occasionally caused insecurities in the sub-district.⁵⁹

In 1946, however, the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* (now changed to *Awraja*) dispatched its reports to *Dejazmach* Tasew Walelu, governor-general of Illubabor province that the *Awraja* became secured from societal conflicts. In 1947, however, the office of the *Awraja Gizat* reported to the governor-general that the Anyuwa, living between Bench *Awraja Gizat* in Kaffa province and the Gambella *Awraja* in Illubabor province, fought and captured the Majang pastoralists in Mocha *Awraja Gizat*.⁶⁰

⁵⁹Andiracha *Woreda Gizat* office of police to Mocha *Awraja* police Department, *ye ginbot wor 1964 agezazi ena tsetita* report (May 1964 E.C) report on administration and security), Ref No. 1053/59/2, 3/10/1964 E.C. File No. 5032, the fourth quarter report, Ref No. 1367/59/2, 4/13/1964 E.C. File No. 5030; Ref No. 100/65, 25/2/1965. File No. 5030.

⁶⁰Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, “*Ye Sheka Zone astedader Keyet Wedeyt?*” *Sheka zone astedader Mikir Bet* (Sheka zone administration from where to where? Sheka zone office of administrative council), (Part II, Masha, 1994 E.C), pp. 141-146.

Nonetheless, beginning from 1949 to 1966, the office of Mocha *Awraja* administration frequently reported to the provincial office of administration that the *Awraja* remained secure except with minor crimes, theft, and personal conflicts in Yeki *Woreda* by coffee pickers coming from the provincial town, Gore. There were also reported incidents of murder emanating from ones intoxication during coffee picking seasons in both Yeki and Sale *Woreda Gizats*.⁶¹

From 1968 to 1973, the office of Yeki *Woreda* administration frequently dispatched to *Shaleka Asfaw Waldatsadik*, the governor of Mocha *Awraja Gizat*, that security improved in the *Woreda Gizat*. Similarly, the *Andiracha Woreda Gizat* office of police reported to the Mocha *Awraja* police department that the *Woreda Gizat* was secured except for minor criminal thief, insults, and killing attempts, which were reported to the office of the *Awraja Gizat*. In turn, the governor disseminated his report to *Fitawrari* (later *Dejazmach*) Warqu Inquassielassie, governor-general of Illubabor province, and *Kenagzmach* Seyoum Ijigu, assistant governor-general of the province, that the *Awraja Gizat* remained secured except for ordinary criminals that could not cause serious disorder to the *Awraja Gizat*.⁶²

During the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974, protests spread from Addis Ababa to provincial towns such as Jimma in Kaffa, Mettu in Illubabor, Asela in Arsi, and Arba-Minch in Gamo Gofa. It was reported that people in Mettu town and its surroundings came out in great demonstrations and strikes between March 29 and April 6, 1974. The police were brutal and quelled the disturbance for the time being. The general public demanded the end of the imperial regime in general and the dismissal of *Dejazmach* Warqu and other corrupt officials of the province. The

⁶¹*Ibid.*; Mocha *Awraja Gizat* office of administration to Illubabor Provincial office of administration, Ref No. 2/30/11, 30/12/1941 E.C.; Ref No. 06/53, 16/1/1941 E.C.

⁶²Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp. 141-145; Ref No. 100/65, 26/2/1965 E.C. File No. 5032.

uprising in Kaffa led to the removed of the unpopular governor-general, *Dejazmach* Tsehai Inquassielassie, the brother of Warqu Inquassielassie.⁶³

In the *Woredas* of Gore *Awraja*, people and students rose up against imperial officials and demanded the shutdown of government offices.⁶⁴ While all these disturbances were going on in the province and the area, still the Mocha *Awraja* Police Department dispatched its report to the Illubabor province, main Police Department that the *Awraja* remained secured except for ordinary criminal acts in some places of the *Awraja Gizat*. The department further indicated that, particularly in minor criminal's accused off and the case already presented to the regular courts of the sub-province. The report on the security of the *Awraja* continued even after the downfall of the imperial regime,⁶⁵ which will be discussed in chapter three.

Land Measurement and Its Implementation in Mocha

After the incorporation of Illubabor into modern Ethiopian Empire land was divided into three major categories. Namely government land (*maderia*), *semon meret* (church land), and *siso meret* (land to local *balabat*). In order to facilitate tax on land the government began measuring and classifying land into three parts, *lem* (cultivated land), *lem-tef* (semi-cultivated land), and *tef* (uncultivated land) in Illubabor. The government, however, did not uniformly apply the measurement all over the administrative units of the province. The officials of the province

⁶³Andergachew Tiruneh, "The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1984" (PhD. Dissertation, School of Economics, London, 1990), p. 75.

⁶⁴Asefa, "Administrative History of Illubabor" p. 162.

⁶⁵Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp. 141-145.

measured and classified the land only in Gore *Woreda*, surrounding the seat of the provincial town, Gore.⁶⁶

In the post-war period, the emperor decreed and passed four types of taxes to increase the revenue of the state coming from: land tax, *asrat*, educational tax, and health tax.⁶⁷ Soon after the restoration of the monarchy, the emperor decreed the first land tax in 1942.⁶⁸ In accordance with the decree and order of the Ministry of Interior (MoI), *Ras* Mesfin Sileshi re-measured and reclassified the pre-1935 measured land in the *Awraja* and assigned fixed tax rates. The officials re-measured and reclassified them into *lem*, *lem-tef*, and *tef*, respectively, and assigned 15, 10, and 5 *birr* per *gasha*, or half of the pre-1935 taxes in the *Awraja Gizat*. They re-measured in *gasha* (shield-a unit of land measurement) approximately 40 hectares.⁶⁹

In 1944, the emperor revised the 1942 land tax and issued another decree that increased the amount of land tax collected from land to the state treasury. The decree ended the *asrat* payment in kind but to be paid in cash added to the land tax in three classified lands per *gasha*. Accordingly, the categorized lands in Illubabor *Awraja* as *lem*, *lem-tef*, and *tef* were assigned land taxes of 45, 40, and 15 *birr*, respectively.⁷⁰

Though remained one of the administrative units of the province, both historical sources kept silent to the direct land measurement, classification, and land taxes in Mocha *Awraja Gizat* in the

⁶⁶*Negaret Gazeta*: Land Proclamation No.8 of 1942; Lemesa Bekele, “Agro-Ecological History of the Soor ena Gabba *Awraja*: ca. 1941-1991”, (M.A Thesis, Department of History, Jimma University, 2017) pp. 45-46; Richard Pankhurst, “Taxation and Governmental Revenue in 19th and 20th century”, *Journal of Ethiopian studies*, Vol. 5 No.1, 1967, p. 82.

⁶⁷Tilahun Hawi, “The Ethiopian State: perennial challenges in the struggle for Development”, *International Studies Honors Projects*, 2016 Paper 21. [Http/ digital commons. Macalester. Edu/intlstudies honors/21](http://digitalcommons.Macalester.Edu/intlstudieshonors/21), p.98.

⁶⁸Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p. 192.

⁶⁹Mengesha, p.30.; Informants: *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato* Haile Arengo, and *Ato* Sharew Denbel.

⁷⁰*Negaret Gazeta*: Land Proclamation No.70 of 1944; Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p.193; Bahru, *A Century of Ethiopian Historiography...*, pp. 176-177.

1940s. In general, however, sources display the land measurement, categories, and tax rates in Illubabor province, rather than describing the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* in particular.⁷¹ However, knowledgeable informants elaborate that land measurement and its classification did not exist until 1950.⁷²

Besides, archival sources indicate that the land measurements and their classification with estimates was implemented in Mocha *Awraja Gizat* in 1950⁷³. Moreover, representing the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* to the lower house of the parliamentary system, Haile Demise displayed and proved that the government measured land twice in the *Awraja* (1950 and 1962).⁷⁴

Contrary to secondary sources, archival sources and informants stated that the government measured and classified lands in 1950 with estimation subsequent to the land measurement as in other *Awraja Gizats* of Illubabor province, the 1944 land decree was applied to the three categorized lands in Mocha *Awraja Gizat*⁷⁵ as shown in the following table.

Table 1: Amount of Tax Imposed by the State on Measured and Categorized Lands (1950).

No	Land classification type	Amount of land tax	Remark
1	<i>lem</i> (cultivated land)	45	Each classification includes <i>asrat</i> to be paid in cash to the state per- <i>gasha</i> .
2	<i>lem-tef</i> (semi-cultivated land)	40	
3	<i>tef</i> (uncultivated land)	15	

⁷¹*Ibid.*; Lemesa, pp. 44-47; Lapiso, p. 220; Richard, Vol.5, No.2, p.82.

⁷²Informants: *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato* Haile Arengo, and *Ato* Sharew Denbel.

⁷³Nonno *Woreda Gizat* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, 5/6/1943 E.C Ref No. 145/16; Illubabor administration to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 1148/158, 14/5/1946 E.C no seal; Informants: *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato* Haile Arengo, and *Ato* Sharew Denbel.

⁷⁴Haile Demise, application displaying grievances of the Mocha *Awraja* tenants to the MoI, 5 May, 1957 E.C.

⁷⁵A report on measured land prepared from Ayalew Gabre to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, 19/5/1942 E.C, Road No. 13, File No. 312; 5/8/1942, Road No. 24. File No. 9; 24/6/1942. File No. 45; Informants: *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato* Haile Arengo, and *Ato* Sharew Denbel.

Source: Bahru (2002), p. 193; (2008), pp. 176-177; Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Taresa Dureso, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

The above table displays that subsequent to the land measurement in eye estimation, the government collects the highest amount of land tax from landowners whose land was classified into *lem meret*. It also collects the higher amount from land landowners whose land was categorized as *Lem-tef meret* and the least amount for *tef meret*. In all the three classified lands, the government collects the land tax that includes *Asrat* t in cash to the state in the *Awraja*.

Landowners had the obligation to pay the land tax to the state. However, they delegated their responsibility to tenants who rented their lands.⁷⁶ But failing to pay the taxes, the government took over the land as *gibretal meret*, either to sell, lease, or grant to supporters.⁷⁷ Nonetheless, the government exempted the *maderia meret*, and the *semonmeret* from paying the land tax to the state. The church and ecclesiastics were made free from payment as they were public religious and servants.⁷⁸

The driving force behind the measurement was to introduce land taxation for the revenue of the imperial regime.⁷⁹ Nonetheless, officials did not uniformly apply the land measurement and its classifications in all administrative units of the province. In the post-1941 period, however, the imperial regime intensified land measurement and its categories for different motives. The government was motivated to accelerate land sales and privatization that would enable the government to collect land tax and tribute. The government also sought to get extra land based

⁷⁶Mengesha, p.30.

⁷⁷Dessalegn, pp. 292-293; Informants: *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, *Ato* Taresa Dureso, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*;; Lapiso, p. 223.

⁷⁹Allan Hoben, "Social Soundness Analysis of Agrarian Reforms in Ethiopia", prepared for USAID/Ethiopia (Google Books, University of Wisconsin, 1976), p. 33.

on accurate information on land records, location, size, and categories of both government and privately owned lands. Moreover, the imperial regime planned to make direct land grants to its favorites and supporters with accurate land information. In general, however, the major aim behind the land measurement was to increase the government revenues coming from the land.⁸⁰

Archival sources and informants unanimously agree that the imperial government had introduced land measurement and its categories to the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* of Illubabor province in 1950. The land measurement appeared to have first began in Nonno *Woreda Gizat* (the present Nonno-Sale *Woreda* of the Illubabor Zone). By order from Illubabor provincial office of administration and *Begerond*, the Mocha *Awraja* office of administration and *Gimja Bet* passed the direction to the *Woreda Gizats* and *Gimja Bets*, respectively, to get measured and classified lands in the *Awraja*. The *Woreda* offices of the administration and *Gimja Bets*, jointly, organized land measuring teams from lower administrative levels where land is accessible. The team consisted of *Misilane*, *balabat*, *chiqashum* and local elders. The team used to estimate the lands in *gasha* with estimates and also determined the classification type of the lands in all *Woredas* of the Mocha *Awraja*. The team estimated the lands in *gasha* and classified them into three categories (*lem*, *lem-tef*, and *tef*), in which big trees, forests, stones, and mountains were used as boundaries between individual landlords and government-owned lands in the *Awraja Gizat*.⁸¹ Having little knowledge, the team estimated largely in favoritism and far from nearer factual: a *gasha* into two and vice versa with the non-existence of rope and land measuring experts.⁸² The land

⁸⁰ Temesegen Gebeyehu, Land Tenure, Reform and the *Qalad* System in Ethiopia: 1941-1974. *Journal of the Asian and African studies*, 46(6) (Bahir Dar University, 2011) p. 570.

⁸¹ Ref No. 1148/158, 14/5/1946 E.C no seal; A Land measurement report from Ayalew Birru to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, 19/5/1942, Road No 13, 24/6/1942, Road No 24, 5/8/1942, Road No 24/421.

⁸² Illubabor Provincial office of administration to Mocha *Awraja* Office of administration, Ref No. 1142/158, 14/5/1964 E.C.

measurement and its categories in estimates in the *Awraja* coincided with the land measurement in Jimma of the Kaffa province in the region.⁸³

Though the *balabats* and landlords remained supporters of the imperial regime, they were not infavor of the land reform in general or land measurement in particular.⁸⁴ In the *Awraja*, particularly, Nonno *Woreda* land owners, including the *balabats*, resented the estimation of their lands in *gasha* and categories. This was due to the government appointing mobile officials responsible for the MoI by minimizing the importance of local chiefs in political systems. Even though they remained powerful figures as local agents in lower administrative units, they resented the land measurement, which undermined their economic, political, and social positions. They resisted the land measurement in estimation and its classification, considering its burden on paying land tax and tribute to the state treasury. They threatened the estimators to give up the responsibility delegated to them by the higher officials of the Mocha *Awraja Gizat*.⁸⁵

Despite the resistance, Mocha *Awraja Gizat* officials sent Ayalew Gabre to Nonno *Woreda Gizat*. He had experience with land estimation *gasha* and its categories in other *Woredas* of the *Awraja*. Besides, the *Awraja* office of administration, *Gimja Bet*, and the *Woreda Gizat* office of administration and *Gimja Bet* accompanied and supervised the estimation of the land in *gasha* and its classification in the *Woreda*. On behalf of the estimators, they were controlling any assaults against the team. Subsequently, they estimated the *maderia meret*, the *semon meret*, *ye mengist meret*, and the *gibretel meret* into *gasha* and categorized them into: *lem*, *lem-tef*, and *tef* in Nonno *Woreda Gizat* in particular, and the Mocha *Awraja* in general. In 1950, the estimated

⁸³Guluma Gameda, "The Rise of Coffee and the Demise of Colonial Autonomy: The Oromo Kingdom of Jimma and Politic Centralization in Ethiopia", *Northeast African studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, special issue, (Michigan state University Press, 2002), pp. 60-62.

⁸⁴Harrison, p. 292.

⁸⁵Nonno *Woreda Gizat* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 145/16, 5/6/1943 E.C. File No. 39.

land in *gasha* and classified lands in the *Awraja Gizat* were reported to administrative hierarchies to be used as information for land tax and tribute payments to the state.⁸⁶

In 1953, however, the land owners appealed to the administrative hierarchies for unclear estimation and classification of their land in the *Awraja Gizat*. They wished for the cancellation or correction of the estimation with rope and land measuring expertise from the MoI at the center. In response to their application, the Illubabor office of provincial administration ordered the Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to reconsider the unclear estimation of the land as it had a burden on landowners in paying land taxes and tribute to the state in *Woreda Gimja Bets* of the *Awraja Gizat*.⁸⁷ Therefore, since 1950, unmeasured lands of the individual and government land tenures have been almost nonexistent in Illubabor province, in general and the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* in particular.⁸⁸

The imperial government legalized three main types of land tenure systems in Mocha *Awraja Gizat* of Illubabor province: *ye mengist meret* (two-third government land), *ye balabat siso meret* (one-third land local chiefs), and *semon meret*. However, the government owned lands in the *AwrajaGizat* in various forms. One of the basic types of tenures in the *Awraja* is *hudad* and *wareganu meret*.⁸⁹ The two tenures were linked to the imperial palace. They were used for the production of agricultural produce and the grazing of livestock, respectively, for palace consumption. Thus, it is almost impossible to discover the size of the land. Though the imperial

⁸⁶A report from Ayalew Gebru to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Road No 13, 19/5/ 1942. File No. 312; 24/6/1942. File No. 4; Road No. 24/421, 5/8/1942. File No. 9.

⁸⁷Illubabor Provincial office of administration to Mocha *Awraja* office of administration, Ref No. 1142/158, 14/5/1946 E.C

⁸⁸International Development Association, Annex 12, p. 2.

⁸⁹Informants: *Ato Mamo Walasha*, *W/ro Bogalech Beyene*, and *AtoHaile Arengo*.

government owned large tract of land of the tenures in Shawa, Arsi, and Hararge province,⁹⁰ archival sources affirm that the palace also had *hudad* and *wareganu* lands in the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* of Illubabor province. The government forbade the two tenures from being granted and sold in the *Awraja Gizat*.⁹¹

Gibretel meret (a land taken over by the government for failure of the owner to pay land taxes)⁹² is another government land in the *Awraja Gizat*. Archival sources and informants unanimously confirm that the government leased or granted the land through land-granting procedures.⁹³

Moreover, the government owned *ye mar meret* (forested land for honey production). It was leased under quite profitable conditions for the production of honey. This type of government land tenure was completely sold out to the ruling families or the rich rather than the poor tenants in the *Awraja Gizat*.⁹⁴

Further, the government owned a selected and extended tract of 3000 *gasha* of land (120, 000 hectares). This typical land tenure in the *Awraja* was strictly prohibited from being granted and sold out to individuals.⁹⁵ In 1965, the representative of the *Awraja Gizat* to the lower house of the parliament, *Ato* Haile Demise, made it clear in his application to MoI that such government land tenure was selected and demarcated in Illubabor province in general and the Mocha *Awraja*

⁹⁰John M. Cohen, Ethiopia after Haile Selassie: "The Government Land Factor" *African Affairs*, Oxford University Press in the behalf of the Royal African Society, Vol. 72, No. 289, (1973), p. 374.

⁹¹Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to Yeki *Woreda* office of administration, Ref No. 1752/2079/35, 12/9/1964 E.C. File No. 977.

⁹²Cohen, p.374.

⁹³ Informants: *Ato* Jemere Ambo and *Ato* Kebede Tafese; See Appendix V, Provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 6412/7072/64, 27/10/1964 E.C.

⁹⁴Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to Andiracha *Woreda Gimja Bet* Ref No. 281/46, 11/11/1946 E.C; Informants: *Ato*Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato*MamoWalasha.

⁹⁵Provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja* office of administration Ref No. 1002/46, 17/3/1947 E.C; Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to Andiracha *Woreda Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 27, 4/2/1946 E.C; See Appendix VIII, provincial office of administration to Mocha *Awraja* office of administration, Ref No. 8553/ n, 6/12/1949 E.C. File No. 2390

Gizat in particular. The tenure was limited to the province but does not exist in other province of the country.⁹⁶

Land Taxation in Illubabor

There were a number of miscellaneous land taxation in Mocha. Prior to the conversion of the Mocha *Woreda Gizat* to an *Awraja Gizat*, the *Woreda Gimja Bet* collected taxes from various sources: honey production, blacksmiths, *tej* makers, and cereals dispatched to market centers.⁹⁷

Under the order of Illubabor province and the office of the *Bejerond*, *Woreda* governors and *Gimja Bets* used to collect taxes from the peasants. In February 1944, the *Awraja* began identifying payers in the *Awraja*. Hierarchically, the Mocha *Woreda Gimja Bet* began giving legal receipts to the payers with attached timber (stamp), priced at 55/100 *birr*.⁹⁸

In 1947, the central government proclaimed educational tax to be levied on land to support the expansion of primary education in the country.⁹⁹ A decade later, the government also decreed another tax in 1959.¹⁰⁰ At this time it was health tax. Landowners had an obligation to pay these taxes. However, the *semon meret*,¹⁰¹ ecclesiastics, and *maderia* land owners were exempt from both paying taxes.¹⁰²

⁹⁶See Appendix XXII, Haile Demise to MoI, send to Mocha *Awraja* office of administrative with Ref No. 188/760/13, 5/9/1957 E.C.

⁹⁷Deteriorated archive without seal, Ref No. 129/37, 16/4/1937 E.C.; Abera Goletto, Ambachew Choritto, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile and Tewodrose Deyino, Part, I, pp. 100-103; Informants: *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, *Ato* Taresa Dureso, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

⁹⁸Office of provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* Ref No. 134/41; 614/1942 E.C.

⁹⁹*Negaret Gazeta*: Education Tax Proclamation No.94 of 1949; Fassil R. Kiros, "Implementing Educational Policies in Ethiopia" *World Bank Discussion paper* (Washington DC, 1990), p. 6.

¹⁰⁰*Negaret Gazeta*: Health Tax Proclamation No.39 of 1959; Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p. 193.

¹⁰¹Dessalegn, pp. 292-293.

¹⁰²Lapiso, pp. 220-293; Informants: *Ato* Feleke Teferi, *Ato* Jemere Ambo, and *Ato* Haile Arengo.

Until the educational tax decree, was introduced the government did not pay monthly salaries to teachers in Illubabor *Awraja* in general and Mocha *Woreda Gizat* in particular. In place of a monthly salary, the community contributed grains in local measurements to teachers taught in primary schools in the *Woreda Gizat*. Subsequent to the educational tax decree, however, the central government began to allocate budget for both teacher's salary and schools in Illubabor province. The source of the budget relied on educational tax collection.¹⁰³ Besides, the central treasury allotted a significant portion of educational costs to the province. Yet, the province collected the least educational tax revenue between 1948 and 1949, next to Gamo Gofa, in the country.¹⁰⁴ As a result, while thirty-three schools were closed in the province, three of them were in Mocha *Awraja*. Teachers and students depart from Illubabor province, in general and Mocha *Awraja* in particular. Because the *Woreda* governor disregarded the strict rules for tax collection, the tax collection remained ineffective. As a result, Mocha *Awraja Gizat* punished the *Woreda* governor's monthly salaries by ten *birr*.¹⁰⁵

Following the report and request of the Illubabor provincial office of administration to the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, the central government supported the province with 6,384 *birr*. As it was too small amount the provincial administration again reported to the emperor that thirty-three primary schools were closed in the province. The governor requested additional budget teachers as a salary and to cover the costs of the school in the province. The emperor allowed 96,386 *birr*.¹⁰⁶ From the total amount of 24,220 *birr* allotted to Mocha *Awraja*. The

¹⁰³ Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part, II, p. 118.

¹⁰⁴ Fassil, p. 7.

¹⁰⁵ Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part, II, pp. 118-119.

¹⁰⁶ Yonas, p. 25.

Awraja further related the amount to the teacher's salary and the school's budget, respectively, 21,840 and 2,380 *birr*.¹⁰⁷

Later, in order to increase the amount of collect more educational and health taxes collected from the central government ordered the office of Illubabor province, to reclassify lands in the province. In turn, the province ordered Mocha *Awraja Gizat* and *Gimja Bet* to implement the order of the central in the *Awraja Gizat*. Accordingly, the *Awraja Gizat* in collaboration with *Gimja Bet* reclassified lands in Mocha *Awraja* of Illubabor province in 1962. The reclassification was aimed at increasing state revenues coming from under land tribute, *asrat*, educational and health taxes.¹⁰⁸

The reclassification also targeted that if formerly classified *tef* land became *lem-tef* and *lem-tef* became *lem* for better collection of the state revenue for the categorized land in Mocha *AwrajaGizat*. Of course, the reclassification of the land and the assignment of taxes were implemented in the entire *Awraja Gizat* of Illubabor province.¹⁰⁹

The Mocha *Awraja* office administration, in collaboration with the *Awraja Gimja Bet*, ordered the *Woreda Gizat* administration and *Gimja Bet* to implement the reclassification of lands in the lower administrative units of the *Awraja*. The *Awraja* and the *Woreda Gimja Bets* were organized in one team consisting of local *balabats*, *Misilane*, *chiqashum*, and also local elders for the implementation of the land reclassification at the grassroots in the *Awraja Gizat*. The

¹⁰⁷The History of Illubabor Office Schools, 1076 E.C in Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part, II, p. 120.

¹⁰⁸Informants: *Ato*Haile Arengo, *W/ro* Aberash Dakito, and *Ato* Getahun Geremew.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid*.

groups categorized lands in each locality for collection of tax revenue from the landowners¹¹⁰, as indicated below in the table:

Table 2: Tribute, *Asrat*, Educational and Health Taxes Collected from Re-categorized Lands in Mocha Awraja Gizat (since 1962)

No	Type of land	Land Tribute	<i>Asrat</i>	Educational tax	Health tax	Total	Remark
1	<i>lem</i>	13.5	30	13.5	12	86	Each in <i>gasha</i> 40 hectares
2	<i>lem-tef</i>	10	30	12	12	64	
3	<i>tef</i>	5	10	4.5	4.5	24	

Source: Lapiso, p.220; Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Walde Gabriel.

The table indicates that the government re-measured the land in Mocha *Awraja* and revised revenues coming from it to the state in 1962. The government assigned highest amount of *asrat* (30), tribute (13.5) educational (13.5) and health taxes on owners of *lem meret* (fertile land) in the *Awraja*. They paid the four types of revenues on their land in total sum to the state. Though the *lem-tef* owners pay the same amount of *asrat* as *lem* owners, they pay fewer amounts for land tribute, educational and health taxes. They pay the second higher sum amount to the state. Owners of *tef meret*, however, paid the least amount of the total sum amount to the state in the *Awraja*.

Archival sources substantiate the view of informants that educational tax was not only collected from landowners but also from civil servants, including officials in the *Awraja*, who had the obligation to pay the tax from their monthly salary. The provincial *Bejerond*, and the *Awraja* and

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*

Woreda Gimja Bets were authorized to subtract the tax from the employee's salary and deliver it to the state treasury in the province.¹¹¹

The collected money from educational and health taxes was used for the expansion of governmental schools and health facilities in the *Awraja*. Though landlords, civil servants, and officials pay the taxes, the general population in the lower administrative units were not benefitted from the paid taxes. Educational and health offices were restricted to the provincial administrative town. Health clinics, centers, and schools were also limited to the provincial, *Awraja* and *Woreda* administrative centers. The *Awraja* and its *Woreda Gizats* remained, but the failure to cover absence of educational and health offices resulted in lower educational expansion and health facilities in the *Awraja Gizat*.¹¹²

The Imperial government reintroduced the agricultural income tax in 1967.¹¹³ The new decree abolished the *asrat* payment but replaced it with the newly agricultural income tax for the state. By the order of *Dejazmach* Warqu, the *Mocha Awraja Gizat* implemented the agricultural income tax in six *Woredas* of the *Mocha Awraja Gizat*. The *Mocha Awraja Gizat* and the *Gimja Bet* directed the *Woreda Gizat* and *Gimja Bet* to assess agricultural lands and assign the amount of income tax in *Woredas* of the sub-province. As it was the case before, land classification was inconsiderable to assign the new tax to the *Awraja Gizat*. The office of the *Woreda Gizats*, in collaboration with the *Gimja Bet*, assessed and determined the extent of cultivated agricultural land for the collection of the income tax. They determined extensively cultivated land to be 7,

¹¹¹Illubabor provincial office of administration to the provincial *Bejerond*, Ref No. 3325/□252/1, 8/4/1963 E.C. File No.155; *Mocha Awraja* office of administration to the *Gimja Bet*, Ref No. faded, 14/9/1945 E.C: provincial *Bejerond* to its accountant office referring the salary of Demise Walde Aregay, Ref No. 2968/9640/68, 5/10/1968. File No. 268.

¹¹²Informants: *Ato*Haile Arengo, *W/ro* Aberash Dakito, and *Ato*Getahun Geremew.

¹¹³Tilahun, p.89.

average to 3-5, and less than 1.5 *birr* to be paid to the state treasury. All land tillers whether landowners or tenants, had the obligation to pay the tax to the state.¹¹⁴ Since the introduction of the income tax, the *Woreda Gimja Bet* had collected the determined tax differently from the formerly implemented land tax and tribute. The *Gimja Bets* deliver it to the Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to be sent to the provincial office in *Bejerond*.¹¹⁵

Although the landowners had the obligation to pay the tax, they transferred the tax burden to tenants tilling their land in the *Awraja Gizat*. They force them to contribute the payment and deliver it in the name of landlords to the *Woreda Gimja Bets*. Besides taking a high amount of agricultural produce, the landlords not only delegated the agricultural income tax but also the land tax paid to the government. The payment of the income tax made the tenants increasingly discontented and became an additional source of grievance for tenants in the *Awraja Gizat*.¹¹⁶

Tribute, *Asrat*, and Reports

The order for revenue collection passes in descending orders of the administrative levels to the Mocha *Awraja* office of the *Gimja Bet*: MoI → provincial office of administration; *Bejerond* → Mocha *Awraja* office of administration; and *Gimja Bet* → the *Woreda Gimja Bets* *Mikitil Woreda Gizats (Misilanes)* → *balabat, chiqashum*. The collected revenue and its reports, however, were sent to the administrative hierarchies: *chiqashum* and *balabat* → *Misilane* → *Woreda Gimja*

¹¹⁴Informants: *Ato* Shibru Kumsa and *Ato* Jemere Ambo.

¹¹⁵Illubabor office of provincial administration to *Bejerond* and then to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 1965/4136/10, 6/6/1962 E.C. File No. 1236; Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to six *Woreda Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 12536/1131/2, no date, 1962 E.C.; private application to Sale *Woreda* office of administration, private No. 10/62, 3/6/1962 E.C.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*; Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *W/ro* Aberash Dakito, and *Ato* Getahun Geremew .

Bet→ *Awraja* office of administration and provincial *Bejerond*. The *Bejerond* was also sending periodic reports to the provincial office of administration and further to the MoI at the capital.¹¹⁷

Soon after the post liberation period, the Mocha *Woreda Gizat* (before it was converted to *Awraja Gizat*) began the collection of the land tax and *asrat* (before the introduction of the education tax) in *MikitiWoreda Gizats* and delivered them to the Mocha *Woreda Gimja Bet*. In each month, the *Gimja Bet* reported the performance of the collected revenues to the Illubabor main *Gimja Bet* (before being elevated to the province and the *Bejerond* respectively).¹¹⁸

The provincial office of administration followed and controlled the performance of revenue collection and the unpaid revenue in Mocha *Woreda Gizat*. For instance, the office ordered the provincial *Bejerond* to present the collected revenues statistical data and the unpaid revenue in Mocha *Awraja Gizat* for five fiscal years: 1940–1944 and 1945-1949.¹¹⁹

Moreover, *ye astedaderGubae* punished detailed inefficient officials, embezzlements, and misuses. Administrative units established the councils with the highest power, responsible to governors at the provincial office of administration, the *Awraja*, and the *Woreda* office of administration.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷Provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gizats*, Ref No. 7265/4136/1962 E.C. File No. 884: Informants: *AtoHaile Arengo*, *Ato Mebrate Dhaba*, and *Ato Sharew Denbel*.

¹¹⁸Illubabor Provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 3754/12, 1/8/1945 E.C.; A letter from MoI to Illubabor Provincial *Bejerond*, Ref No. faded, 18/1/1945 E.C.

¹¹⁹Illubabor Provincial office of administration to *Teklay Gizat Bejerond*, Ref No.309/18/5, date faded, File No. 1276; Ref No 3754/2, 1/8/1945 E.C.; Illubabor Provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. faded, 28/9/1945 E.C. File No.4794; Ref No. 285/45, 9/10/1945 E.C. File No. 646; See Appendix XIV, Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, to office of the *Bejerond*, Ref No. 4671/45, 14/8/1945 E.C. File No. 503.

¹²⁰Mocha *Awraja* office administration administrative council decision report to Illubabor Provincial administration, Ref No. 399/1/1, 29/1/1958 E.C. File No. 226; *Yeki Woreda* office of administration administrative decision report to Mocha *Awraja* office of administration, Ref No. 645/427, 28/9/1959 E.C.

By the end of the 1960s, administrative units gave credit to the effective collection of state revenues in Mocha *Awraja Gizat*.¹²¹ *Dejazmach* Warqu ordered the Mocha *Awraja Gimja Betsum* that *Woreda* governors and *Gimja Bet shum* must sign together and directly report the collection of revenues to the office of provincial administration. Based on this order, the *Awraja Gimja Bet*, in collaboration with the *Woreda Gimja Bets*, gave due attention to the efficient collection of land tribute, educational taxes, and agricultural income tax in the *Awraja GimjaBet*.¹²² In 1970, *Dejazmach* Warqu determined to control and follow efficient tribute and revenue collection in the *Awraja Gizat*. In the *Awraja Gizat*, the newly restructured *Woreda Gizats* from *Misilane* (Godere, Nonno, and Masha) independently began to pay state revenue and the outstanding tribute differently from the newly introduced income tax. Under the order of the provincial office administration and the *Bejerond*, the Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* and the six *Woreda Gimja Bets* continued the collection of land tax, educational tax, and agricultural income tax in the *Woreda Gizats* of the *Awraja Gizat*. The *Awraja Gimja Bet* also unceasingly reported and delivered the collected revenue to the provincial *Bejerond* until the collapse of the imperial regime in 1974.¹²³

Land and Related Issues in Mocha

Land Grants

In the post-1941 period, the government granted land to various groups in the country namely under the procedures of land-granting systems. The grant of police was based more on political than developmental considerations being placed on land use. Grants were usually given to

¹²¹Ref No. 7265/4136/1962 E.C. File No. 1236; Sale *Woreda Gimja Bet* to Sale-Massango *Mikitiil WoredaGizat serategna*, Ref No. 233/7/1, 27/5/1962 E.C. File No. 1282.

¹²²*Ibid.*; Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to six *Woreda Gimja Bets*, Ref No.1236/1131/2, no date and month, 1962 E.C; provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* Ref No faded, 9/22/2953 E,C File No. 1317.

¹²³Ref No.1236/1131/2, no date and month, 1962 E.C; Ref No. 7265/4136/1962 E.C. File No. 1236; Informants: *AtoDessalegn Deseno*, *AtoHaile Arengo*, and *Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*.

recipients as a reward for their services and loyalty to the administration of the imperial regime. The government used to regulate the grant through a series of special orders emanating from the emperor.¹²⁴

The process of granting the lands began with the MoI (1942–1966) and the Ministry of Land Reform and Administration in mid-1966. Yet, there has been a continued struggle between the MoI and MLRA for authority over all important patronages.¹²⁵ Through MERA has been given the responsibility of land granting after 1966, it could not get control of the granting process in Illubabor province. This was due to inadequate land records in the province and the political strength of MoI at the center. In the 1960s, exploiting the struggle between the two Ministerial Departments and weakening the granting processes from the capital, governors of the province controlled the land granting process without the orders of the central authorities in the *Awraja Gizat* of the province.¹²⁶

The *Hamile* 16, 1934 E.C. (24 July, 1942) order of the emperor permitted soldiers wounded in the 1936 war and those who did not aid the Italians as well as patriots of the liberation period (1937–1941)¹²⁷ to be granted half a *gasha* (20 hectares) of *maderia meret* from the government-owned lands. Two years later, after the first order, the emperor again made another order on *Hamile* 16, 1936 E.C.¹²⁸ Under this order, all soldiers who served prior to 1936 and had not

¹²⁴Cohen, pp. 374-376.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 376.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*; MoI to Illubabor Provincial office of administration Ref No. 28/1/431/11, 4/6/1958 E.C.; provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 8321/ 681/15, 29/9/1958 E.C.

¹²⁷Cohen, p. 376.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*; Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to the *Woreda Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 12/200/5, 16/4/1957 E.C. File No. 780.

received the *maderia* land under the 1942 permitted¹²⁹ half *gasha* from unoccupied government lands.¹³⁰

As discussed above, the process of granting *maderia* land from the MoI, 1941–1966, in accordance with the 1944 order, applicants must obtain a certificate of evidence from the ministry. Archival sources confirm that, since then, the government granted half the *gasha* at *maderia* land to the eligible in Illubabor province, in general and the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* in particular.¹³¹

Archival sources and informants agree that Illubabor *Awraja* office of administration and *Bejerond* passed the orders to Mocha *Awraja*. In accordance with the 1944 orders, soldiers participated in the war against the Italians in Ogaden in 1936, as well as patriots who fought the Italians in Illubabor at Sambe (1937–1941) and were granted half *gasha* of *maderia* land in Mocha *Woreda Gizat* of Illubabor *Awraja*.¹³²

Before granting the land, however, *Dejazmach* Mesfin organized the *Maderia* Land Granting Committee (MLGC), at the office of Illubabor *Awraja Gizat*. The MoI sent soldiers and patriots with land-granting certificates to the office. The recipients were also required to present witnesses that proved they were soldiers and patriots. Furthermore, soldiers and patriots had to present a land-granting application and indicate the address of the land they need to be granted in

¹²⁹Illubabor Provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 6412/1640/64, 28/3/1964 E.C.; MoI to office of Illubabor Provincial administration Ref No. 1712/6952, 6/4/1952 E.C, File No. 928; Ref No. 22200/5, 16/4/1957 E.C. File No. 780.

¹³⁰Ref No. 17/2/1952, 6/4/1952 E.C. File No. 928; Ref No. 22200/5, 16/4/1957 E.C. File No. 780.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, Ref No. 6412/ 1640/64, 28/3/1964 E.C.

¹³²Illubabor Provincial administration to Mocha *Awraja* office of administration, Ref No. 1002/46, 17/3/1947 E.C., Ref No. 1092, 5/4/1947. File No. 396; Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Kebede Tafese, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

the *Awraja Gizat, Woreda, Mikitil Woreda Gizat* and custodians of the government land in the lower administrative units where the land available: *balabat* and *chiqashum*.¹³³

The provincial MLGC carefully identified the history of the applicants and the information about the land they requested to be granted. Is the requested land demarcated for the purpose of the *maderia* land? Who controlled the land before 1935? Is the requested land out of the selected and demarcated 3000 *gashes* of government land? Till now, who controlled the tenure? Is the requested land subject to a court debate with somebody? After identifying the history of the applicants and the information about the requested land, the process of *maderia* land granting flows in descending order further to the custodians of the government land: the *balabat* and *chiqashum*.¹³⁴

Based on information gathered from MLGC, the provincial office of the administration had persistently ordered the Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to identify the requested *maderia* land regarding the aforementioned questions. The provincial office of administration had also announced the provincial *Bejerond*, which in turn had ordered the Mocha *AwrajaGimja Bet* to identify the land in accordance with the questions. Further, the *Awraja* office of administration and the *Gimja Bet*, respectively, ordered the *Woreda* office of administration and the *Gimja Bet* had been asked to identify the requested *maderia* land in lower administrative units from the *Mikitil Woreda Gizat* and local agents.¹³⁵ Reported from the lower administrative units, the Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* in turn reported to the provincial office of administration and the *Bejerond*. If the applicant positively responded to the questions, the office will approve, and the

¹³³ Illubabor Provincial administration to four *Awraja Gizat*, Ref No. 2437/54, 10/3/1957 E.C.; Ref No. 27, 4/2/1946 E.C.

¹³⁴ Ref No. 1002/46, 17/3/1947; Ref No. 1092, 5/4/1947 E.C. File No. 396.

¹³⁵ Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to Sale *Woreda* office of administration, Ref No. 689/1, 18/5/1947 E.C. File No. 817.

applicant could be granted the land in the *Awraja Gizat*.¹³⁶ Except for land tax, *maderia* land recipients had the obligation to pay other taxes on their land to the state. Though they had rights to lease their lands to tenants, they were deprived of selling, inheriting, or transferring as gift the land to third parties. Despite the private nature of the tenure, the *maderia* land essentially belonged to the government. On the condition of a crime or violating the regulation of the *maderia* land grant, the government would confiscate the land and transferred it to other persons.¹³⁷

The emperor provided another special grant under article 31 of the revised constitution of 1955. The grants executed- by the Ministry of Pen (MoP) to powerful supporters and imperial favorites to be granted under this order are difficult. The process of granting usually took more than 5 years. It began with collecting of granting certificate from the center (MoI). As a result, very few high level elites were granted the *maderia* land under this category of the orders.¹³⁸

In 1959, the imperial government issued another decree that added half *gasha* of government land to soldiers. Based on the decree, the MoP ordered the office of the Illubabor Provincial Administration to grant the additional half *gasha* to be a full *gasha* they obtained under the order of 1944. In turn, the office directed the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* and the *Awraja* passed orders to its three *Woredas* for the implementation of the granting in the *Awraja Gizat*.¹³⁹

During his office, *Dejazmach* Girmachew, suggested to MoI that the land-granting process between the office of the Illubabor Provincial Administration and the ministry consumed time

¹³⁶ Illubabor Provincial office of administration to Mocha *Awraja Gizat*, Ref No. □-102, 13/3/1949 E.C. File No. 675.

¹³⁷ Cohen, p.374; Informants: *Ato* Mamo Walasha, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *W/ro* Bogalech Beyene.

¹³⁸ Cohen, p.77.

¹³⁹ MoI to Illubabor office of provincial administration, Ref No. □/17927, 4/12/1956 E.C.; Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to the three *Woreda* office of administration, Ref No. 554/760/13, 14/5/1957 E.C.

and was inaccessible. The governor preferred the granting process in the province to be handled by office of administration and the provincial *Bejerond*.¹⁴⁰ In response, the Ministry had permitted the province in 1955. As a result, the provincial governors controlled the *maderia* lands granting process in Mocha *Awraja Gizat* in particular and other *Awraja Gizats* of the province without the interference of the central government.¹⁴¹

After 1966, however, MLRA took over the responsibility of granting *maderia* land. Yet, the Ministry could not get control of the granting process in the absence of adequate land records at the provincial level as well as the highland *Awraja Gizats* of the province: Gore, Buno Bedele, and Mocha.¹⁴² On the other hand, the MLRA and MoI have been in struggle over authority. The political strength of MoI's overtook the power of MLRA. As a direct result, the governors of Illubabor province continued their control of the *maderia* land granting processes without the order of MLRA in the highland *Awraja Gizat* of the province.¹⁴³

Though the authority grant land had been transferred to the MLRA, the MoI became politically strong and continued to send applicants to the province. Land was to be provided by two authorities: the province and MoI.¹⁴⁴ In order to solve the domination of the Illubabor governors in *maderia* land granting, the MoI ordered the provincial office of administration to send information about the government's land remaining from the grant in the province.¹⁴⁵ Based on the order, the office of provincial *Bejerond* passed orders to the *Awraja Gizats* of the province in general and the Mocha *Awraja* in particular to meet the needs of the central government. In

¹⁴⁰ *Dejazmach* Girmachew to the MoI, Ref No. 9324/1/5, 10/10/1957 E.C. File No. 586.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*; Harrison, pp. 289-290.

¹⁴² Harrison, pp. 289-290.

¹⁴³ MoI, to Illubabor Provincial administration, Ref No. 2831/1651/27, 12/11/1964 E.C. Ref No. 8024

¹⁴⁴ Provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 2086/454/48, 10/5/1958 E.C. File No. 930.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*.

Mocha *Awraja*, the *Awraja Gimja Bet* used to collect the information of land remained from the land granted in three *Woreda Gizats* of the *Awraja*. The *Awraja Gimja Bets* reportedly complained about the reports of the *Woreda Gimja Bet* to the administrative hierarchy.¹⁴⁶

Similarly, *Dejazmach* Girmachew ordered the Mocha *Awraja* office of administration that the un-granted or remaining land from the *maderia* land grant must be registered and documented in the *Woreda Gimja Bet* of the *Awraja Gizat*. The land was prohibited from being granted but stayed in the care of the *Gimja Bets*.¹⁴⁷

In 1967, the Ministry of Defense (MoD) sent its messages to the MLRA granting a *gasha* of land to the members of the defense, and higher military officials.¹⁴⁸ Those whom the order deserved collected their land-granting license from the ministry. But some members of the Imperial Bodyguard and police officers came to Illubabor Provincial administration without a land license from the ministry. Some of them also simply collected land from their immediate leaders without fulfilling the required procedures. Though not legal, the provincial administration and the *Bejeron*d arranged the process of granting, considering their national obligations and moral crisis during their retirement period.¹⁴⁹ The two provincial offices ordered the highland *Awraja Gizats* in general and the Mocha *Awraja* in particular to grant the land in the *Awraja Gizat*. Applicants were sent to the *Awraja* and then to *Andiracha Woreda Gizat*. However, archival sources confirm that despite being legalized with certificates, some members of the Imperial Bodyguard and police officers did not obtain the *maderia* land in *Woreda Gizat* of the Mocha *Awraja Gizat*.

¹⁴⁶ Illubabor office provincial administration to four *Awraja Gizat*, Ref No. 11206/1/5, 7/12/1957 E.C.

¹⁴⁷ Ref No. 2086/454/58, 10/5/1958 E.C. File No. 930.

¹⁴⁸ MoD to MLRA, Ref No. 18/116/6/6/3/1, 11/6/1960 E.C. File No. 49.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

Though the majority did not receive the *Awraja Gizat*, the grant concerned soldiers who did not obtain the *maderia* land but were still under the passed orders.¹⁵⁰

The process of granting land was time-consuming, from owning bureaucracies down to the custodians of the government land, the *balabat*, and the *chiqashum*.¹⁵¹ In 1972, *Dejazmach* Warqu warned and prohibited the Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* from granting land only based on the orders of the provincial office of land tenure and administration. He was cognizant that the MLRA had been directly ordering the office of provincial administration, and then the office ordered the provincial land tenure and administration for granting the land in the *Awraja Gizat*. But to do so results in the punishment of the sub-provincial *Gimja Bet shum* (appointment).¹⁵² The *Awraja GimjaBet* passed the order to the six *Woreda Gimja Bets* of the *Awraja* and performed in the need of the provincial governor-general.¹⁵³

In summary, following directives were sent from the province of Illubabor to Mocha *Awraja Gizat* and then to the center to grant land to soldiers and patriots. The continuous government land grant as *maderia meret* in the province in general and the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* in particular was to reduce opposition and secure loyalty to the administration of the imperial regime.¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the politics of land tenure in Mocha *Awraja* discriminated against the majority and reduced their state to tenancy. The government granted most of its land as *maderiameret* to patriotic soldiers who had participated in the war of liberation against Italian invaders. They

¹⁵⁰*Ibid*; Andiracha *Woreda Gimja Bet* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 396/59, 13/10/1959 E.C. File No. 1578; Illubabor office of provincial administration to Mocha *Awraja* office of administration, Ref No. 2224/14/125, 3/10/1960 E.C. File No. 960; Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to the three *Woreda Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 4541/659/14, 13/8/1959 E.C.

¹⁵¹Informants: *Ato* Taresa Dureso, *Ato*Dessalegn Deseno, and *Ato*Haile Arengo; Illubabor Provincial administration to Mocha *Awraja Gizat*, Ref No. 224/14/125, 3/10/1960 E.C. File No. 960.

¹⁵²*Dejazmach* Warqu to four *Awraja Gizat*, Ref No. 13549/ 421/3; See Appendix XVIII, provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 6412/1641/64, 28/3/1964 E.C. File No. 134.

¹⁵³ Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to six *Woreda Gimja Bets*, Ref No. 234/659/14, 10/4/1964 E.C.; Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to six *Woreda Gizats*, Ref No. 721/974/18, 30/3/1964 E.C.

¹⁵⁴Informants: *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato* Jemere Ambo, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel; Johan, p.379.

were absentee land lords in the *Awraja Gizat*. Landlords had the right to live everywhere they liked by renting their lands to tenants. They rented the land in three modes of payment: cash (very high 66%), cash and crop (medium 25%), and crop (very low 9%). In the contract agreement, 90% of the two groups agreed verbally. So, the land lords rent their lands under quite profitable arrangements without farming themselves on the lands. As more government lands were granted, private ownership and renting accelerated the high rates of tenancy in the province in general and the Mocha *Awraja* in particular.¹⁵⁵ In the 1960s, the rates of tenancy in the province rose to 75%, making it the second highest in the country next to Jemjem.¹⁵⁶

In 1965, representative from the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* to the lower house of the Ethiopian parliamentary system, *Ato* Haile displayed in his application to the MoI that the government owned 75% of the land in the *Awraja Gizat*. He also added that the government had been granting the land to patriotic as *maderia* and *rist meret* (inheritable land). Yet, against articles 36 and 37 of the Imperial Constitution officials of Illubabor province, evicted peasants of the Mocha *Awraja Gizats* and grant the land to applicants. Moreover, he made it clear that without the knowledge of the center, the province selected, demarcated, and named it 3000 and 10000 *gasha* of land in the province; such lands were unique to the province compared to other province of the country. Stemmed by this unjust administration, tenants in the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* experienced a miserable life: poverty and famine. The representative struggled to the end of eviction, but land granting to the landless and a better life for the people for whom he represented in the parliament.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Dessalegn Deseno, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

¹⁵⁶Femyhough Timothy Derek, *Serfs, Slaves and Shifita: Mode of Production and Resistance in pre-Revolutionary Ethiopia 1950-200* (Addis Ababa Press, 2009), p.61.

¹⁵⁷See Appendix XXII, Application of Haile Demise to the MoI, send to Mocha *Awraja* office administration with Ref No. 188/760/13; 8/9/1957 E.C.

Land Grants to Landless and Unemployed People

As land grants were made to patriotic soldiers, the emperor permitted landless and unemployed Ethiopians to be granted with land for their livelihood.¹⁵⁸ In 1950, the emperor visited the capital of Illubabor province, Gore. He promised tenants to grant a *gasha* of land from government-owned lands in the *Awraja Gizat* of the province; Buno Bedele, Gore, and Mocha (each ten hectares). Despite the promise, however, the land was not passed to the majority of tenants in Mocha *Awraja* or also the province. A very small number of tenants who had relatives with officials and officers had got the land. Instead of granting it in accordance with the promise, officials used their offices and reserved the land for themselves in the name of their relatives and those who had proximity to them.¹⁵⁹ Three years later, the emperor decreed that all landless people were entitled to land. On November 1, 1953 (*tikimt* 23,1945), the emperor used half a *gasha* (20 hectares) of unoccupied government land for the landless and unemployed nationals.¹⁶⁰ However, the provincial officials made fraud through cumbersome and slow procedures.¹⁶¹

Archival sources confirm that continuous orders were hierarchically passed to Mocha *Awraja Gizat* for granting the land to the landless of the *Awraja Gizat*. In December 1957, the MoI ordered *Dejazmach* Gerasu Duki (governor-general of Illubabor province) to provide government land to landless and unemployed nationals in the province. The ministry made it clear that the governor should grant the land in accordance with the 1953 land-granting decree of the emperor. The provincial office of administration, the *Awraja* office of administration, and the

¹⁵⁸Chosen, p. 376.

¹⁵⁹Mengesha, P. 30; Asefa, "Administrative History of Illubabor" p. 126.

¹⁶⁰MoI to *Dajach* Gerasu Duki (governor-general of Illubabor province, Ref No. □/392/, 15/14/1950 E.C. File No. 664.

¹⁶¹Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Taresa Dureso, and *Ato* Sharew Denbel.

GimjaBet were responsible for processing the land granted to the eligible.¹⁶² The latter two offices also ordered the *Woreda* offices of administration and the *Gimja Bets* which further informed them of the lower administrative units of the sub-province: *Misilane, balabat* and *chiqashum*.¹⁶³

Under the order, the landless people were required to apply and present a witness who proves that the applicant was landless and unemployed. The witnesses were the local *balabat atibiya dagna* and two local elders. They used to promise and made an oath in the name of God that the applicants were landless and unemployed in front of the executive committee: the *Woreda* governor, *Gimja Bet shum* and the judge of court. The committee used to prove that the applicant was landless and unemployed. It commented on the granting of half *gasha* of land to the applicant and sent the information to the *Awraja Gimja* office of administration. The governor general of the province used to approve and send the information to the MoI for further approval and legal registration of the land in the name of the receivers.¹⁶⁴ In spite of the hope of the landless, however, land provided to him/her protracted without any reason in the province in general and the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* in particular.¹⁶⁵

In 1960, *Ras Hailu Belew* (the governor-general of Illubabor) exchanged messages with the MoI to provide the prolonged land provision to the landless in three highland sub-provinces of the province: *Buno Bedele, Gore, and Mocha*. The Ministry once again passed an order to the province that landless people must be granted the land promised by the provincial governor-general under the witness of the applicants. Moreover, the Ministry informed the governor that

¹⁶² Ref No. □/3921, 15/4/1950 E.C. File No, 664; Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to six *Woreda Gimja Bets*, Ref No, 1523/659/14/64, 8/4/1964 E.C.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*; Informants: *Ato Feleke Teferi, Ato Mebrate Dhaba, and Ato Zena Welede Gabriel*.

¹⁶⁴ Ref No. □/392/, 15/4/1950 E.C. File No 664.

¹⁶⁵ Informants: *W/ro Yeshi Bacha, Ato Haile Arengo, Ato Tarekegn Abdisa, and Ato Zena Welede Gabriel*.

land grants concern those landless people who have previously settled on government lands in the three *Awraja Gizat* of the province. Yet, the grant would be outside of the land provided to individuals for the different services they delivered to the imperial government.¹⁶⁶ If done, it would not get the approval of authorities at all administrative units.¹⁶⁷

Before the actual granting, however, land measurements in *Qalad* (the rope used for land measurements) became mandatory to get accurate information about the land for processing the granting to the eligible. Though the criteria remained as earlier, re-measuring the government land in all the *Awraja Gizats* and the Mocha *Awraja*. The information about the land that remained outside from the grant after land re-measurement, with its specific address: *Woreda Gizat, Mikitil Woreda, balabat and chiqashum* in Mocha *Gizat* would be sent to the MoI. The land stayed with its information to be allotted to the disadvantages of these orders.¹⁶⁸

Nonetheless, the officials assigned for the purpose of land measurement were inaccessible in the province. Under such problem, the land to landless was again extended in Mocha *Awraja Gizat* in particular. In solving the problem, *Ras Hailu* reported the MoI and urgently requested to send land measuring officials from the center to the province.¹⁶⁹ In due course, the provincial office of the *Bejerond* knew that Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* that the measuring experts would come to the province and the *Awraja Gizat* in particular. The office of *Bejerond* ordered the *Gimja Bet* not to provide the land until the experts were given to the *Awraja Gizat*.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ MoI to *Ras Hailu Belew*, Ref No. co/304,3/16/1953 E.C. File No. 564

¹⁶⁷ Provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 1265/321/5, 9/8/1954 E.C. File No. 349; Ref No. 834/1612/35, 25/7/1959 E.C.

¹⁶⁸ MoI to *Ras Hailu Belew*, Ref No. □/2304, 3/6/1953 E.C. Provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref 643/2341/12 10/10/1953 E.C. File No. 2146.

¹⁶⁹ See Appendix XX, Office of Illubabor Provincial administration to the MoI, Ref No. 5575/658, 18/7/1953 E.C.

¹⁷⁰ Provincial office of *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 341/624/6.

However, the MoI responded to the request of the governor that all land measuring experts were on file in other province of the country. Thus, the ministry was unable to send the experts to the province. Instead, it ordered the offices of the provincial administration to grant the eligible, as it was formerly measured government lands. But still, it was unmeasured, with 500 meters of width by 800 meters of height (nearly a *gasha* of land) in each *Awraja Gizats* of the province. Moreover, the ministry was further aware that if the measurements were larger or smaller, they were subject for correction by the experts of the measurement in the highland sub-province of the province.¹⁷¹

In 1953, the provincial office of administration and the *Bejerond* passed subsequent orders to the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* and the *Gimja Bet* on the order of the emperor. The last two offices also passed orders, respectively, to the *Woreda Gizat* and *Gimja Bet* for processing the provision of land to the landless and unemployed nationals in the *Awraja Gizat*. Though many landless people applied and requested land, the officials did not provide them in accordance with the orders given from 1953 to 1962. The *Awraja* granted land to thirty landless and unemployed nationals in the *Awraja Gizat*.¹⁷² The land provision in the *Awraja Gizat* was from identified and demarcated 10,000 *gashas* of the government landless.¹⁷³

In 1962, the provincial office of the administration criticized the governor of Mocha *Awraja*, *Kenagzmach* Wale Teferi, for the passiveness of the *Awraja Gizat* to implement the orders of the emperor as well as the province. Though the province had passed orders so many times, the

¹⁷¹MoI to Illubabor office of provincial administration, Ref No. □/8302, 14/9/1953.

¹⁷² Provincial offices of administration to Mocha *Awraja* Governor, *Kenagzmach* Wale Teferi; 6/4/1957 E.C. Ref No, 7011.

¹⁷³Illubabor Provincial director to Mocha *Awraja Gizat*, Ref No, 3571/1/15, 6//4/1957 E.C. File No. 326; Mocha *Awraja Gizat* to the three *Woreda Gizat*, Ref No, 340506/460/13, 15/8/1955 E.C.; office of provincial administration to the three highland *Awraja Gizat*, Ref No. 642/355/10, 16/7/1957 E.C. File No. 54.

Awraja Gizat granted the land for fewer landless people in the *Awraja Gizat*.¹⁷⁴ Under the *Awraja Gizat*, the *Woreda* and *Gimja Bets* also delayed the land granting process under the pretext of identifying the requested government land from *Misilane, balabat* and *chiqashum* in the lower administrative units.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, the provincial administration added that the *Awraja* did not respond to the subsequent orders of the province and asked the reasons why the land provision led to landless delayed and protracted in the *Awraja Gizat*. The office advised the *Awraja Gizat* to report the grant in less than a month. Further, the office advised the *Awraja Gizat* governors of the Mocha *Awraja Gizat*.¹⁷⁶

Likewise, disappointed by the bureaucracies of the *Woreda Gimja Bet* and repeatedly visiting the landless to the *Gimja Bet*, the *Awraja Gimja Bet* ordered the three *Woreda Gimja Bets* to urgently identified and granted land to the landless in each *Woreda Gizats* of the *Awraja Gizat*. In 1962, the *Gimja Bet* warned to punish the *Woreda Gimja Betshums*. Unless they properly discharged them of the given responsibility.¹⁷⁷

As it is elucidated in the earlier sub-topic, the representative of the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* to the lower house of the parliament, *Ato Hailu Demise*, presented the case of the *Madeira* land granted to supporters, the selection and demarcation of government lands, and the miserable lives of tenants in the *Awraja Gizat*. He had included in his application and made it clear about the land-granting process for the landless in the *Awraja Gizat*. Based on his application, the emperor ordered the quick grant of land to support the economy of landless people and there by promote agricultural development in the country in general and the Mocha *Awraja* in particular. The

¹⁷⁴ 6/4/1957 E.C. Ref No. 3571/1/5. File No. 326.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to the three *Woreda Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 6432/5311/18, 19/6/1957 E.C. File No. 2216.

emperor also permitted any nationals who were landless and unemployed to apply to the province of *Awraja* and *Woreda Gizats*. They could receive the ordered 20 hectares of *rist* land from the government in *Awraja Gizat*. For those who begin developments on the granted land, the emperor promised the cancellation of land tribute for five years as *asrat* payment to the state, aimed at supporting the development on the granted land. Moreover, the emperor ordered the governors to help the landless in the development of agriculture, animal husbandry, and trading in their respective administrative units.¹⁷⁸

Nonetheless, in accordance with his application, the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* in Illubabor province could not provide land to the landless based on the order of the emperor. Though thousands *gasha* of government land was available, the officials were not ready to provide the land to the landless in the *Awraja Gizat*. As they were unable to get a response in the *Awraja*, so many landless people presented their petition to the provincial office of administration, the *Bejerond*, but it didn't hear any fruit.¹⁷⁹ Rather than passing the land to the eligible, officials in the Mocha *Awraja* apparently granted the land to none landless and also sold it in cash for their own advantage. Without taking the land, the landless wasted their time frequently visiting the government offices in the *Awraja Gizat*.¹⁸⁰ As a result, the landless could not get the land and became employees in privately owned agricultural developments and animal husbandry. Their lives remained subsistent, accompanied by poverty and famine. Finally, in order to allot the permitted land, the representative suggested to the MoI that the land-granting committee should

¹⁷⁸Provincial Land Tenure and administration to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No.508/62, 15/12/1962 E.C. File No.2089.

¹⁷⁹See Appendix XXII, Haile Demise to MoI, 8/9/1957 E.C to Mocha *Awraja* office to administration with Ref No. 188/760/13. File No. 964.

¹⁸⁰Illubabor Provincial administration to Mocha *Awraja* governor, *Kenagzmach* Wale Teferi, 6/4/1957 E.C.; to the three highland *Awraja Gizat*, Ref No. 642/355/10, 16/7/1957 E.C. File No. 7011.

be reorganized hierarchically at the Mocha *Awraja* of administration and the *Woreda Gizat* of the *Awraja Gizat*.¹⁸¹

Besides bureaucratic red tapes, the government land identification process took a longer time; protracted the process; and resulted in time-wastage for the landless people of the *Awraja Gizat*. Moreover, the decree to provide land to the landless remained unimplemented.¹⁸² In spite of repeated visits to the office of the *WoredaGizat*, the landless tiredly gave up their request to be benefitted by the order of the emperor.¹⁸³ Using their offices, officials own large government lands in two ways: by purchasing and taking those in the name of their relatives people who had stayed with them, and families. Despite granting the land, they responded to the landless by identifying the government land to be granted to the applicants.¹⁸⁴

Though the order permitted males to be landowners, it forbade women from having a partner. This mean the decree reserved the granting in the name of husband, not in the name of wife. If the land granted in the name of wife, officials at each administrative level did not approve, but restored the land to the government For instance, *Waizero Abebech Kidane* in *Sorena Gabba AwrajaGizat* of the province applied and granted the land. But she was found to have her own husband. Consequently, the land granted to her lacked the approval of authorities at each administrative unit and was finally returned to the government. The mistake she made was taken as an example by *Dejazmach Warqu* to make the *Mocha Awraja Gizat* aware to abstain from such mistakes and do their responsibilities with careful attention. Therefore the order did not consider

¹⁸¹See Appendix XXII, Ref No. 188/760/13. File No. 964.

¹⁸²6/4/1957 to *Kenagzmach* Wale Teferi, to the three highland *Awraja Gizat*, Ref No. 642/355/10, 16/7/1957 E.C. File No. 711.

¹⁸³*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴to *Kenagzmach* Wale Teferi, 6/4/1957 E.C; Informants: *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa .

The MoI gave the provincial office of administration in Illubabor directions in November 1959, directing them to give the land to the province qualified public personnel. The office then directed the Mocha *Awraja* office of administration and *Gimja Bet* to handle the land provided to *Awraja Gizat* government officials, while the provincial office of *Bejerond* also issued the same directive.¹⁹² Of course, the *Awraja* and other *Awraja Gizat* of the province (Buno Bedele, Gore, and Gambella) were also instructed by the office of provincial administration to carry out the land grant across the province.¹⁹³

Nonetheless, the order prohibited civil servants from interrupting their services and excluded those who had less than five years of service for the government. These groups could not enjoy the privilege of the land grant. But no source of income by witness could get the land in accordance with the 1953 decree of the emperor.¹⁹⁴ The provincial office of administration and the *Bejerond* ordered the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* and the *Gimja Bet*, for the implementation of the order in the *Awraja Gizat*.¹⁹⁵

Civil servants were required to apply for the land with where the land was found they needed to be granted in the province. They should also had to present witnesses who prove that the applicants had to land in then *Awraja Gizat*. Based on the application and witnesses of the civil servants, the MLGC at the office of the provincial administration used to carefully identify the land they requested from the land records of the province available at the office. The information was sent to the provincial office and that of the *Bejerond*. Based on the information from MLGC,

¹⁹²*Ibid*; provincial office of *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja* office of administration Ref No. 390/9/33, 16/3/1952 E.C. File No. 503; Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to six *Woreda Gimja Bets*, Ref No. 659/14/1289/64, 20/11/1964 E.C.

¹⁹³See Appendix V, Provincial office of *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 6412/7072/14, 27/10/1964 E.C.

¹⁹⁴Ref No. □/825, 8/2/1952 E.C.

¹⁹⁵Provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 390/33/1, 13/3/1952. File No. 503.

the *Bejerond* used to order the Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*.¹⁹⁶ The *Gimja Bet* also to the *Woreda Gimja Bet*. The *Woreda Gimja Bet* identified the requested land from such administrative units, the *Mikartil Woreda Gizat, balabat, and chiqashum*. The *Gimja Bet* obtained information about the land from land records and also from the lower administrative units. The *Gimja Bet* also carefully identified the land before it was legally provided to the applicants. The requested particular area of the land in the *Woreda Gizat*, the information of the land before the Italian occupation, whether the land is out of 3000 *gashas* or not, whether the land had court case or not, whether the land had an application for purchasing or not, its boundary with the adjacent government, and one-third of the land (*siso*) of *balabat* must be examined.¹⁹⁷

The information about the land was reported to the Mocha *Awraja* administration office, *Gimja Bet* and then to the provincial offices of administration and *Bejerond*, respectively. Based on the report, the provincial office of administration and the *Bejerond* approved the land grant in the *Awraja Gizat*. The two offices in their respective jurisdictions set the approved land to the *Awraja Gizat*, then to the *Woreda Gizat* and *Gimja Bet*.¹⁹⁸

Since 1964, however, the *Awraja* office of administration, in collaboration with the *Awraja Gimja Bet* granted and approved the grant in Mocha *Awraja*. Though the land granting process excluded the higher officials of the province , the MoI and office of Illubabor province, administrate cognizance to the *Awraja Gizats* of the province in general, and the Mocha

¹⁹⁶ A letter from Illubabor Provincial office of administration to Mocha *Awraja Gizat*, Ref No. 1738/64, 30/10/1964 E.C. File No. 629.

¹⁹⁷ See Appendix XXI, A letter from Illubabor Provincial office of administration to the MoI, Ref No. 9579/658, 2/10/1953 E.C; to four *Awraja Gizats*, Ref No. 11206/1/5, 7/12/1957 E.C. File No.356.

¹⁹⁸ Provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, land approved for the Andiracha governor, Ref No.8564/876/85, 15/8/1965. File No. 2234.

Awrajain particular that the provincial administration could be granted and controlled the process at all administrative levels of the province .¹⁹⁹

Since the decree, land grants to civil servants continued in Mocha *Awraja* and also in other *AwrajaGizats* of the province. This was because civil servants who did not previously for the land-granting process in the *Awraja Gizat* of the province.²⁰⁰

In 1964, the MoP again reordered the province for an additional half-*gasha* of land provision to soldiers. In addition to the soldiers, the ministry permitted civil servants to obtain similar land grants. Based on the order of the central government, *Dejazmach* Girmachew, director of the provincial office of administration, ordered the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* to grant the land to civil servants of *the Awraja Gizat*. The order did not include the formerly provided civil servants but those who could not get land due to service years and now filled the requirements of the grant.²⁰¹

In accordance with the order, civil servants, particularly *Woreda* governors and officials, applied hierarchically to the office of provincial land tenure administration and further to MLRA. For instance, based on the application of the *Andiracha Woreda* governor, the Mocha *Awraja* office of administration ordered the *Awraja Gimja Bet* to provide the applicant governors with land as *rist* and finally, the provincial administration approved the grant as a gift in 1972.²⁰² Likewise,

¹⁹⁹Ref No. 9579/658, 2/10/1953 E.C; to four *Awraja Gizats*, Ref No. 11206/1/5, 7/12/1957 E.C. File No.356.

²⁰⁰Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to six *Woreda Gimja Bets*, Ref No. 659/14/1289/64, 20/11/1964 E.C.

²⁰¹Illubabor Provincial Director to four *Awraja Gizats*, Ref No. 2437/511, 10/4/1957 E.C. File No.854; Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to three *Woreda* office of administration, Ref No. 1220/25/12, 17/4/1957 E.C. File No.780; Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to three *Woreda Gimja Bets*, Ref No. 401/659/14/62, 14/4/1962 E.C.

²⁰²Ref No.8564/876/85, 15/8/1965 E.C. File No.2234.

the office permitted the Mocha *Awraja* officials a *gasha* of land out of the *hudad*, *waraganu*, and forested land of the government.²⁰³

Although they had *siso meret*, *balabats* also applied to be granted with government land for the services they delivered at the lower administrative levels of the *Awraja Gizat*. To give an example, the province granted a *gasha* of land to *balabats* of Sale Massango in Sale *Woreda Gizat* of the Mocha *Awraja* from the government land they administer in their respective areas. The provincial MLGC approved the grant to the local chiefs as civil servants of the *Awraja Gizat*.²⁰⁴

Nevertheless, the majority of the civil servants in the *Awraja Gizat* could not get the land because of the long bureaucracies' at all administrative levels, particularly in the *Woreda Gimja Bets* of the *Awraja Gizat*. Rather than giving emphases to the general civil servants, the officials granted land to officials who hold offices and were apparently agents of the regime as civil servants in the *Awraja Gizat*.²⁰⁵

Administration Land Lease

Income for the state came from land in various forms. One ways of them was through government land leased to tenants or interested individuals.²⁰⁶ Sources indicate that 376,224 (73%) of the government lands in the province were leased to tenants.²⁰⁷ A large amount of land was also leased in Mocha *Awraja Gizat* of the province. In the *Awraja Gizat*, most of the

²⁰³Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to Yeki *Woreda Gimja Bet*, Ref No.977/665/14, 5/9/1964 E.C. File No.977; Ref No.1752/2079/35, 12/9/1964 E.C.

²⁰⁴See Appendix VIII, Sale *Woreda Gizat* to Mocha *Awraja Gizat*, Ref No.8553/Π-6, 1/11/1953 E.C.

²⁰⁵Informants: *Ato Befekadu Debela*, *Ato Girma Asrat*, and *Ato Sharew Denbel*.

²⁰⁶Informants: *Ato Haile Arengo*, *Ato Molla Gessesse*, and *Ato Feleke Teferi*.

²⁰⁷Cohen, p.17.

government lands were categorized as let-lease-outs with cash payments of annual 30 *birr* per *gasha*.²⁰⁸

The process of land rent in the *Awraja*, however, had been corrupted by practices of the *Woreda Gimja Bet*. Archival sources indicated that the *Woreda Gimja Bets* grab their illegal incomes from leasing government lands in their respective administrative areas of the *Awraja Gizat*.²⁰⁹

Local agents, the *balabat* and the *chiqashum* at grassroots level i.e., under the sub-district administered the government lands in their respective administrative jurisdictions. However, sometimes the *Woreda Gimja Bet* used to order the agents to demarcate government lands they illegally leased out to individuals. The *Gimja Bet* hiding the information about the contracted land and *gibretel meret* from the knowledge of *Woreda Gizat* and the *Awraja Gimja Bet*. Government land leased, however, required horizontally the knowledge of the *Woreda* office of administration and vertically the *Awraja Gimja Bet*.²¹⁰

Though records were available at the offices of *Woreda Gizat*, *Gimja Bet*, and the *Awraja Gimja Bet*, local agents followed and controlled the *gibretel meret*, which was suggested to be reversed by the government.²¹¹ This type of land was considered as government land and was leased out to tenants on cash payment, similar to other government land in the *Awraja Gizat*. Some *Woreda Gimja Bets*, however, rented out it legally without dispatching the information about the land to the concerned bodies of administrative hierarchies. The *Gimja Bet* were ordering the *balabats* and the *chiqashums* to demarcate the unlawfully leased *gibretel meret*. The agents used to pass

²⁰⁸ Documented Government Land Lease in *Woreda Gizats* of Mocha *Awraja Gizat* 1964-1966 E.C; provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No.3868/71/67, 4/1/1967 E.C.

²⁰⁹ See Appendix XXIII, Illubabor Provincial Land Tenure and administration to office of Mocha *Awraja* Land Tenure and administration, Ref No.3868/4880. 23/9/1966 E.C. File No.1665; Sale *Woreda Gizat* to Mocha *Awraja Gizat* to *Woreda Gimja Bet*, Ref No.236/402/8, 20/4/1966 E.C.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*.

²¹¹ Informants: *Ato Mebrate Dhaba*, *Ato Molla Gessesse*, and *Ato Zena Welede Gabriel*.

and demarcate the adjacent government land or land possessed by individuals into the illegally leased-out lands. Based on the application or accusations of individuals, the *Woreda, Gizat*, and the *Awraja Gimja Bets* cancelled the illegal leased and corrected the boundary by ordering the local agents. The *Awraja Gimja Bet* also presented the *Woreda Gimja Betshum* for punishment to the administrative council of the *Awraja Gizat*.²¹²

Archival sources show that ordinary individuals also misused the *gibretel meret* in the name of the higher authorities of the *Awraja Gizat*. They had illegally controlled land clearing it were representatives of the *Awraja* officials. They rented land illegally to tenants and collected *erbo* (one-third produce) for their own advantage. Yet, the *Awraja Gimja Bet*, in collaboration with the *Woreda Gimja Bet*, followed and controlled such illegalities and forcefully committed the crime of paying back the collected *erbo* to the *Woreda Gimja Bets* of the *Awraja Gizat*.²¹³

In legal government land leasing, tenants were required to apply and present individuals who guarantee to cover the land lease payment in the event of their failure.²¹⁴ Government land leases in the *Awraja Gizat* were also based on various criteria similar to the land-granting process. Before renting the requested land, the *Woreda Gimja Bet* properly identified the information about the land in the *Woreda Gizat*. For long years, under whom then land was? Was the requested land needed for the government's outstanding tribute and interest? Was it free from the settlement of the tenants? Was it outside of the government's developmental projects? After identifying the information about the land, the *Woreda Gimja Bet* reported the information horizontally to the knowledge of the *Woreda* office of administration and vertically to the

²¹²Ref No.236/402/8, 20/4/1966 E.C; Sale *Woreda Gizat* to Sale *Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 236/402/8, 20/4/1966 E.C. File No.416.

²¹³Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to Masha *Woreda* office administration, Ref No.3808/2079/35, 22/12/1962 E.C.

²¹⁴*Ibid.*; Sale *Woreda Gimja Bet* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No.114/99/67, 9/3/1967 E.C; Informants: *Ato Dessalegn Deseno, Ato Haile Arengo, and Ato Jemere Ambo.*

Awraja Gimja Bet. Unless the unilateral government land leased by the *Woreda Gimja Bet* it, would not get the approval of the authorities at each administrative level of the Mocha *Awraja Gizat*.²¹⁵

Annually, the *Woreda Gimja Bet* collected the revenue coming from government land leased in each *Woreda Gizats* of the *Awraja Gizat*. The statistical data of the contract, along with its annual income, was reported to the *Awraja Gimja Bet*, which was further sent to the provincial office of *Bejerond*. The *Bejerond* also controlled the collection, including to whom the land was leased out in documents available at the office.²¹⁶ Under the order of the office of *Bejerond*, the *Awraja* and the *Woreda Gimja Bets* forced individuals to contract the land for payment of the outstanding land leases. If not paid, the *Woreda Gimja Bet* accused the individual guarantee to whom the land was leased out in regular courts of the *Woredas* in the *Awraja Gizat*. Under the order of the *Awraja Gimja Bet*, the *Woreda Gimja Betshum's* accuse was involuntary to pay in regular courts.²¹⁷

In April 1974, orders passed hierarchically from the center to the province, the Mocha *Awraja*, and then to *Woredas* of the sub-province. The order prohibited government land leases until the ministry of land tenure and administration sent regulations to the Mocha *Awraja Gizat*.²¹⁸

²¹⁵Ref No.236/402/8, 20/4/1966 E.C; A message sent to Sale *Woreda Gizat*, Ref No.231/602/8. File No.1345.

²¹⁶Ref No.3868/71/67, 4/1/1967 E.C; Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet shum* to Illubabor Provincial office of land tenure administration, Ref No.659/157/67, 9/2/1967 E.C; Ref No.659/115/67, 25/1/1967 E.C; Sale *Woreda Gimja Bet* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No.18/99/5/67, 18/1/1967 E.C; Ref No.114/99/67, 9/3/1967 E.C.

²¹⁷Ref No.3868/71/67, 4/1/1967 E.C; Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to four *Woreda Gimja Bets*, Ref No.659/60/66, 11/1/1967 E.C; provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No.1974/771/67, 15/3/1967; Ref No.6868/405/67, 19/2/1967 E.C. File No. 4031.

²¹⁸ Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to the *Awraja* land tenure and administration office, Ref No. 2009/760/13, 22/8/1966 E.C; Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to six *Woreda Gimja Bet*, Ref No.659/707/66, 15/8/1966 E.C.

Government Land Sells in Mocha *Awraja*

It is important to note that land ownership in the post-war period accelerated in the Mocha *Awraja* of Illubabor province. Land could be gained through *maderia* land granted and purchased from both private and government sources. Archival sources prove that rich individuals could easily purchase land from both sellers in the *Awraja Gizat*.²¹⁹

Though it was theoretically impossible to sell the *balabat siso* land, archival sources confirm that the land could be sold under certain circumstances. If the owner was unable to pay the land tax and reported, the *Woreda Gimja Bet* could sell out the land to applicants. The *Gimja Bet* also used to sell the government *mar-meret* to applicants of the land in the *Awraja Gizat*. Therefore, private land ownership in the Mocha *Awraja* could be acquired through *maderia* land grants as well as purchases from the government and private owners.²²⁰

²¹⁹Illubabor office of administration to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No.410, 5/5/1944 E.C; Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to Andiracha *Woreda Gimja Bet* Ref No.95/9/41, 16/7/1944 E.C.

²²⁰Andiracha *Woreda Gizat* to Andiracha *Mikitil Woreda Gizat*, Ref No. faded, 15/8/1944 E.C.; Andiracha *Woreda* office of administration to Masha *Mikitil Woreda Gizat*, Ref No.388/1, 10/8/1944 E.C; Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to Andiracha *Woreda Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 137, 13/3/1945 E.C. File No.2213.

Table 3: Example of Private Land Ownership through Purchase in Mocha Awraja Gizat, 1950.

No.	Name of the Woreda Gizat	Name of the Purchaser	Type of land	Size in (<i>gasha</i>)	Classification type	Tax paid to the state				Total
						Land tax	<i>Asrat</i>	Educational tax	Receipt price	
1	Andiracha	Girazmach Hagos Berhe	<i>Siso</i>	1.5	<i>Lem</i>	5.85	45	20.25	0.40	70.90
			<i>Maderia</i>	1	<i>Lem</i>	-	30	13.5	0.20	43.70
			<i>Maderia</i>	2	<i>Lem-tef</i>	-	60	24	0.40	84.40
			<i>Siso</i>	9	<i>tef</i>	31.5	90	40.5	1.5	163.80
			<i>Rist- Gult</i>	11.5	<i>tef</i>	40.25	115	51.75	0.20	207.20
		Gezahegn Gabremariam	<i>Siso</i>	5	<i>Lem</i>	17.5	150	67.5	1	236
			<i>Maderia</i>	4	<i>Lem</i>	-	120	54	0.80	174.80
			<i>Siso</i>	8	<i>tef</i>	28	80	36	1.6	145.60
			<i>Maderia</i>	1	<i>tef</i>	-	10	4.5	0.20	94.70
2	Yeki	Demise Walde Yohannes	Purchase from	8.5	<i>tef</i>	29.75	85	38.25	1.20	154.20
			<i>Siso</i>	1	<i>Lem</i>	3.90	30	13.5	0.30	47.70
			<i>Maderia</i>	2	<i>Lem</i>	-	60	27	0.40	87.40
			<i>Siso</i>	1.5	<i>tef</i>	5.25	15	15	0.20	27.20
Grand Total				56		162	890	397.5	8.4	1552.6

Source: Girazmach Hagos Berhe, Gezahegn Gabremariam and Demise Walde Yohannes respectively, Yeki Woreda Gimja Bet to Mocha Awraja Gimja Bet, File No. 150, 151 and Ref No. 2431/53, 10/10/1953 E.C. File No. 1842.

As table shows, landownership in Mocha Awraja was unrestricted but can be owned in different ways. As indicated in the table *siso* landowners pay *asrat* 30 birr per *gasha* of *lem meret* and

maderia meret owners pay similar amount to the state. Both type of payment remained the highest amount and followed by the educational taxes collected from both type of the landowners. Though the *maderia* landowners were exempted from land tribute payment, *Siso meret* owners pay the least amount compared to the *asrat* and the educational tax. *Siso meret* owners pay 3 *birr* and 50 cents for land tribute of the *tef meret*, 10 *birr* for *asrat* and 4 *birr* and 50 cents for educational tax. The payment for such land type remained the least amount from the three types of land categories in the *Awraja*.

The landlords leased out to tenants under quite profitable arrangements without working themselves on their land. Nonetheless, during his visit to the provincial town of Gore in 1950, Emperor Haile Selassie promised tenants of the province to sell a *gasha* of government land for 5 *birr*. Contrary to the promise, however, officials reserved the land for themselves in the name of their relatives and ties.²²¹

The attempt to increase state revenues from land was carried out in various ways. In January 1952, the MoP (the emperor's secretariat) suggested to the MoP and MoF about government land sales to the landless of the country.²²² The emperor permitted tenants to purchase the land at a low price to make them land owners for their better economic lives and also for the development of the land.²²³

As discussed in the preceding sub-section, the government owned land in different forms in Mocha *Awraja Gizat* of Illubabor province. Moreover, since 1950, 10, 000 *gashas* of land were selected and demarcated in the *Awraja* and placed under the control of the office of provincial

²²¹Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

²²² Temesegen, p.560.

²²³ Mengesha, p.32; Illubabor Provincial Land Tenure and administration to the three highland *Awraja Gizat*, Ref No.65/480/66, 3/4/1966 E.C. File No.2566.

Bejerond.²²⁴ The government permitted this land to be sold at legal prices to the landless people of the *Awraja Gizat*. In fact, the sale of such land was not only limited to the *Awraja Gizat* but also 78to the highland sub-province (Buno Bedele, Gore, and Soor ena Gabba *Awraja*) of the province.²²⁵

To process land sale, the Government Land Selling Committee (GLSC) was organized at the office of provincial administration. The landless were required to apply to the office. The GLSC carefully identified the requested land with numerous criteria similar to the land granting and leasing procedures: was the applicant landless? Was the requested item out of *maderia* land? Was it out of the 3000 *gashas*? Had it been under a court debate? Based on the orders of the center, the provincial office of administration and the *Bejerond* directed the Mocha *Awraja* office of administration and *Gimja Bet* to sell the identified land in the *Awraja Gizat*.²²⁶

In order of MLRA, the provincial land tenure and administration displayed that out of 10, 000 *gashas* in each highland *Awraja Gizats* of the province, only 3615 (36.15%) was sold to landless people from 1950 to 1968.²²⁷ In Mocha *Awraja*, however, the *Woreda Gimja Bet* reported to the *Awraja Gimja Bet* the absence of documented land-selling information in *Woredas*.²²⁸

In 1968, *Fitawrari* (later *Dejazmach*) Warqu recognized other GLSC at the office of provincial administration. The Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet shum*, leader of the committee, was the *rist* record *shum* from the office of provincial land tenure administration and deputy of provincial *Bejerond*.

²²⁴Ref No. 65/480/66, 3/4/1966 E.C. File No.2566; Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to *Woreda Gimja Bets*, Ref No. 659/386/66, 22/4/1966 E.C; See Appendix XXX,Mocha *Awraja* Land Tenure and administration manager to assistant manager, Ref No.240/507/13, 13/4/1966 E.C.

²²⁵*Ibid.*

²²⁶*Ibid.*; Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to four *Woreda Gizats*, Ref No.100/659/14, 28/1/1961 E.C; Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to the *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No.3/949, 9/4/1944 E.C. File No.793.

²²⁷See Appendix XXX,Ref No.65/480/66, 3/4/1966 E.C, File No.2566; Ref No.240/507/13, 13/4/1966 E.C.

²²⁸Masha *Woreda Gimja Bet* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 75/66, 17/5/1966 E.C; Sale *Woreda GimjaBet* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No.50/66, 25/4/1966 E.C.

The committee was given the responsibility to sell the government land from 10, 000 *gasha* in each *Awraja Gizat* to the eligible. Moreover, the governor's general cognizance required the committee to carefully identify both the applicant and the requested land²²⁹ as per the aforementioned criteria of the land-selling process. Yet, identification of the requested land and the landless consumed a long time. Theoretically, after careful analysis of the applicant and the requested land, the committee reported to the governor general for processing the approval of the land sold to applicants. The applicants sent land-selling letters to their *Awraja Gimja Bet*, then to the *Woreda Gimja Bet* and further to the custodians of the government land: the *balabat* and *chiqashum*.²³⁰

Nevertheless, the process had protractedly consumed the working time of the landless, emanating from the bureaucracies of officials at all administrative levels, particularly in *Woreda Gimja Bets* and local agents of the government land in *Awraja Gizat*. Therefore, the majority of the landless people in the *Awraja Gizat* could not purchase government land in accordance with the order of the central government.²³¹

However, using their offices, the provincial officials owned a large amount of land by purchasing and taking it in the name of their own sons, and relatives. For instance, besides having *maderia* land grant, *Ras Mesfin Sileship* purchased *gibretel merete* and inherited some this land to his son, *Jara Mesfin*.²³² The governor-general had a large size in different entities of the province. He had an estimated 50,000 *gasha* in Illubabor province and Kaffa, where he governed both provinces.

²²⁹See Appendix XXIV, Illubabor Provincial Land Tenure and administration to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 3356/901/60, 9/1/1961 E.C. File No.1001; Ref No.100/659/14, 28/1/1961 E.C.

²³⁰Provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No.163/246/11, 24/3/1961 E.C; Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to Sale *Woreda Gimja Bet*, Ref No 722/61/62, 5/4/1961 E.C; Sale *Woreda* to Sale-Massango *Mikitiil Woreda Gizat*, Ref No.334/66/61, 25/5/1961 E.C.

²³¹See Appendix XXIV, Ref No.3356/901/60, 9/1/1961 E.C. File No.1001; Informants: *Ato Dessalegn Deseno*, *Ato Haile Arengo*, *Ato Molla Gessesse*, and *Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*.

²³²Mengesha, p.92.

His land in both province and substantial land in Shawa and Hararge made him the biggest land lord in Ethiopia.²³³ His successors, *Dejazmach* Tasew Walelu and *Dejazmach* Warqu, had extended land through purchase in their own name and names of their relatives.²³⁴ The governor of Gore *Awraja*, *Fitawrari* Demise Alamirew, owned government land through the same process in the province.²³⁵

Similarly, archival sources reveal that Mocha *Awraja* officials purchased government land in the name of the deceased or the absence of such names. The sources further indicate that the *Andiracha Woreda* governor, *Kenagzmach* Haile Denemero, had purchased government land in Mocha *Awraja Gizat*. The governor re-sold the land for a high profit, and inherited it for his son and relatives.²³⁶ Archival sources further tell us that not only the governor but also the employees in the *Woreda Gimja Bets*, and the *Awraja Gizat* officials purchase government land and resold it with profits, and inherited it from their family members.²³⁷ Likewise, the *balabats* also purchased government land in their names and those of their sons for the same purposes in the *Awraja Gizat*.²³⁸

However, the land sale was not based on study and has influenced the process of development in the province. After purchasing the land, owners resold it for higher profits than making development on the land. As a solution, the MLRA prohibited the sale of government land in

²³³Teshale, p.50

²³⁴Asefa, "A History of Toba" p. 37; Asefa, "Administrative History of Illubabor" p. 133.

²³⁵Asefa, "Administrative History of Illubabor" p. 133.

²³⁶*Andiracha Woreda Gimja Bet* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No.342/56, 30/11/1956 E.C. File No.2234, land transfer certificate, model 1-5, number 46530; Mocha *Gimja Bet* to Yeki *Woreda Gimja Bet*, Ref No □/7/1489/50, 13/12/1950 E.C. File No.2234

²³⁷Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to Yeki *Woreda* office of administration, Ref No.2617/3283/52, 30/7/1959 E.C. File No.339; Provincial *Bejeron*d approve land purchasing in sons and also re-sell in Mocha *Awraja*, Ref No.803/7712/5, 25/2/1951 E.C.

²³⁸*Andiracha Woreda Gimja Bet* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* about *Kenagzmach* Haile Denemero (governor of *Andiracha*) land purchase and its transfer to his relatives, Ref No.3/8/56, 26/10/1956 E.C. File No.3223.

Illubabor province in general and the Mocha *Awraja* in particular. The ministry preferred the land to be granted to favorites, half *gasha* to landless tenants, and leased it out to Ethiopians for short and long terms. By the order of the ministry, *Dejazmach* Warqu had ordered the highland *Awraja Gizats* in general and the Mocha *Awraja* in particular to deter the sale of the government in the *Awraja Gizat*.²³⁹

Legalizing Land Sells, Gifts, and Inheritance

In Mocha *Awraja Gizat*, landownership was unrestricted and was transferred through selling, gifts, and inheritance. As already discussed, land sales in the *Awraja Gizat* were accelerated in the post-1941 period. In private land sales process, the two parties used to agree in written form and reported to the *Woreda Gimja Bet*. Then *Gimja Bet* used to register the information and process the transfer of the land in the names of the purchasers.

The *balabat* had no right to sell the *siso* land. But archival sources show that the *Woreda Gimja Bet* could sell land to applicants because of failure of land owners to pay the land taxes. However, the sources clearly indicated that *balabats* could transfer the *siso meret* as gifts. The information about the gifted land was reported to the administrative hierarchies, similar to the other land-selling type. The two parties also had the obligation to visit the *Awraja Gimja Bet* for the processing of the approval of the gifted land for the recipients.²⁴⁰

As in the process of land selling and transfer as a gift, also inheritance was legalized after the two parties agreed in written form and reported to the *Woreda Gimja Bet*. If it was found legal

²³⁹Illubabor Provincial *Bejerond* directly Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, referring the three highland *Awraja Gizats*, Ref No. 6412/6960/61, 21/11/1961 E.C. File No.1991.

²⁴⁰Ref No.803/7712/5, 25/2/1951 E.C. File No.55; certificate of land transfer from *Kenagzmach* Haile Denemero to his brothers, Ref No.1321/807/10, 19/9/1956 E.C.; Ref No.342/56, 30/11/1956 E.C. File No.2234; Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to Andiracha *Woreda* office of administration, Ref No.753/10, 14/5/1946 E.C. File No. 2234.

found, the *Gimja Bet* could process the inheritance and approved. In general, the process of approval of inherited land was similar to the land sale and gifts in the *Awraja Gizat*.²⁴¹

The MoI found that the process of transferring landownership was too costly and a challenging to the rural population. According to the required procedure the two parties were expected to travel a long distance for the service to the *Awraja Gimja Bet* this was particularly true for the far away *Woredas* of Yeki, Godere, Sale. By considering this in 1961, the ministry suggested a solution so as to ending the hardship of the rural population for the *Awraja Gimja Bet*. Thus, the ministry ordered *Ras Hailu Belew* that the services of land transfer in the form of sale, inheritance, and gifts be accessible at *Woreda Gizats* with the responsibility of the *Woreda* governors and *Gimja Bet shum* (Appointment). Accordingly the office of the Illubabor Provincial administration ordered the sub-provincial governors of the province: Buno Bedele, Gore, and Mocha to implement the order.²⁴²

Despite the order, however, the assistant *enderase* of the province, *Fitawrari Walde Samayat Tessema*, complained the service delivery at *Woreda Gizats*. In 1961, the deputy *enderase* sent a message to the MoI (Eritrean *enderase* Lieutenant General Abiyi Abebe). He informed the mischiefs done to the Ministry that the *Woreda* governors and *Gimja Bet shum* in the *Awraja Gizats* of the province sell the legalized lands of individuals under the pretext of holding large size. According to him they aggravate disagreements between the seller and the purchaser of the lands. He also added that the local authorities without orders from higher authorities, they enforced and sales and contracts in the *Awraja Gizats* of the province whether foreign nationals legally became Ethiopian citizens or not. Moreover, he added that *Woreda* governors in the

²⁴¹Andiracha *Woreda Gimja Bet* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No.385/56, 29/12/1956 E.C. File No. 2234; land transferring receipt from *Kenagzmach* Haile Denemero to his relatives, mode 5/□. File No. 96627.

²⁴²A letter from MoI to Illubabor governor-general, *Ras Hailu Belew*, Ref No. □/4708, 2/6/1953 E.C. File No. 58.

Awraja Gizats were not educated, can not even write their names properly, and cannot manage their employees. Therefore, he resented the service delivery at *Woreda Gizat* against the order of the ministry on the other hand. He preferred the service to be delivered as experienced before.²⁴³

Despite the order of the ministry, the service of land selling, inheritance, and gifts continued as it was before. In spite of subsequent orders from the ministry, the service at *Woreda Gizats* of the highland *Awraja Gizats* in general and the *Mocha Awraja* in particular protracted for more than five years. In *Mocha Awraja*, customers from three *Woreda Gizats* continued to get the service from the *Awraja Gimja Bet*.²⁴⁴

Lastly, in 1966, the MoI reordered the provincial office of administration to implement land sales, gifts, and inheritance at the *Woreda Gizats*.²⁴⁵ Accordingly, the offices of provincial *Bejerond* directed the *Mocha Awraja Gimja Bet*. By order of the *Mocha Awraja* office of administration and the *Gimja Bet*, respectively, the three *Woreda* governors and the *Gimja Bets*, the service began to be implemented in the *Woreda Gizats* under the responsibility of the *Woreda* governors and the *Gimja Bet shum's*.²⁴⁶ From 1966 onwards the service delivery was easily accessible to the population of *Mocha Awraja Gizat*. The information on land sales, inheritances, and gifts was, however, continually sent to the *Awraja* office of administration, the *Bejerond*, and to the MoI.²⁴⁷

²⁴³ Assistant *enderase* of Illubabor province, *Fitawrari Walde Samayat Tessema* to MoI (Lieutenant general Abiyi Abebe) Ref No. 9579/658, 2/10/1953 E.C.

²⁴⁴ *Mocha Awraja* office of administration to the three *Woreda* governor, Ref No.3272/974/18, 24/10/1958 E.C. File No. 2167.

²⁴⁵ Illubabor Provincial office of administration to the three highland *Awraja* governors, Ref No. 5/1/7, 30/9/1958 E.C.

²⁴⁶ Illubabor Provincial *Bejerond* to *Mocha Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 544/5846/58, 10/10/1958 E.C. File No. 2206.

²⁴⁷ *Mocha Awraja* office of administration to the *Mocha Awraja* land tenure and administration office, Ref No.2009/760/13, 22/8/1966 E.C; Ref No.659/707/66, 15/8/1966 E.C.; Informants: *Ato*Kebede Tafese, *Ato*Haile Arengo, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

Bete Rist Meret (Land of the Royal Family)

In Ethiopia, the emperor's family and other dignitaries had large tract of land in the urban area and the provinces.²⁴⁸ In most cases, the information about these landholdings was never publicized.²⁴⁹ The extended land granted to the family of Emperor Haile Selassie I in Illubabor province in general and the Mocha *Awraja* in particular was known as *Bete rist meret*. The granted land in the name of the emperor family was aimed at the service of the palace in the capital.²⁵⁰

By the order of the two provincial offices, the *Awraja* office of administration and the *Gimja Bets*, granted and demarcated the land in the province. In accordance with the order, officials granted the land in the Mocha *Awraja Gizat*.²⁵¹ Accordingly, 7 *gasha* of land was granted to the emperor's wife, *Girmawit Etege* (empress) Menen in Andiracha, *Woreda Gizat* of the *Awraja Gizat*.²⁵² In Masha *Woreda Gizat* of the *Awraja*, particularly at Degele, 16.5 *gasha* of *Bete rist meret* granted and registered in the name of the empress.²⁵³

In Nonno *Woreda Gizat* of the *Awraja*, the emperor owned a large area of land in the name of his sons, daughters, and wife. In the *Woreda*, a *gasha* of *Bete rist meret* was owned under the name of the *Etege* Menen. The daughter of the emperor, Tenagnework Haile Sellassie, owned 125 *gasha*, of land of which 19 of them were *semon meret*. The son of the emperor, *Liul Shale* Sellassie, was also granted 11 *gashas* of and registered them in his name. In the *Woreda*, the

²⁴⁸Wagaw Bogale, "A History of the Betii Rist (Private Domain) Office of Emperor Haile Selassie I: A Study in Royal Property Management, 1941-1975" (PhD. Dissertation, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2016) p. 210.

²⁴⁹Harrison, p.270, 302; Mengesha p.32.

²⁵⁰Informants: *Ato*Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Sharew Denbel

²⁵¹Informants: *Ato*Haile Arengo, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, and *Ato* Feleke Teferi.

²⁵²See Appendix XXVII, XXVIII and XXIV Ref No. 6531/46, 4/13/1946 E.C, Ref No. 6532/46, 4/13/1946 E.C.

²⁵³Statistical of *Etege* Menen *bete rist* in Masha *Woreda* in Degele *kebeles*, No Ref No, without seal, 30/4/1967 E.C; Nonno *Woreda Gimja Bet* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 294/67, 6/5/1967 E.C.

family owned 207 *gashas* of *Bete rist meret*. Out of the total *gasha*, 118 were registered as purchased land, and 19 were registered as *semon* land.²⁵⁴ In the Godere *Woreda Gizat* of the *Awraja*, the emperor had 500 *gashas* of land was registered under his son *Liul Asfawasen Haile Sellassie*.²⁵⁵

The office of the *Bete rist meret* from the palace used to directly assign representative administrators of the land in each *Woreda* of the *Awraja Gizat* with a monthly salary.²⁵⁶ Besides, the office was also granting a *gashas* of land to the assigned administrator from the *Bete rist meret* as *rist* and another as *Madeira* land for their services.²⁵⁷ They used to pay tax for the land on behalf of the administrators. In fact the provincial office of administration and *Bejerond* used to follow and control the administrative of the land on behalf of the centrally assigned representative administrators in the *Awraja Gizat*.²⁵⁸

At the lower administrative units of the *Awraja Gizat*, local *Melkegnas (balabats)* also supervised and controlled the royal family's land in their administrative areas as well as that of the government. For instance, an extended land was registered in the name of princes *Tenagnework* in *Nonno Woreda* was controlled and supervised by local *Melkegna* such as *Haile Danu, Lolasa Diga, and Sileshi Kifessa*.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁴ Documented statistical data of *bete rist meret* in *Nonno Woreda Gimja Bet*, model 16/□, 1966 E.C. File No. 784.

²⁵⁵ Informants: *Ato Haile Arengo, Ato Sharew Denbel, and Ato Tarekegn Abdisa* ; Of course, the granting of such land to the royal family was not only in *Mocha Awraja Gizat* but also in *Buno Bedele, and Gore Awraja Gizats* of the province.

²⁵⁶ Informants: *Ato Haile Arengo, Ato Sharew Denbel, and Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*.

²⁵⁷ Provincial *Bejerond* to *Mocha Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 8/35/3803/67, 30/4/1967 E.C.

²⁵⁸ See Appendix XXVII, XXVIII and XXIV Ref No. 6531/46, 4/13/1946 E.C, Ref No. 6532/46, 4/13/1946 E.C.

²⁵⁹ Documented statistical data of *Bete rist meret* in *Nonno Woreda Gimja Bet*, model 16/□, 1966 E.C. File No. 784.

Except the *semon* land, all lands of the royal family were registered as purchased land, probably because tribute was paid for the lands. The *Woreda Gimja Bets* in Mocha *Awraja Gizat* leased the land to tenants in cash payment of 30 *birr* annually, similar to the government land leasing procedures. The *Gimja Bet* also collected the rent and reported its statistical data to the *Awraja Gimja Bet* to be sent to the office of the provincial *Bejerond*.²⁶⁰ Moreover, the *Gimja Bet* collected the land tribute from the *Bete rist meret*. The payment did not come from the royal family. The representative of the land used to force the renters to contribute to the payment.²⁶¹ The *Gimja Bet* also rented forested *Bete rist meret* to tenants for honey production. The representative administrators collected one-third of the production, called *erbo* in traditional measurement, known as *Gundo*.²⁶²

Archival sources confirm that the family had the right to own, give up, and sell the lands in the *Awraja Gizat*. For instance, *Girmawit Etege Menen* gave up her seven *gasha* of *Bete rist meret* in the *Andiracha Woreda* of the Mocha *Awraja Gizat*. In 1953, *Girazmach Hagos Berhe* and *Ato Gezahegn Gabremariam*, the known land lords of the *Woreda*, applied to the office of Illubabor Provincial *Bejerond* to purchase, respectively, four and three *gasha* of the land. Under the order of the *Bejerond*, the Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* directed the *Andiracha Woreda Gimja Bet* to sell the land to the applicants.²⁶³

On the eve of the collapse of the imperial regime, the emperor reconsider his movable and immovable resources in abroad and in to the Ethiopians. In 1975, the *Derg* ordered the office of Illubabor Provincial administration to report any resources registered in the name of the

²⁶⁰*Ibid.*

²⁶¹*Ibid.*

²⁶²Informants: *Ato Taresa Dureso.*, *Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*, and *Ato Sharew Denbel*.

²⁶³See Appendix XXVII, XXVIII and XXIV Ref No. 6531/46, 4/13/1946 E.C, Ref No. 6532/46, 4/13/1946 E.C.

emperor's family in the province.²⁶⁴ In turn, the two offices passed orders to the Mocha *Awraja* office of administration and the *Gimja Bet*. The *Awraja Gimja Bet* compiled reports of the *bete rist meret* and the family members of the emperor owning the land in the *Awraja Gizat* to the office of the provincial *Bejerond*.²⁶⁵ The employees believed that they were legally paying tribute to the government.²⁶⁶

Table 4: Summarized *bete rist meret* (land of the royal family) in Mocha *Awraja Gizat*

Name of the <i>Woreda Gizat</i>	Owned under the family name	Size in <i>gasha</i>	Land condition	Remarks
1.Andiracha	<i>Etege Menen</i>	7	Measured	Wife of the emperor, sold in 1953
2.Noonno	<i>Etege Menen</i>	1	Measured and classified	She owned in three <i>Woredas</i>
	<i>Lielt Tenagnework</i>	195	Measured and classified	Daughter of the emperor, 19 as <i>semon meret</i>
	<i>Liul Shale Selassie</i>	11	Measured and classified	Son of the emperor
3.Masha	<i>Etege Menen</i>	16.5	Measured and classified	Adjacent to Nonno
4. Godere	<i>Liul Asfawasen Haile Selassie</i>	500		Informants
Grand Total		730.5 <i>gasha</i> (30,681 hectares)		

Source: Archival source for See Appendix XXVII, XXVIII and XXIV, 1-4, Ref No, 6531/46, 4/13/1946 E.C; 6531/46, 4/13/1946 E.C; Report on *Etege Menen meret* 30/1/1946; model 16/□, 8/6/1966E.C, for No.4; Informants: Haile, Sharew, and Tarekegn.

Royal Awards Land Issues and the Parliamentarian Concern

²⁶⁴See Appendix XXVI, Illubabor office of *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, Ref No 3155/3891/67, 8/4/1967 E.C.

²⁶⁵Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to provincial *Bejerond*, Ref No 643/432/5/1, 6/6/1967 E.C.

²⁶⁶See Appendix XXVI, Ref No. 3155/3891/67, 8/4/1967 E.C; Illubabor Provincial office of *Bejerond*, Ref No. 3155/3903/67, 14/4/1967 E.C; Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

Emperor Haile Selassie visited the administrative town of Illubabor province, Gore, in 1950. During his visit, the emperor ordered *Dejazmach* Tasew Walelu to carefully identify loyal and administratively efficient local agents (*balabats*) who performed tasks entrusted to them at the lower administrative level of the *Awraja Gizats* in the province.²⁶⁷

Under the order of the governor-general, office of Mocha *Awraja* administration selected some local agents and sent them to the assembly chaired by the emperor at the town.²⁶⁸ The emperor compensated the attendant *balabats* with imperial titles: *Kenagzmach*, *Girazmach* and *Balambaras*. The emperor also granted rewards to those *balabats* who did not welcome the Italians during their occupation of Illubabor province (1937-1941).²⁶⁹

Five years later, the emperor invited the popular, loyal, and administratively efficient *balabats* of the province to the silver anniversary of his coronation in 1955.²⁷⁰ By the order of the emperor and the *Dejazmach* Gerasu Duki, the Mocha *Awraja* office of administration invited *balabats* to attend the ceremony at the capital (Addis Ababa). The office selected *balabat* Abdisa Saboka from Sale-Massango *Mikiti Woreda Gizat* for the ceremony. The *Awraja Gizat* selected him for his efficient collection of land tribute, *asrat*, educational tax, and administration of government land in his administrative area of the lower administrative level of the *Awraja Gizat*. The emperor awarded him *medal* and *kaba* for his better administration in the sub-district of the *Awraja Gizat*.²⁷¹

At the ceremony, the emperor also announced that he would promulgate another constitution for the Ethiopian people. He signaled the attendants of the highland sub-province to inform their

²⁶⁷ Asefa, "Administrative History of Illubabor" p. 147.

²⁶⁸ Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Kebede Tafese.

²⁶⁹ Asefa, "Administrative History of Illubabor" p. 147.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 148.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*; informants: *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel, and *Ato* Zeleke Sachachew.

local people about the new constitution on their return to their respective province.²⁷² The revised constitution of 1955 would provide for the first general parliamentary election in 1957.²⁷³ In Mocha *Awraja Gizat*, individuals owning property, including measured land with its classifications, were eligible to be candidates for property registration election to Ethiopian lower parliamentary. Yet, educational background was not needed as a benchmark for the election. The candidates were selected without universal adult suffrage.²⁷⁴ Archival sources prove that, from 1957 to the downfall of the imperial regime, the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* elected three consecutive representatives to the lower branch of the country's parliamentary system.²⁷⁵

In Andiracha, the *Awraja Gizat* candidate, *balabat Kenagzmach* Haile Denemero²⁷⁶ stayed deputy branch, he returned to the *Awraja Gizat* and requested the office of *Woreda* as compensation for his support of the imperial government. Archival sources confirm that the MoI and *Dejazmach* Girmachew, the governor-general of Illubabor province, approved his request of the Andiracha *Woreda* Governor in 1962.²⁷⁷ At the same time the *Awraja Gizat* elected *Ato* Ayana Walde Mariam from *Yeki Woreda Gizat* in 1957. After joining the parliament, the representative attempted to get the practical implementation of the 1945 emperor's order "Land to Landless" in the *Awraja Gizat*. The representative was directly brought from the MoI to be implemented in the three *Woreda Gizats* of the *Awraja*, the representative further ordered and

²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ Viveca Haldin Norberg, "A Study in early Development Co-operation, Swedes in Haile Selassie's Ethiopia: 1924-1952", *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies*, No.92, University of Uppsala, Sweden, 1977, p.49.

²⁷⁴ Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Kebede Tafese.

²⁷⁵ Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to the three *Woreda* offices of administration, Ref No.2524/19, 13/9/1954 E.C. File No. 1369; Haile Demise to MoI, 8/9/1957 E.C, See Appendix XXII, Mocha *Awraja* office of administration with, Ref No. 188/760/13. File No. 964.

²⁷⁶ Informants: *Ato* Dessalegn Deseno, *Ato* Haile Arengo, and *Ato* Sharew Denbel.

²⁷⁷ See Appendix IV, Ref No. 4179/342, 26/4/1957 E.C. File No. 2234.

directed the *Woreda* governors to implement it in accordance with the emperor's order without harming for the landless of the *Awraja Gizat*.²⁷⁸

In the second round of election the *Awraja* nominated candidate *Ato* Haile Demise from *Andiracha Woreda* to the lower house of the parliament. Similar to the first elector, he put perseverance for the better life of tenants (landless) and the *Awraja Gizat*. He presented an application to the MoI and displayed that Illubabor province, granted individual legal lands to supporters and sold them unlawfully against the order of the center. Contrary to the order of the emperor, the province and the *Awraja Gizat* never attempted to deliver the government land to landless people in the province ; they sold the lands and leased them out in cash to individuals they preferred. He further described in a message that the province selected, demarcated, and named 3000 and 10,000 *gasha* of land that never exist in other province of the country. Due to such administrative injustice, the landless people who could receive land experienced a miserable life in the *Awraja Gizat*. Finally, in order to end the hardship and help the landless, the representative suggested to MoI that a government land grant committee should be organized at the *Awraja* and *Woreda* offices of administrations.²⁷⁹

In the third round of election, the Mocha *Awraja* elected from three *Woredas* to represent the parliament system of the country from Masha. Yeki and Nonno *Woreda*. The representatives stayed at the Deputy Branch of the Parliament until it was dissolved in 1974.²⁸⁰

Government Response to the Social Problems of Officials and Civil Servants

As elucidated in sub-section, the government attempted to provide government land to the civil servants of the *Awraja Gizat* aimed to solve economic problems they face during the retirement

²⁷⁸Ref No.2524/19, 13/9/1954 E.C. File No. 1369.

²⁷⁹See Appendix XXII, Haile Demise to MoI, 8/9/1957 E.C.; Ref No. 188/760/13. File No. 964.

²⁸⁰Informants: *Ato* Mamo Walasha, *Ato* Haile Arengo, and *Ato* Sharew Denbel.

period. Besides, archival sources display that the MoF decreed to provide salary credit to necessary social problems of permanent employees of the government. The ministry permits four months' salary credit provision payable at least in four months or at most a year, not passing to the next fiscal year. At each administrative hierarchy, a committee for credit provision is organized at the provincial level, *Awraja* and *Woreda Gizats*. Employees at each administrative level are required to apply to the committee and request the salary credit provision for their social problems.²⁸¹

Based on the applications of employees, the committee examined the social problems of the applicants and reported to the office of the *Bejerond* in the province. Then the *Bejerond* reported to the MoF at the capital to get the salary credit for the applicants. The credit only provided for necessary social problems such as marriage ceremonies, deaths, and serious sickness. For this, municipality and physician certificates were respectively required to be reported in attachment with the employee's application and recommendation of the office where the applicant works to the provincial *Bejerond* and the ministry. The committee for salary credit provision at the ministry examines the request and gives a final decision to the office of the provincial *Bejerond*. The office ordered the Mocha *Awraja Gimja bet* for the provision of the credit. The *Gimja bet* or the *Woreda Gimja bet* collects a 3% interest rate from the employee's salary for the provided credit. The provision, however, gave emphases to employees of the provincial level rather than the Mocha *Awraja* and its *Woreda Gizats*.²⁸²

Nonetheless, based on the application and social problems of officials and employees, the *Woreda* and *Awraja Gimja bets* under the knowledge of provincial *Bejerond* pay one or two

²⁸¹See Appendix VI, Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to Mocha *Awraja Gimja bet*, Ref No.51/987/18, 17/2/1966; Illubabor office of provincial administration to Mocha *Awraja* office of administration, Ref No.□/71/34/6/601, 15/1/1966. File No. 987.

²⁸²*Ibid.*

months' salary to applicants.²⁸³ Moreover, they could receive their salary from the hierarchical administrative units responsible for their social problems over long distances. Based on the application of officials and employees, the office where they work requests the *Woreda Gimja bet*. Under the request of the *Gimja bet*, applicant could receive the *Awraja Gimja bet*. Under the request of the *Gimja bet* also receive from the office of the provincial *Bejerond* and under the request, receive further from the MoI at the capital.²⁸⁴

Though the transfer of officials and employees from Mocha *Awraja* to other *Awraja Gizats* in the province or to other province was common, immediate social problems were considered to transfer applicants where they chose to solve their social problems. Further, based on disagreement, the administrative councils at each administrative unit of the *Awraja Gizat* suggest the transfer of one of the employees from the offices. The *Woreda* or *Awraja* office of administration transfers one of the suggested employees in the *Woreda* or *Awraja* office to another as a solution for stable working in general and solving the disagreement in particular.²⁸⁵

²⁸³Nonno *Woreda Gimja bet shum* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja bet shum*, Private No. 1/66, 13/02/1966 E.C; provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja bet*, Ref No. faded, 9/5/1949 E.C. File No.209; Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to Mocha *Awraja Gimja bet*, Ref No. 1028/6539/70, 15/6/1967 E.C; Provincial *Bejerond* to provincial office of administration, Ref No.2968/9640/68, 5/10/1966 E.C.

²⁸⁴*Ibid.*

²⁸⁵Yeki *Woreda* administrative council decision, 19/1/1946 E.C; provincial *Bejerond* to Mocha *Awraja Gimjabet*, Ref No.faded, 9/8/1953 E.C. File No.209.

Table 5: Governors of Mocha Awraja Gizat (1942-1974)

No	Title	Name of governors	Office (ca.)	Sources
1	<i>Kenagzmach</i>	Annerbir Mekuria	1942-1953	Yeki <i>Woreda</i> administrative Council Meeting in 1945 E.C.
2	<i>Kenagzmach</i>	Wale Teferi	1954-1963	Ref No. 870/2079/35,8/3/1956 E.C. File No 387
3	<i>Shaleka</i>	Asfaw Walde Tsadik	1964-1969	RefNo.3272 /974/18,23/10/1958.E.C.
4	<i>Kenagzmach</i>	Haile Mariam Gebeyehu	1970-1974	Ref No .2009/760/13,22/8/1966 E.C.

CHAPTER THREE

ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF MOCHA AWRAJA, 1974-1991.

Political and Socio-economic Reforms

Administrative Restructure

Subsequent to the collapse of the imperial regime, the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), popularly known as *Derg*, launched a new administrative structure slightly different from the pre-existed governance system. The *Derg* replaced the fourteen *Teklay Gizat* (province) of the country by fourteen *Kifle Hager Astedader*.¹ Accordingly, the former Illubabor *Teklay Gizat* was renamed as Illubabor *Kifle Hager Astedader* (the sub-country administration). Though the sub-country remained with its five *Awrajas* as was the case during the imperial regime, the former *Awraja Gizats* were also renamed as *Awraja Astedaders*: Buno Bedele, Gambella, Gore, Sorena Gabba, and Mocha. As one of the five *Awraja Astedaders* of the Illubabor *Kifle Hager*, the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* also became the Mocha *Awraja Astedader* (*Awraja* administration).²

Similarly, the *Awraja*'s former six *Woreda Gizats*; Andiracha, Godere, Nonno, Masha, Sale, and Yeki also given the name *Woreda Astedaders* (district administrations). In place of the imperial regime governors, the PMAC appointed new administrators to the post of the *Awraja* and the *Woreda* offices of administration. The *Derg* considered the educational background of the administrators differently from the pre-1974 governors. In the pre-1974, the imperial regime appointed the most loyal to the post of the office than considering the educational background of the governors. Considering the introducing change, the government replaced the imperial regime

¹Allan Hoben, p.74; Informants: *Ato* Sharew Denbel, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Taresa Dureso.

²Informants: *Ato* Girma Asrat, *Ato* Molla Gessesse, and *Ato* Arega Terefe; Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile and Tewodrose Deyino, Part I, pp. 42-43.

governors with grade twelve complete for *Woreda* and above to the post of the *Awraja* administration.³

Below, the district administrations, the localities (local agents) of the imperial regime in the grassroots were unnecessary removed from the administrative functionaries of the *Awraja*: the *balabat*, *atibiya dagna*, and *chiqashum*. The *Derg* land reform proclamation organized farmers into *kebele* peasant associations and provided them with the necessary new administrative functionaries. The peasant association (PA) in each *kebele* elected the chairman in a general meeting of the members. The elected chairman was given the responsibility to administer the association and to implement hierarchically passed rules, regulations, and programs of the *Derg* in the association.⁴ The PA chairmanship position was used it as a middle person between the association and the *Woreda* officials. The chairman communicates with the *Woreda* administrator for all matters related to the administration of the peasant association. The associations chairman had the administrative power to appoint and remove leadership members. Apparently, the chairman was given the responsibilities of the local elite (*balabat*) of the imperial regime. Unlike the *balabats*, however, the chairman did not supervise and administrator the private land but the public land in the association.⁵

Likewise, the *Derg* also provided the peasant association with justice administration. The association was given the right to nominate and elect the *kebele fird shengo* (judicial tribunal), its secretary, and a member. As chairman, the *fird shengo* was responsible for the *kebele* peasant association. It served as a tribunal for not only hearing land disputes but also for all disputes and

³Allan Hoben, p.74; Informants: *Ato* Haile Kotachew, *Ato* Haile Arengo, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

⁴Allan Hoben, pp. 70-73; Hussein Jemma, "The Politics of Land Tenure in Ethiopia History: Experience From The South", Paper Prepared for XI World Congress, Agriculture University of Norway, Trondheim, Norway, 2014, pp. 1-9, pp.1-9; Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Girma Asrat, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

⁵Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

wrong doings in the association. It made decisions on crimes committed by individuals and sent criminals to prison without the interference of the *Woreda* courts in the *Awraja*. As it was the first level branch of the *Woreda* courts, the tribunals report decisions made and processed cases to the courts. Therefore, as chairman of the associations, the *shengo* was seemingly given the responsibilities of the *atibiyadagna* of the imperial regime in the *Awraja*.⁶

The peasant association was also given the right to recruit militia for maintenance of peace and order in the association. The militia apprehended law breakers, involuntariness to participate in programs of the government and idle individuals. He apprehended under the order of the chairman and the *fird shengo*. Apparently, the militia took the position of the *nech lebash* and partly the *chiqashum* of the lower administrative units of the imperial regime of the *Awraja*. Though the leaderships in the peasant associations were elected for only two years of services, their administrative talents determined office tenure.⁷

Under peasant associations, a number of small villages were organized into *Laga*. The selected head of the *Laga* represented the member and was also used as a bridge between the chairman and the grassroots of his locality. He passed orders that had been brought to him from the chairman to the members of the *Laga*. He activated the members to pay the land use tribute, progressive income tax, and other irregular contributions on time to the government. Moreover, he mobilized the members for communal work and programs of the *Derg*.⁸ Further, he also played a role in the maintenance of peace and order among the members of the *Laga*. His identity's guilty doers, involuntary to government policy and program, and reported to the chairman of the peasant association. The head of the *Laga* was accountable for the members and

⁶Hussein, pp. 1-9; Informants: *Ato Feleke Teferi*, *Ato Sharew Denbel*, and *Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*.

⁷Informants: *Ato Girma Asrat*, *Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*, and *Ato Zena Welede Gabriel*.

⁸*Ibid.*

the PA Chairman. The members of the *Laga* could elect or remove the head in their general meeting based on the skills of the administration. The head of the *Laga* seemed to partially perform the tasks of the *chiqashum* of the imperial regime in the *Awraja*. Nonetheless, the *Derg* did not pay a monthly salary or other advantages for the services of the administrative functionaries of the peasant associations.⁹

Seemingly, *Derg* made peasant associations the lower administrative structure. The Mocha *Awraja* public administrative restructured in ascending order began with the associations. Head of *Laga* → chairman of the peasant associations of the *Woreda* office of administrations → the Mocha *Awraja* office of administration → Illubabor *Kifle Hager* Office of Administration.¹⁰

The established peasant associations in the *Awraja* were also members of the hierarchically organized associations at all levels. The *Kebele* Peasant Associations → the *Woreda* Peasants Association (in each six *Woreda*) → the Mocha *Awraja* Peasants Association → Illubabor *Kifle Hager* Peasants Association → Ethiopian Peasants Association (EPA).¹¹

Similarly, the youth and women were organized into associations with their own elected chairman and secretary. The associations were members of their respective associations in ascending order. *Kebele* Youth Association → the *Woreda* Youths Association (in each six *Woreda*) → the Mocha *Awraja* Youth Association → Illubabor *Kifle Hager* Youth Association → Revolutionary Ethiopian Youth Association (REYA). Likewise, the *Kebele* Women Association → the *Woreda* Women Association (in each six *Woreda* of the *Awraja*) → the

⁹Informants: Ato Haile Kotachew, Ato Haile Arengo, and Ato Tarekegn Abdisa.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Informants: Ato Tamiru Beyene, Ato Tarekegn Abdisa, and Ato Zena Welede Gabriel.

Mocha *Awraja* Women Association → Illubabor *Kifile Hager* Women Association → Revolutionary Ethiopian Women Association (REWA).¹²

The administrative reorganization in justice administration also began from the peasant associations. *Fird shengo* (tribunals) → the *Woreda* courts (in each of the six *Woreda*) → the Mocha *Awraja* higher court → Illubabor *Kifile Hager* higher court. Likewise, in peacekeeping: militia in peasant associations → the *Woreda* offices of police (in all the six *Woreda*) → the Mocha *Awraja* Police Department → Illubabor *Kifile Hager* main Police Department.¹³

In general, the role of the local agents of the imperial regime: the *balabat*, *atibiya dagna* and *chiqashum* in lower administrative units of the Mocha *Awraja* were completely removed.¹⁴ The People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) replaced the name *Derg* after the endorsement of the Socialist Constitution in 1987.¹⁵

In 1988, the PDRE reorganized the administrative structure of the country. Accordingly, Illubabor *Kifile Hager* reorganized into three administrative centers. Gambella, which had been one of the *Awraja* of the *Kifile Hager* department and was reorganized into Gambella *Akababi Astedader* (Gambella surrounding administration) with its administrative capital, Gambella. Whereas the three *Awraja* of Illubabor *Kifile Hager* (Gore, Buno Bedele, and Sorena Gabba) together with the former the *Awrajas* of Kaffa *Kifile Hager* surrounding Jimma reorganized into Illubabor *Akababi Astedader*, with its administrative town, Mettu.¹⁶

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, pp. 255-256.

¹⁶Informants: *Ato* Shuke Gurmesa, *Ato* Tamiru Beyene, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

Similarly, Mocha *Awraja* departed from the former Illubabor *Kifle Hager* and was reorganized into three *Awrajas*: Andiracha and Masha *Woreda* rearranged into Mocha *Awraja*, Nonno and Sale *Woreda* into Nonno-Sale *Awraja*, Yeki, and Godere merged together into Yeki-Godere *Awraja*.¹⁷ Likewise, the Kaffa *Awraja*, (Bench) *Awraja* and the Maji *Awraja* were departed from the former Kaffa *Kifle Hager* centered at Jimma. The three newly reorganized *Awrajas* in Mocha together the former three *Awraja* of the Kaffa *Kifle Hager* in one restructured into Kaffa *Akababi Astedader* (Kaffa surrounding administration) with its administrative center, Mizan Teferi. The newly reorganized administrative centers too were directly responsible to the central government and functioned a brief until the collapse of the military regime in 1991.¹⁸

Peasant Associations and Reform Implementation in Mocha *Awraja*

The abortive *coup d'état* of 1960 witnessed that the exploitative regime of Emperor Haile Selassie I could be changed and removed from state power. In 1965 university students came out on the street in demonstrations with the slogan “Land to the Tiller.” The movement of the students continued to repeat itself against the imperial regime for getting land reforms in the country.¹⁹

Soon after the outbreak of the 1974 revolution, the land question continued as a prominent public debate in the country. Consequently, the cabinet under Prime Minister Endalkachew Mekonnen made a draft of land reform and addressed that the future land would be made to the tillers. In September 1974, the MLRA presented the reform legislation to the ruling dignitaries of the *Derg*. Nonetheless, they objected to the draft as it was contrary to the social change of the country. By the end of 1974, however, the MLRA again drafted a new land reform that lowered

¹⁷*Ibid.* ; Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile and Tewodrose Deyino, Part I, p. 43.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, p. 242

the maximum land holding to ten hectares. The draft incorporated the land confiscation from land lords and more other measures.²⁰

One of the first programs the PMAC was rural transformation to be implemented through the campaign of educated youth. In December 1974, the *Derg* launched the *Edigat Be Hibrte Ye Ewkitena Ye sera Zemecha* (Development through Cooperate, Literacy and Work Campaign). It Mobilized 60,000 university students, senior secondary school students including teachers that would implement various reforms in countryside under the philosophy of “*Ityopia Tikidam*” (Ethiopia First).²¹

In accordance with the program and the philosophy, students campaigned in rural areas of the country to build social facilities like construction of (primary schools and clinics), organization of peasants into associations, leaderships of the association on the behalf of members, confiscating land of land orders redistribute the land to landless peasants, neutralizing the political power of landlords and local elites of the imperial regime, establishing cooperative farms and also involving in literacy campaign.²²

The PMAC mobilized the campaigners to all parts of the country including *Kifle Hagers*. The *Kifle Hager* in turn assigned the campaigners to *Awrajas* and to *Woredas* for the implementation of the reforms. Though remained one of the *Awrajas* of the *KifleHager*, the higher official did not assign student campaigners to Mocha *Awraja* of the *KifleHager*. Informants stated that the student campaigners never came to the *Awraja* for the implementation of the reforms of the *Derg*. Hence, no one can see the legacies left behind the campaigners in the *Awraja* as in other

²⁰*Ibid.* pp. 241-242; Allan Hoben, pp.69-70; Mengistu Hailemariam, *Tigilachin, ye Ityophia Hizbe Abiyotawi ye Tigil Tarik I*, (Our Struggle: The History of Ethiopia People Revolutionary Struggle) (Los Angeles, USA, December 2011) p. 279.

²¹Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, pp. 239-240; Allan Hoben, pp. 77-78; Mengistu..., pp. 283-284, p. 492.

²²Allan Hoben, pp. 77-78; Mengistu..., p. 492.

Awrajas of Illubabor *Kifle Hager*.²³ The official's reluctance to send the campaigners was due to the absence of a road connecting the *Awraja* with the *Kifle Hager* until 1987. Another reason was that landlords and local elites of the imperial regime were not emotionally ready to make insecurity against the reform implementation of the *Derg* in *Awraja* and the other *Awrajas* of Illubabor and Kaffa *Kifle Hager*.²⁴

For instance, in April 1975, student-peasant groups attacked landlords and wealthy peasants in the town of Jimma, Kaffa *Kifle Hager*. The *Derg* investigated and ordered the army against the campaigners and peasants. The army killed twenty-four students and an unknown number of peasants, adjacent to Jimma. However, the student campaigners and peasants had no difficulty displacing the northern landlords in Kaffa *Awrajas* of the *Kifle Hager*. In the same region, the joint student campaigners and peasants had little difficulty from the northern landlord and Oromo *balabats* in Gore and Sorena Gabba *Awrajas* of Illubabor *Kifle Hager*.²⁵

In the Mocha *Awraja*, however, such attempts did not appear and the reform of the *Derg* was implemented peacefully.²⁶ The landlords and *balabats* in the *Awraja* resented the land reform of the *Derg* only in words. Yet, in the course of land redistribution, small group of student campaigners came to the *Awraja* administrative town, Masha to watch the attempts of the landlords and the local elites against the reform implementation in the *Awraja*. As it remained

²³Informants: *Ato* Birhanu Marito, *Ato* Shuke Gurmesa, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

²⁴*Ibid.*; Informants: *Ato* Azage Aderaro, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, and *Ato* Tamiru Beyene.

²⁵Allan Hoben, pp. 83-91; Informants: *Ato* Feleke Teferi, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

²⁶Informants: *Ato* Birhanu Marito, *Ato* Shuke Gurmesa, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

secure, they returned from the *Awraja* within a week without any contribution to the rural and towns of the *Awraja*.²⁷

In place of the student campaigners, the PMAC employed land reform administration and sent to each *Woreda* of the Mocha *Awraja*. They were given the responsibilities of the campaigners to organize peasants in associations, elect leaderships of the association on behalf of the members, provide political education on the Ethiopian Revolution, support the association to appropriate land of landlords and redistribute it to landless tenants, support the associations to establish agricultural producing cooperatives. The employed land reform administrators, however, did not engage in building social services and literacy campaign as student campaigners did in other *Awrajas* of Illubabor *Kifle Hager*.²⁸

Though the campaigners were absent in the *Awraja*, the government implemented the campaign in another means. The government employed graduates from Jimma Teachers Training Institute (TTI) and sent them to the *Awraja*. Besides, the officials of the *Awraja* recruited students who learned above grade seven including grade twelve complete in the *Awraja*. All the employed and recruited students were involved in literacy campaign in both these urban and rural areas. The local government made it an obligation that both sexes of illiterate youth and elders must join the teaching learning process.²⁹

Finally, the *Derg* formally issued the most radical land reform proclamation on March 4, 1975, that any regime ever attempted in the country. The proclamation banned the land-holding concentration of the land lords. But it provided rural lands for public ownership and declared that

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹Informants: *Ato Birhanu Marito*, *Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*, and *Ato Zena Welede Gabriel*.

all rural land was collectively the property of the state.³⁰ Thereby, the proclamation positively responded to the longstanding question and demands of the majority of Ethiopians in general³¹ and the Mocha *Awraja* landless peasants in particular.³²

In accordance with the land proclamation, the *Derg* redistributed the land to the eligible landless tenants of the *Awraja*. The most significant contribution of the employed land reform administrators in the place of the student campaigners came in the course of the land reform implementation in the *Awraja*. Before the implementation of the reform, they read the land proclamation and award to the peasants of the *Awraja*. As much as possible, they also tried to give political education on the Ethiopian Revolution and the subsequent changes to all peasants; moreover, in collaboration with the peasants, they tried to neutralize the political power of the land orders and the local agents of the imperial regime. After they had explained about essence of the land proclamation, the reform administrators registered the peasants to organize peasant associations. Because the proclamation declared that before redistribution of the land, peasants were required to be organized under associations. Thus, the land reform administrators played a significant establishing the role in peasant associations in each rural *kebele* under the *Woredas* of the *Awraja*.³³

Moreover, the reform administrators also participated in election of the leaders of the associations on behalf of the members. They also checked that members of the disadvantaged (landless tenants) were elected and hold positions of leadership in the associations. Yet, they

³⁰Negarit Gazeta, Proclamation No. 31 of 1975, "Public Ownership of Rural Lands Proclamation"; Allan Hoben, p.70; Mengistu..., pp. 279-280; Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, pp. 239-240; Hussein, pp. 9-10.

³¹Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, p. 241; Mengistu..., p. 277.

³²Informants: *Ato* Azage Aderaro, *Ato* Birhanu Marito, *Ato* Feleke Teferi, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

³³*Ibid.*

disqualified nomination of *balabat*, *chiqashum* and *atibiya dagna* of the imperial regime to hold leadership position in the associations.³⁴

The membership of peasant associations included the landless tenants and subsistence peasants who owned less land or equal to ten hectares of land. A directive of the *Derg* to establish the association stated that “peasant association shall include an agricultural worker who had been hired as servant for a fixed period of time earning either cash or in kind”.³⁵ The military government used the associations to easily control the resource and administer rural areas.³⁶ Likewise, urban dwellers were organized into *kebele* associations that helped the government to administer the towns,³⁷ particularly the administrative town of the *Awraja*, Masha and also capitals of the *Woredas*: Birbirsa, Gecha, Combolcha, Meti, and Tepi.³⁸

Peasant associations were given the responsibility to implement the land reform proclamation in their respective *kebele* under each *Woreda* of the *Awraja*. They were entitled to administer the land redistribution to the landless members of the associations. Consequently, the leaderships they elected played a key role in undertaking the reform measures on the behalf of associations.³⁹

Based on the responsibilities given to the association, the leadership and the employed land reform administrators redistributed the land that had been under the control of the imperial regime, landlords, and members of the royal family in the *Awraja*. As a result, the dominant-subordinate relationships between landlords and tenants were banned never come to the *Awraja* again. Thereby, the reform abolished tenancy and freed peasants from the yoke of landlords.

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵Allan Hoben, p. 109.

³⁶Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, p. 242; Informants: *Ato* Feleke Teferi, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, and *Ato* Tamiru Beyene.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 243; Informants: *Ato* Azage Aderaro, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

³⁸Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, and *Ato* Tamiru Beyene.

³⁹Informants: *Ato* Feleke Teferi, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, *Ato* Tamiru Beyene, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Taresa Dureso.

Tenants were permitted the right to possess the land they had been tilling through the renting process and an *erbo* agreement (quarter produce to the land lords) from the landlords before the issuance of the reform proclamation.⁴⁰ The landlords were never compensated for the confiscated land⁴¹ in the *Awraja* as they received the land eligible for their services under the imperial regime. The agrarian reform implementation also prohibited land transfers through selling, gifting, and leasing⁴² that had been experienced for many years in the *Awraja*.⁴³

Nonetheless, soon after the start of the rural land reform implementation in Illubabor *Kifle Hager*, landlords with land demarcated in and adjacent to towns continued to uproot tenants from their land.⁴⁴ Still urban land was not nationalized until July 1975.⁴⁵ In May 1975, the *Kifle Hager* office of land tenure administration directed town administrations of the five *Awrajas* to take the following measures. First, the *Kifle Hager* municipality permitted tenants the right to possess less than or equal to ten hectares of land they had been tilling on lands demarcated into towns. It ordered the town administrators to allow tenants the right to be organized into *kebele* peasant associations. Second, while permitting tenants to possess the land, it forbade landlords to uproot them from the land. Unwillingly to do so, the municipality ordered the town administration to take measures against the landlords. Thirdly, if the land was not important, for town developments, the municipality ordered the demarcation of the land into rural land with the

⁴⁰*Ibid.*; Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 104.

⁴¹Hussein, pp. 9-10.

⁴²Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, p. 242; Allan Hoben, p.69.

⁴³Informants: *Ato* Azage Aderaro, *Ato* Haile Arengo, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

⁴⁴Office of Illubabor administrations, Ref No. 2057/ 0429/15, 1/9/1967 E.C, File No. 684.

⁴⁵Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, p. 242; Mengistu..., p. 493.

rights of the tillers.⁴⁶Based on the order, landlords who owned agricultural land in towns, and adjacent areas tenants lost their tenures to tenants tilling the land in the Mocha *Awraja*.⁴⁷

Likewise, the leadership of peasant associations and the land reform administrators allowed peasants to possess the land they leased since the imperial period in the *Awraja* before the introduction of the land reform. While those tenants who merely leased /rented/ large size possessed and remained on extended land, those who leased small size stayed on a plot of land with an unequal size of agricultural land in the *Awraja*.⁴⁸ However, landless tenants were entitled to up to ten hectares of land. Therefore, members of peasant associations widely believed that each member would receive up to ten hectares of land.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the land redistributors allowed peasants to possess the land they had been tilling through the leasing process in the *Awraja*, as so far described. Yet, those tenants who had no land contract or *erbo* agreement were given the right to apply for free government land or extra holdings from the landlords (they stayed free from leasing and *erbo* agreements in the *Awraja*).⁵⁰ Though the landlords and local agents of the imperial regime were dissatisfied with the reform implementation, the peasant association and the land reform administrators allowed them to possess the land they had been tilling around their homes. The land redistributors, however, they deprived the right to possess the land they leased out, given through an *erbo* agreement and excess holdings free from both agreements.⁵¹

⁴⁶Ref No. 2057/ □429/15, 1/9/1967 E.C, File No. 684.

⁴⁷Informants: *Ato* Arega Terefe, *Ato*Haile Arengo, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel

⁴⁸Informants: *Ato*Haile Arengo, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

⁴⁹Allan Hoben, pp. 69-70; Mengistu..., p. 280.

⁵⁰Informants: *Ato*Haile Arengo, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

⁵¹*Ibid.*

Moreover, in October 1975, the *Derg* nationalized the agricultural lands of the nobilities and members of the royal family in rural areas of the country.⁵²As the reform proclamation nationalized all rural lands,⁵³ not only the imperial regime and the landlords but also the land of royal family taken over in the *Awraja*. The holdings of the family called the *bete rist meret* that registered and owned in the name of the wife, son and daughter of Emperor Haile Sellassie in Mocha *Awraja* was (as so far described in the preceding chapter) nationalized⁵⁴ and redistributed to the landless peasants in peasant associations. In most cases, however, as in land of the imperial regime and landlords, tenants leased the land before the reform proclamation were permitted to possess the land without paying the rent to the office of the *bete rist*.⁵⁵ Therefore, initially, the land reform implementation in the *Awraja* had satisfied the landless peasants and led to peaceful existence between the peasants and the military government.⁵⁶

Responses of Peasant to Political and Socio-economic Reforms of the *Derg*

Until the land proclamation of March 1975, landlords and local political elites of the imperial regime had controlled the land of the Mocha *Awraja* as a major source of wealth and power. They exploited and uprooted tenants, which led to the miserable live of the landless peasants.⁵⁷ However, the revolutionary land reform changed the system, as so far elucidated in the preceding sub-topic.

⁵²Mengistu..., p. 492.

⁵³Hussein, pp. 9-10.

⁵⁴See Appendix XXVI, Illubabor Provincial *Bejerondto Mocha AwrajaGimjaBet*, Ref No. 3155/3891, 1967, 8/4/1967 E.C; Ref No, 3155/3903/1967 E.C, 14/4/1967 E.C; Mocha *AwrajaGimjaBet* to Mocha *Awraja* office of administration, Ref No, 294/67, 6/5/1967, File No.1257; Informants: *Ato*Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

⁵⁵Informants: *Ato* Arega Terefe, *Ato*Haile Arengo, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

The newly appointed administrators to the post of the *Awraja* administration and the *Woreda* offices worked hard to enforce the reforms of the *Derg* in the *Awraja* equally; the land form administrators implemented the reform in peasant associations and also supported the socio-political changes taken by the military government. The backing of these administrators inspired the peasants to support and implement various reforms in the *Awraja*.⁵⁸

Accordingly, the peasant supported the agrarian reform of the government and warmly welcomed its implementation in the *Awraja*. Among others, the reform benefited much the landless tenants. It eliminated the relationship between the landlords and landless tenants, and redistributed land to the former. Peasants were entitled to possess the land, use it personally, boost their produce and improve their living conditions. The local government secured the peasants that no one could evict them from their possession in the *Awraja*.⁵⁹

In so doing, the agrarian reform of the *Derg* freed landless tenants from the yoke of the landlords and made them delighted to the reform implementation. Moreover, the peasants were allowed to establish their associations and operate almost as independent as mass organizations under the *Woreda* government. The associations were also given the right to elect and dismiss their leaders, redistribute land to the landless and establish Agricultural Producing Cooperatives (APC). Therefore, the land reform implementation created harmonious relationships between the *Derg* and peasants of the Mocha *Awraja*.⁶⁰

Though the student campaigners had played a significant role to set up APC in other *Awrajas* of Illubabor *Kifle Hager*, the student campaign did not appear in the *Awraja* as already described. In

⁵⁸*Ibid.*

⁵⁹Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Birhanu Marito.

⁶⁰Informants: *Ato* Birhanu Marito, *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, *Ato* Azage Aderaro, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

place of the campaigners, the central government appointed *Mirt Ena Ye Poletika* Official (Production and Political Official), and sent to the *Awraja*. The officials were given the responsibility to establish peasant cooperative farms and deal with related political and economic developments of the *Awraja*. In collaboration with the land reform administrators and leaderships of the peasant associations, they organized a number of APC in the associations of the *Awraja* in 1977.⁶¹

The establishment of the cooperatives, however, led to tenure insecurity for non-members of the APC. The official and chairman of the association forced non-members to handover their fertile land for cooperative form in exchange for infertile land elsewhere in the association. It was a designed system to force non-members to be member of cooperatives fearing the expropriation of their lands. Besides, available fertile land in each peasant associations was reserved for the cooperative peasants.⁶² Members had an obligation to communally farm twice a-week on the farm lands of the cooperatives. They believed that all their produces would be stored into common pull granaries and share their grain for consumption under the Motto “food for work”.⁶³

Furthermore, the *Derg* established the Agricultural Marketing Corporation (AMC) in 1976. The government authorized the corporation to assign grain quota, fix the price and buy the produces from the cooperative farms. The military government established the corporation to control the political and economy of the peasants. Besides, it aimed to provide urban consumers and the military with cheap price of agricultural produces,⁶⁴ store for emergencies and also provide

⁶¹Abera Gelito, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 19; Informants: *Ato* Shuke Gurmesa, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

⁶²Hussein, pp. 11-12.

⁶³Informants: *Ato*Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

⁶⁴Hussein, pp. 11-12.

refugees in the country. The cooperatives had an obligation to store their common producing granaries to sell with fixed prices to AMC against the demands of the members.⁶⁵

The AMC, required that the cooperatives to submit their produce with animal transport to the capitals of the *Woreda* and also the administrative of the *Awraja*. They conveyed their produces in hardships to sell to the AMC, which would be further transported to Mettu, where the branch of the corporation had been situated. Yet, the agricultural producers of the cooperatives did not fulfil the criteria of the corporation. Because, the Mocha *Awraja* was well known for its *enset* plantation than producing grains needed by the corporation. Despite the attempt of the cooperatives to produce, the climate of the *Awraja* was not as much favorable for grains needed by the corporation.⁶⁶

Though tried and produced in small amount, the produces did not meet the requirements of the AMC, both in quantity and quality. Added to this, even if the cooperatives produced much in both requirements, road transport for freight trucks was non-existent in the *Awraja* until 1987. For all these reasons, the AMC never attempted to buy the agricultural producers of the cooperatives in the *Awraja*. Though the members of the cooperatives wished to share for consumption, officials of the *Awraja* sold the common produces to retail merchants against the demand of their members. Even though the AMC did not buy the produces, the cooperative members considered the obligatory selling of their produces without advantage as an attempt to challenge their gains in the land reform proclamation. Therefore, the government peasant

⁶⁵Informants: *Ato Shuke Gurmessa*, *Ato Getahun Geremew*, and *Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*

harmonious relationships at the beginning of the land reform did not last long and began to deteriorate.⁶⁷

Subsequent to the land reform implementation, the *Derg* proclamation that were granted legal personality to their administrative roles. The leadership in the associations were given power to administer the associations without any governor interference in their own affairs.⁶⁸ Gradually, however, the government and the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) began to interfere in the affairs of the peasant associations. The government converted them into extensions of state power rather than the self-administration of the associations. In 1976, the *Derg* proclaimed rural land use and agricultural progressive income tribute.⁶⁹ The government designated the associations to collect both tributes from all members as a local unit of revenue collection.⁷⁰ The leaders of the associations were given the responsibility to collect both tributes from members of the associations. The peasants never went to the *Woreda* branch offices of the Ministry of Finance to pay the land revenues to the state. Collected in each association, rural land tribute remained the major source of revenue for the state in the *Awraja*, followed by agricultural work and progressive income tribute.⁷¹ Moreover, in 1977, the WPE subjected the association to political control.⁷² As the party began to interfere in the affairs of the associations, the leadership would not defend the interests of the members. Even the leaders themselves became attached to the party and became members. The leadership performed in the interest of the WPE. Those who were reluctant to do so were removed and replaced by pro-party individuals. The interference of the party in the affairs of the association sharply contradicted the spirit of this land reform.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁸Allan Hoben, p.107.

⁶⁹*Ibid.* pp. 118-119; Hussein, p.11.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*

⁷¹Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 19; Informants: *Ato* Azage Aderaro, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Taresa Dureso.

⁷²Allan Hoben, pp. 107-119; Hussein, p. 11.

Because, as already described, the reform proclamation permitted the associations to almost independently operate under the local government.⁷³

The intervention of the military government in peasant associations witnessed that its administration led to the emergently emergence of dictatorship and absences of the rule of law.⁷⁴ Its interventionist policy, however, led to the peasant opposition against the regime. Such opposition to the policy of the military government was clearly evidenced from the peasant uprising in Mocha *Awraja* of 1986,⁷⁵ which will be treated in another sub-topic.

Subsequent to the land redistribution, the *Derg* proclaimed the establishment of All Ethiopian Peasants Association (AEPA) in 1976, which later changed into Ethiopian Peasant Association (EPA).⁷⁶ All peasants in each association were made members of the EPA. Besides paying the rural land use and agricultural progressive income tributes, peasants had the obligation to pay a yearly membership paid to the EPA. Leaders in each association collected it differently from land revenues to the state. Moreover, peasants were forced to pay irregular contributions for newspaper called “*serto ader gazeta*”, Relief and emergency(Wallo), sport, schools, clinics and hall buildings.⁷⁷

As with the peasants, the military government organized the youth. Each youth in each association was a member of the Revolutionary Ethiopian Youth Association (REYA). The major aims of the association were to enrich the youth with the ideology of the Marxism-Leninism. In theory, the members were given the right to elect the chairman of the association independently. Practically, however, the WPE interfered in the affairs of the association. Stayed

⁷³Informants: *Ato* Getahun Geremew, Jemere Dakito, *Ato* Shuke Gurmesa and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

⁷⁴Hussein, p.11.

⁷⁵Informants: *Ato* Birhanu Marito, *Ato* Kebede Tafese, and *Ato* Sharew Denbel.

⁷⁶Mengistu, p. 286.

⁷⁷Informants: *Ato* Molla Gessesse, Commander Wondimu Negerasha, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

behind the associations, the party forced the removal of politically suspected chairman and arranged the election to bring to power its supporters. Like in the case of the peasants, each member of the association had to pay annual contribution to the REYA. In each *Woreda* of the *Awraja*, the officials persuaded or forced teenagers in primary, secondary, high schools and peasant associations to be a member of the REYA and pay the contribution to the association. Besides, they prepared the youth to the national military service against the interests of the youth and their families.⁷⁸

Similarly, women in peasant associations were organized into associations and made members of the Revolutionary Ethiopian Women Association (REWA). The woman association had its own elected chairwomen who were not free from the influence of the WPE. Each member had to pay membership contribution per year to REWA. In each family, father, mother and youth paid the obligatory contribution to their respective associations. All the collected contributions in each association delivered in ascending order respectively to EPA, REWA, and REYA at their headquarters in the capital, Addis Ababa.⁷⁹

In April 1976, the military regime had established a political school known as *Yekatit 66* Political School to train officials of the regime.⁸⁰ The WPE in Mocha *Awraja* recruited loyal and efficient officials in politics of the *Derg* to the school. The objective of the training was to disseminate Marxism- Leninism among the masses. The trainees returned with political ideology of Socialism. They were aware about the general principles of socialism, cooperative farming, collective farming and villagization of peasants that antagonize the peasants of the *Awraja*. Moreover, based on the ideology, the trained cadre attempted to disseminate the idea that there

⁷⁸Informants: *Ato* Shuke Gurmessa, *Ato* Tamiru Beyene, and *Ato* Kifle Bekele.

⁷⁹Informants: Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Girma Asrat.

⁸⁰Mengistu, p. 493.

was no God who created painful feelings among the masses. Further, the officials deprived the right to indigenous beliefs and Protestant Christianity. They controlled and imprisoned both followers of the worship.⁸¹

The government also established *Beherawi Abiyot Ye Mirt Zemecha Astebabari Komite* (National Revolutionary Productive Campaign Coordinator Committee) at the three administrative levels: in six *Woredas* → *Mocha Awraja* → *Illubabor Kifle Hager*. At the three levels, administrators coordinated, controlled, and supervised the performance of the committee. Responsible to the administrators, the committee at each level was given the responsibility to inspire both peasants and civil servants to economic development through hard work in their respective duties. It supervised the performances of peasants and the civil servants. Moreover, the committee was given the power to punish *adegegna sira fet* (dangerous and idle) peasants and civil servants at the *Woreda* and *Awraja* administrative levels.⁸²

When the Somali Republic invades Ethiopia in 1977, the *Derg* mobilized about 300,000 militias from the entire country.⁸³ The higher dignitaries of the *Derg* set the quota of the campaigners for each *Kifle Hager*.⁸⁴ Accordingly, the *Mocha Awraja* also recruited its quota of militia from the six *Woredas* of the *Awraja*. The *Woreda* official, in collaboration with the leaders of the peasant associations, recruit the militia campaigners from the members of the associations. The *Awraja* mobilized its quota of recruited militia (aged 18–40) to the *Kifle Hager* to be trained at the Tatek Military Training Center⁸⁵ and joined the armed forces and fought against the invaders in southeastern Ethiopia. The *Derg* made an obligation that the peasant associations should farm the

⁸¹Informants: *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato* Tamiru Beyene, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

⁸²*Ibid.*

⁸³Mengistu, p. 389.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*; Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, p. 254.

⁸⁵Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, and *Ato* Molla Gessesse.

land, care for families, and harvest crops of the campaigned militiamembers.⁸⁶ The leaders of the associations punished reluctant and those peasants who refused to engage in these works. Hence, from 1977 until the downfall of the military regime, each peasant in kebele associations had an obligation to do so in Mocha *Awraja*.⁸⁷

Further, the government established *Beherawi Abiyot Ye Zemecha Astebabari* Committee (National Revolutionary Campaign Coordinator Committee) at the three administrative levels: in six *Woreda* → Mocha *Awraja* → Illubabor *Kifile Hager*. At the three levels administrators coordinated, controlled and supervised the political activities of the committee. The committee at each administrative level had responsibilities for the administration. At each level, the committee was given the responsibility to oversee the recruitment of the youth in accordance with the required criterion (age, health and physical fitness) to the national military service. Besides, it used to identify anti-revolutionary individuals. The committee had been given the power to punish three and six years of imprisonment to such individuals respectively in *Woreda* and the *Awraja* administrative levels. Without presenting the case to the *Awraja* court.⁸⁸

Nevertheless, the campaign coordinator committee was never involved directly in recruiting the youth to the national military service. But it followed behind and oversaw the actual recruitment and military conscription to the service in each administrative level. Therefore, the official and the WPE in collaboration with leaders of the peasant associations secretly recruited youth to the military service. In order of the recruiters, the militia caught the targeted youth in their family houses, markets, schools, on roads and any places without the consent of the recruited youth and their families. If a young was found hiding himself or caught while escaping from the service,

⁸⁶Mengistu, pp. 389-401; Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, p. 253.

⁸⁷Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Taresa Dureso.

⁸⁸Informants: Commander Wondimu Negerasha, *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

leaders of the associations and the *Woreda* official would jail the family of the young. The release needed bribe and consensus to present the young when the need arise for the service. If a father of a young was unwilling or unable to pay the bribe, the *kebele* chairman and the *Woreda* official force him to join the service in place of his son.⁸⁹

Nevertheless, the sons of the officials and the administrators were never recruited and forced to provide the service. The recruiters not only saved children of the rich through bribery but also those families who had family ties with the officials, party workers, chairman and other leaders of the peasant associations. Under the pretext of idleness, they also forced the youth from the poor family to go to military training camps based on their physical fitnesses. The candidates were sent to the national military training centers. Yet, the recruitment process and forcible nature of the military service embittered the family of the youth in both urban center and peasant associations of the Mocha *Awraja*.⁹⁰

The drought and the subsequent famine of 1984 affected the Northern Ethiopia, region. The government later tried to tackle the problem in September 1984. As a solution to the problem, the *Derg* embarked on resettlement program from the drought affected area to relatively less affect and fertile areas of the south western region.⁹¹ One of the areas selected for the resettlement program was Illubabor *Kifle Hager*. The government identified the five *Awraja* of the *Kifle Hager* for the program, one of which was the Mocha *Awraja* administrative territories. The

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

⁹⁰Informants: *Ato* Kifle Bekele, Commander Wondimu Negerasha, *Ato* Tamiru Beyene, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

⁹¹Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, p. 263.

Awraja, the higher authorities selected Yeki and Godere *Woreda*. In both, the *Derg* resettled more than 3000 household of the people from Wallo province in 1984/5.⁹²

The resettlement program was implemented without the willingness and full knowledge of the settlers. It was also implemented in haphazard ways. While some family members were transported to Mocha *Awraja*, others were sent to Buno Bedele, Gambella, Gore, and Sorena Gabba *Awraja* of Illubabor *Kifle Hager*. The family dislocated in all *Awrajas* of the *Kifle Hager*. While the father was resettled in Mocha, the elder son in Gambella or other *Awraja* of *Kifle Hager*.⁹³

In the process of facilitating the Walloye resettlement program in the area, the government made an obligation that each peasant in association should campaign turn by turn to build houses for the re-settlers. The campaigners were given the responsibility to access local building materials from surrounding forest sites. The peasants departed from their family members and agricultural activity for nearly a month and stayed on building at the selected sites of the settlement program. The peasants of the *Awraja* not only campaigned in all selected sites in the *Awraja* but also in all other *Awrajas* of the *Kifle Hager*. They went to, stay and back with hardships as absence of means of transportation service and any facilities. The chairman of the peasants and the *Woreda* officials imprisoned and even accused the absentee peasants of non-involving in the campaign.⁹⁴

Subsequent to the haphazard resettlement program the searching of missing family members in *Awraja* of the *Kifle Hager* was costly, which had made life hardship with persisted psychological

⁹²Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 49; Informants: *Ato* Birhanu Marito, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

⁹³Informants: *Ato* Shuke Gurmesa, *Ato* Birhanu Marito, and *Ato* Kifle Bekele.

⁹⁴Informants: *Ato* Birhanu Marito, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

suffering.⁹⁵ Therefore, the nature of resettlement program of the *Derg* remained unpopular among the settlers and the natives in particular and the country as well as the external world in general.⁹⁶

Source of Revenue to the State in the *Awraja*

Until the downfall of the imperial regime, the Mocha *AwrajaGimja Bet* collected land tribute, agricultural income tax and also taxes related with land sell, transfer and inheritance as a source of revenue to the imperial regime.⁹⁷

The *Derg* regime, however, the land reform of the *Derg* banned revenue coming from the aforementioned sources except the land tribute as income to the state. Because the land reform proclamation prohibited the transfer of land through selling and gifts.⁹⁸ Prior to 1974, landlords had the obligation to pay the land tribute to the imperial regime that they forced tenants tiling their land to contribute for the payment. Nevertheless, the *Derg* land reform reversed the pre-existed revenue collection in the *Awraja*.⁹⁹

The land tribute continued to be collected with change of land owners and title of the payment. In place of the pre-1974 land tribute, the *Derg* introduced *Ye Geter Meret Metekemiya Giber* (Rural Land Use Tribute) and *Ye Irsha Sira Gebi Giber* (Agricultural Work Progressive Income Tribute). The government assigned both revenues peasants who were given land to till. The

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*; Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, p. 263.

⁹⁷ *Dejazmach Worku Inquassielassie to Mocha Awraja Gimja Bet*, 14/3/1962 E.C, Ref No. 1969/298/17; provincial *Bejeron* to Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet*, 6/6/1962 E.C, Ref No. 7965/4136/62, File No. 128; Informants: Haile Arengo, *Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*, and *Ato Zena Welede Gabriel*.

⁹⁸ Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, p. 242; Informants: *Ato Arega Terefe*, *Ato Azage Aderaro*, *Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*, and *Ato Taresa Dureso*.

⁹⁹ Asefa, "Administrative History of Illubabor", p. 117; Mengesha, p.30.

payment of tributes was an obligatory for all peasants.¹⁰⁰ The leaders of the peasant associations collected both tribute revenues from the members and delivered it to *Woreda Genzeb* Minister *Kirinchaf Mesiria Bet* (*Woreda* Branch Office of the Ministry of Finance).¹⁰¹ The government allowed 2% of the total collected revenue to the peasant association. The leadership divided it as their service delivery to the government.¹⁰²

The *Derg* renamed the imperial regime hierarchie structures of the revenue collection without change in administrative levels. Accordingly the former of Illubabor Provincial *Bejerond* was converted into *Ye Genzeb* Minister *Teteri Tsehifet Bet* (Illubabor *Kifle Hager* Responsible Office of the Ministry of Finance). Similarly, the *Woreda* and the Mocha *AwrajaGimja Bet* of the imperia; regime renamed as *Ye Woreda /Ye Mocha AwrajaGenzeb* Minister *Kirinchaf Mesiria Bet* (Mocha *Awraja* Branch Office of the Ministry of Finance). As in the imperial regime, orders concerning the state revenue passed in descending and the report dispatch in ascending orders of the administrative level.¹⁰³

In the *Awraja*, the rural land use tribute had been the major source of revenue for the *Derg* regime and it was given by agricultural work progressive income tribute. In the early years, the *Derg* assigned seven *birr* per peasant for rural land use tribute. Gradually, however, it increased the amount of collection to twenty *birr* from each member of the peasant association.¹⁰⁴ In 1977/8, the Mocha *Awraja* Branch Office of the Ministry of Finance collected 733,466 *birr* from

¹⁰⁰Allan Hoben, pp. 118-119; Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 108.

¹⁰¹Informants: *Ato* Arega Terefe, *Ato* Azage Aderaro, and *Ato* Sharew Denbel.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*; Allan Hoben, pp. 118-119.

¹⁰³Illubabor *Ato Kifle Bekele Hager* responsible office of Ministry of Finance to the administrative Department of Ministry of Finance, Ref No, □□/147/1813/76, 4/3/1976 E.C; to Mocha *Awraja* branch office of the Ministry of Finance, Ref No □□/147/3582/81/21/4/1981 E.C; Mocha *Awraja* branch office of the Ministry of Finance, Ref No. 149/21358/87, 26/4/1981 E.C, File No. 1298.

¹⁰⁴Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 108; Informants: *Ato* Azage Aderaro, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

all revenue sources in six *Woredas* of the *Awraja* to the state. From the total figure, 72,413 and 57,912 *birr* were collected respectively from rural land use and agricultural work progressive income tribute.¹⁰⁵

Later, however, the military government reconsidered and renounced the rural land use tribute assignment to individual peasant. It began to assign the tribute quota on the peasant associations in the *Awraja*. The assigned tribute quota further divided and assigned to each peasant based on the land size he/she owned in the peasant associations. An individual peasant pay four or five folds of the peasant he/she paid to the state, which the amount reaches up to 150 *birr*. As before, the leader of the peasant association collected the assigned tribute quota from the members and delivered to the *Woreda* branch office of the Ministry of Finance.¹⁰⁶

Apparently, the amount of revenue collection steadily increased from year to year in the *Awraja*. In 1987, the Mocha *Awraja* Branch Office of the Ministry of Finance collected 1,299,269 *birr* from all revenues sources in six *Woreda* of the *Awraja*. In a decade, 1977-1987, the amount of revenue collection increased by 56.4% in 1987. The radical increase in amount of the collection was probably as the government assigned high amount of rural land use tribute quota on the peasant association of the *Awraja*.¹⁰⁷

The *Awraja* also collected tribute and taxes from the issue of trading license, merchants trading profit income, selling income, selling medicine, postal service, veterinary service, and tribute

¹⁰⁵ Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 108.

¹⁰⁶ Informants: *Ato* Arega Terefe, *Ato* Azage Aderaro, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

¹⁰⁷ Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 108.

from civil servants, from financial punishments in courts and administrative punishments of the civil servant of the *Awraja*.¹⁰⁸

As in the imperial regime, the collected state revenue was delivered hierarchically to the administrative levels. It began from peasant associations. The collected rural land use and agricultural work progressive tribute →the six *Woreda* Branch Office of the Ministry of Finance →the Mocha *Awraja* Branch Office of the Ministry of Finance Illubabor Kifle Hager responsible office of the Ministry of Finance. Except the land revenues, the six *Woreda* branch offices of the Ministry of Finance collect other revenues directly from their source and customers in offices.¹⁰⁹

An attempt to embezzle the government revenue was seriously forbidden. Compared to the imperial regime, embezzlement was almost non-existent as serious measure of the military government. But, responsible revenue collectors were sometimes accused of embezzling the state revenue.¹¹⁰

Maintenance of Peace and Order in the *Awraja*

As discussed in chapter two, maintenance of peace and order and insecurity reports in the imperial regime respectively passed and dispatched in descending and ascending orders to the administrative levels. In the post 1974 period, the process continued with change of local officials in grassroots of the *Awraja*. In the pre-1974 period, the *chiqashums*, *balabats*, the *nech*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Informants: *Ato* Azage Aderaro, *Ato* Arega Terefe, *Ato* Girma Asrat, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

lebashes and the *atibiya dagnas* played a role in administration of the lower levels of the *Awraja*.¹¹¹

During the military regime, however, the roles of local officials in the administration were removed from the administrative units of the *Awraja*. In their places, the *Derg* reorganized new administrative functionaries in peasant association like: chairman, *fird shengo* and militia.¹¹² Apparently, the new leaderships of the peasant associations were partly given the responsibility of the pre-1974 period. The chairmen of the peasant associations had the responsibility of keeping the security of the associations. The *fird shengo* also gave justices of decision as the first instant court related with land disputes similarly as *atibiya dagna* of the imperial regime in the *Awraja*. Based on the law, the *fird shengo* also sentenced law breaker individuals to imprisonment and sent them to the *Woreda* or the *Awraja* prison center. The *fird shengo* used to send report the decision made and on process to the *Woreda* court. The report was further dispatched to the hierarchical responsible *Awraja* and the *Kifle Hager* office.¹¹³

If insecurity incidents happened in peasant associations, the leaders ought to have reported to the office of the *Woreda* administration, the WPE and the office of police. In turn, the *Woreda* offices reported to their responsible *Awraja* offices and further the *Awraja* offices to the responsible offices of Illubabor *Kifle Hager*. The major objective behind reporting insecurity was to inform the situation and get solution for the happened problem from the concerning bodies of the hierarchical administrative levels.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Asefa, "Administrative History of Illubabor", p. 114.

¹¹² Allan Hoben, p. 84; Hussein, pp. 9-10.

¹¹³ Informants: Commander Wondimu Negerasha, Ato Tareegn Abdisa, and Ato Zena Welede Gabriel.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Accordingly, in the post 1974 period, the Mocha *Awraja* office of administration used to receive both security reports from the lower administrative units and unceasingly dispatched the information to the Illubabor *Kifle Hager* office of administration. During the early years of the military regime, 1974-1977, the *Awraja* office of administration frequently disseminated its reports to the *Kifle Hager* office of administration that the security had prevailed in the *Awraja*.¹¹⁵

In 1978, however, the *Awraja* office of administration reported to the office of the *Kifle Hager* administration an incident of insecurity that happened in *Yeki Woreda* of the *Awraja*. The Sheko and Majang people who inhabited the *Yeki Woreda* of the Mocha *Awraja* and in *Guraferda Woreda* of the Bench *Awraja* in *Kaffa Kifle Hager* came all together in *Tsanu*, *Dunchai* and *Dunkai kebeles* of the *Yeki Woreda* of the *Awraja*. It was reported that they displayed deteriorated cloths and conducted demonstration protesting religious inequality of the ethnics. Yet, the *Godere* office of *Woreda* administration in Mocha *Awraja* and *Guraferda* in Bench *Awraja* sent a group of elders that solved the problem in the aforementioned peasant association of the *Yeki Woreda* in the *Awraja*.¹¹⁶

In the years 1979-1983, the *Awraja* office of administration repeatedly disseminated to the *Kifle Hager* office of administration that the *Awraja* had been secured. The report, however, indicated that minor criminal and twenty-four non-criminal cases on individuals had been presented to the regular courts of the *Awraja*. It was also reported that as peace had prevailed in *Yeki Woreda*, the *Awraja* office of administration had succeeded in collecting tribute from the Majang shifting cultivators and hunters and all ethnic groups had managed to peacefully live together in the

¹¹⁵Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 144.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*; Ref No. 22/42/1, 25/3/1968 E.C; 40/42/2, 2/7/1968 E.C.

Woreda.¹¹⁷ Though stayed secured, widespread insecurity had happened in the *Awraja* early in January 1986. Peasants in Mocha *Awraja* resented to the forces villagization program of the *Derg* and stood against the implementation of the program. The *Awraja* administration reported to the *Kifle Hager* office of administration that the peasants have already started the rebellion against the program and active in highland *Woredas* of the *Awraja*: Andiracha, Masha, Nonno, and Sale,¹¹⁸ which will be treated more in the next sub-topic.

Beginning from 1988 to the downfall of the military regime, the *Awraja* remain secured. The *Awraja* office of administration had been dispatching its security reports horizontally to the concerned offices of the *Awraja* of administration and the Police Department.¹¹⁹

The 1986 Peasant Uprising

Causes of the Uprising

As discussed above, initially the land reform proclamation had satisfied the landless people of the *Awraja*. The reform implementation processes further led to the emergence of harmonious relationship between the peasant and the government.¹²⁰ Besides redistribution of the land, however the government, made a series of unpopular measures that actually disappointed the peasants¹²¹ among the reforms of the *Derg* laid a ground for the establishment of peasant associations and related cooperative farms. Nevertheless, as a time went on, the government began to interfere and influence the internal affairs of the associations and the cooperative farms.

¹¹⁷*Ibid*, pp. 144-145; Ref No. 4/□23/2, 10/1/1971 E.C; 28. □□.21/75, 5/11/1975 E.C; 388/□-500/2, 12/4/1976 E.C.

¹¹⁸*Ibid*, p. 145; Ref No. 13/1759/3, 1/5/1978 E.C; Informants: *Ato* Azage Aderaro, *Ato* Tamiru Beyene, and *Ato* Telila Kebede.

¹¹⁹Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 145.

¹²⁰Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, pp. 242-243; Hussein, pp. 9-10; Informants: Abera, *Ato* Shuke Gurmesa, and *Ato* Tamiru Beyene.

¹²¹Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, p. 243.

Though the cooperative members demanded to store and share their common produce for consumption,¹²² the officials sold the products to retail merchants against the interest of the member peasants. Moreover, the leaders of the peasant associations and the *Woreda* officials uprooted the non-members from their fertile lands to benefit the cooperative farms. They also tried to non-members force to be members of the cooperatives.¹²³ The peasant displacement and threat led to a state of insecurity for the peasants. Hence, the first harmonious relationship built between the peasants and the government began to change to suspicion and dissatisfaction of the peasants.¹²⁴

The land reform proclamation permitted peasant associations to independently elect and remove their administrators.¹²⁵ Practically, however, the election and removal of the leadership had been carried out in accordance with the interest of the WPE. The government also made association as local units of revenue collection and turned the association into a control of administrative efficiency. Moreover, the party subjected the associations to the political control that the leadership could not perform the demands of the associations but the party. Therefore, the *Derg* politically dominated the peasant associations and the cooperative farms in the *Awraja*.¹²⁶

The peasants used to pay an obligatory rural land use and agricultural work progressive income taxes to the government. They also paid to EPA. Moreover, peasants paid different irregular contributions that caused them unsatisfied to the administration of the military government. Further, the youth used to pay to REYA and women to REWA. In a single family father, mother,

¹²²Hussein, p. 12.

¹²³Informants: *Ato* Shuke Gurmesa, *Ato* Tareegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

¹²⁴*Ibid.*

¹²⁵Hussein, p. 9.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 10-11; Informants: *Ato* Getahun Geremew, *Ato* Shuke Gurmesa, *Ato* Jemere Dakito, and *Ato* Tareegn Abdisa.

and young had an obligation to pay to their respective associations that more embittered the family members.¹²⁷

The recruitment of youth to the national military service lacked openness. They were cases of bribery against the rich, and saving sons of officials, administrators, and ties from the service. The youth from poor families, however, were secretly recruited and captured at any place for the service without the consent of the youths and their families. The conscription process posed a threat among the youths and families that made the military government unpopular in the *Awraja*.¹²⁸

In the process of the resettlement program, the local government used to force peasants to build houses for the resettles everywhere at the selected sites in the Illubabor *Kifle Hager* as far as the most remote, Gambella *Awraja*. They went to the sites with hardships on foot transport. They had the obligation to access local building materials from the surrounding sites and build houses. They departed from their family members and agricultural activities for a month without any logistic provisions and facilities at the sites of the program. Moreover, since the launching of the Somali invasion in 1977, the government forced peasants to farm and harvest the crop of the campaigned militiamembers in the *Awraja*. An absence from work resulted in the punishment for the peasants.¹²⁹

On the other hand, the settlers in Mocha *Awraja* made cordial relationships with natives of the *Awraja*. Settlers made it clear to the natives that the government resettled them in the *Awraja* without their knowledge about the program. They were simply taken while attending meeting

¹²⁷Informants: *Ato* Kifle Bekele, *Ato* Shuke Gurmese, *Ato* Tareegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel

¹²⁸Informants: *Ato* Kifle Bekele, *Ato* Molla Gessesse, Commander Wondimu Negerasha, and *Ato* Tareegn Abdisa.

¹²⁹Informants: *Ato* Birhanu Marito, *Ato* Kifle Bekele, and *Ato* Shuke Gurmese.

with their family members at their home areas. Moreover, they disclosed it that the program resulted in departure and dislocation of their family members in different places of Illubabor *Kifle Hager*. Further, they told the natives that the resettlement program exposed that their families were busy searching one another with costs, hardships and psychological trauma.¹³⁰

Later, in spite of giving emphasis to the resettlement program, the government began to embark on a social engineering program known as the villagization program. The *Derg* launched the program with the noble idea to accessing basic social services to the rural masses through the collective villagization of households. The officials selected new sites for the program without public consultation.¹³¹ The *Derg* started to implement the program in the south eastern part of the country, first in Bale, Arsi, and then Hararge *Kifle Hager*. Experienced in the region, the government strived to carry out the program throughout the entire country. However, the government attempted to achieve the objective of the program by relocating many peasants to the newly selected villagization sites. As the program dislocated peasants to new sites, uprooting the traditional houses and affecting agricultural activities, it made the regime unpopular.¹³²

All the aforementioned measures and programs of the military regime embittered the peasants and could be considered as the deep rooted causes of the peasant uprising in Mocha *Awraja*.¹³³ In January 1986, officials in the *Awraja* assembled peasants to a meeting to discuss on the villagization program of the central government. Nevertheless, the peasants conceived that the government would resettle and dislocate their families elsewhere in the southwestern region, just as it did on the northern settlers. The forced resettlement and the subsequent family

¹³⁰Informants: *Ato Birhanu Marito, Ato Sharew Denbel, and Ato Taresa Dureso.*

¹³¹Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, p. 263; Tefera Haile Selassie, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1991: From Monarchical Autocracy to Military Oligarchy* (Kegan Paul International, England, 1997), pp. 268-269.

¹³²*Ibid.*

¹³³Informants: Haile, *Ato Birhanu Marito, Ato Tarekegn Abdisa, and Ato Zena Welede Gabriel*

dislocation of the Wallo settlers gave a mistake idea to the peasant that the government would resettle and dislocate their families during the discussion meeting.¹³⁴

Though the discussion was made about the program, peasants were not interested to be placed far from their *enset* plantations and agriculture lands as their produce would become open to the wild animals. Thenceforth, peasants in the Mocha *Awraja* did not favorably accept the forced villagization program of the government. The program remained unpopular, doubled the dissatisfaction of the peasants, and multiplied opposition against the program not to be implemented in the *Awraja*. Despite the resettlement of the peasants, however, the government attempted to implement the cause of the peasant uprising in the *Awraja*. Eventually, peasants in the highland *Woredas* of the *Awraja*: Andiracha, Masha, Nonno, and Sale (excluding Yeki and Godere) attempted to resist the implementation of the program through guerrilla fighting early in 1986.¹³⁵

Course of the Uprising

On January 6, 1986, the Mocha *Awraja* WPE official Namomsa Regasa (secretary), attempted to convince the participant about the advantages of the villagization program supporting the assembled *Woreda* administrator, chairman of the peasant association, REYA, and REWA. The secretary ordered that the process of villagization must begin urgently in each *Woreda* of the *Awraja*. Before its forceful implement, however, the party called on volunteers to demolish their old traditional but well-constructed houses and built at the new sites of the program selected by the officials. An organized technical committee was set up in each peasant association to

¹³⁴Informants: *Ato* Birhanu Marito, *Ato* Kifle Bekele, and *Ato* Shuke Gurmesa.

¹³⁵Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp. 36-47; Masha *Woreda* office of agriculture, Report presented to the annual session of the *Woreda mikir Bet* (office of council), 1994, Masha N.P; Informants: *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato* Kifle Bekele, *Ato* Tamiru Beyene, and *Ato* Tarekn Abdisa.

implement the order of the new sites. Moreover, the administrator of Mocha *Awraja*, Waldasanbat Warango, discussed more with the attendants of the meeting. The hierarchical administrative levels and the party from Illubabor *Kifile Hager* followed the process and beginning of the program in six *Woreda* of the Mocha *Awraja*.¹³⁶

Nevertheless, after a long discussion with clan leaders (*Gepetatos*) and local elders on the outcome of the program, the peasants unanimously decided not to demolish their tradition houses. They decided to defend any threats coming from the WPE, the officials, and other supporters of the program. Despite the resentment of the peasant, however, the Mocha *Awraja* WPE and the officials determined to implement the centrally planned program in the *Woredas* of the *Awraja*. Besides mobilizing the peasant associations, the REYA, the REWA, and in general the party passed order to civil servants and teachers to join campaign for the implementation of the program in each *Woreda* of the *Awraja*. In each peasant association, the party and its officials organized a technical committee and selected sites for the realization of the program in the *Awraja*.¹³⁷

The peasants, however, responded by destroying and burning local materials collected for the new houses at the selected site in the Atile peasant association in Masha *Woreda* of the *Awraja*. The chairman of the association reported to the *Woreda* and the *Awraja* WPE that the peasants destroyed the material collected and were unwilling to implement the program at the newly selected site. On January 8, 1986, based on the report, Mocha *Awraja* administrator Waldasanbat Warango, the vice chairman of the Masha *Woreda* peasant associations, the party leader, and the

¹³⁶Informants: *Ato* Telila Kebede, *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

¹³⁷Tamene Mamo, Peasant Uprising against *Dreg's* Villagization Program: The Case of Shekacho (B.A Thesis, DePartment of History, Dilla University, 2002), pp. 12-14.

police went to the Atile peasant association. They supervised and checked the practical beginning of villagization at the new sites and gained some knowledge about the general conditions in the area.¹³⁸

Nonetheless, on their arrival at Atille, the team found anyone peasant appearing in the selected site of the villagization. A surprising attack was opened and peasants encircled and forced the team to leave the site in a complete disorders. The peasants launched their surprise attack on the team from two directions. They killed Waldasanbat Warango and Sahele Shawo respectively the *Awraja* administrator and the vice chairman of the Masha *Woreda* peasants association. Though some peasants were killed in the incident, other supporters of the program narrowly escaped from death. They escaped away into the surrounding forest of the, Nonno *Woreda* and as far as the adjacent Gore *Awraja*.¹³⁹

The incident at Atile suddenly sparked out into the rest of the PAs in Masha and Andiracha districts. In the four highlands of *Woreda*, peasants stood against the forcible villagization program at the selected site. A day after the incident at Atile, peasant's burnet down the model houses built for demonstration at the site. Soon the peasants closed the road connecting the Andiracha *Woreda* capital, Gecha, with the *Awraja* administrative town, Masha. The territory in between had been controlled by the peasants against any possible punitive force sent from the government. The peasant guerrilla fighters also captured members of the technical committee of the program, and some civil servants who were supporting the program of the government and detained □□□□ them together. Others escaped to the remote area of Masha

¹³⁸*Ibid.*; Informants: *Ato* Feleke Teferi, *Ato* Girma Asrat, and *Ato* Kebede Tafese.

¹³⁹Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp. 45-49; Tamene, pp. 12-14; Informants: *Ato* Sharew Denbel, *Ato* Telila Kebede, and *Ato* Tamiru Beyene.

Woreda.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, the peasant damaged the offices of *Woreda* Finance and REYA. In both, they plundered materials from the offices. They also looted property of individuals who were pro-government, and also the property of the cooperative peasants and burned their offices. The peasant fighters not only closed the street between Gecha and Masha but also between the Masha and Dagale in the west.¹⁴¹

Within a week time of the Atile incident happened, the peasant fighters dug a fortress at the Gongari River near Yina, between Gecha and Masha. They also dug fortress between Masha and Dagale at Dollomaji to defend any assaults coming from the government. On January 9, 1986, by the order of the technical committee, peasants reluctantly demolished the house of the chairman of the Yina *kebeles* peasant association in Masha *Woreda*. Yet, the committee, together with the *Woreda* officials and the party, imprisoned disobedient peasants to ruin their traditional houses at the selected sites. In the night of that day, however, the rebel peasants uprooted the planted pillars and burnt the collected local materials for buildings at the selected new sites. The committee and some selected civil servants went to the sites to supervise and watch the prevailing condition. As the movement of the peasants became so strong the team members attempted to escape to the *Awraja* capital, Masha. However, the peasant encircled the team members and fired on them at the Gongari River, where they had already dug the fortress. The team retreated to the adjacent Andiracha *Woreda*.¹⁴² Nonetheless, advised and convinced by clan leaders, some members of the team returned to Yina. They promised to support the peasant in their struggle against the government. Even some of them were assigned to lead the peasant guerrilla fighters in the Yina *kebele* of Masha *Woreda*. For instance, the peasant fighters elected

¹⁴⁰Informants: *Ato* Birhanu Marito, *Ato* Tamiru Beyene, *Ato* Molla Gessesse, and *Ato* Telila Kebede.

¹⁴¹Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp. 38-39; Informants: Ambassador Abera Bechro, *Ato* Girma Asrat, and *Ato* Taresa Dureso.

¹⁴²Tamene, pp.12-15.

Demise Abeto, the former member of the technical committee of the Masha *Woreda* peasant associations. The peasants also elected Ambelo Kochito the deputy leader in their movement in *Yina kebeles* of the *Woreda*.¹⁴³

Likewise, taking the example of the Masha *Woreda*, the peasant in Andiracha *Woreda* stood against the forcible villagization program of the government. As in the Masha *Woreda*, they caught members of the technical committee and some civil servants supporting the program. They also plundered houses of the committee members and individuals who were thought to be supporters of the program. Moreover, they looted and burnt government offices, cooperative farms and slaughtered live stocks for their provision in the forest.¹⁴⁴

Similarly, the uprising spread to the Nonno *Woreda* of the Mocha *Awraja*. Though the officials and the WPE members had forced the peasants to build a model houses for demonstration, the guerrilla peasant fighters burned the house built on the outskirts of the *Woreda* capital, Birbirsa. On January 15, 1986, led by their leaders and some ex-soldiers, the peasant fighters controlled the *Woreda* administrative town. They planned to devastate the office of the *Woreda* police. Yet, unable to loot and burn the office, they returned to the *Woreda* office of administration, where they plundered money and other materials for the office.¹⁴⁵

On January 17, 1986, the uprising reached Sale *Woreda* which is adjacent to Nonno *Woreda* in the northwest. A day later, the rebel peasant put under control the administrative town of the *Woreda*, Kombolcha. As in other highland *Woredas* of the Mocha *Awraja*, the peasant fighters burnet the model houses built for demonstration of the villagization houses at the selected new

¹⁴³*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 45.; Informants: Ambassador Abera Bechro, *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Telila Kebede.

¹⁴⁵Informants: Ambassador Abera Bechro, *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Telila Kebede.

site, plundered cooperative farms in Sellale and Tupi peasant associations. Moreover, the rebels looted the houses of the *Woreda* administrator and the police commander. Despite the attempts of the administrator and the commander to escape, the guerrilla fighters killed them on their way to the Gore *Awraja*. The fighters also shot the chairman of the *Woreda* peasants association at ---
-place.¹⁴⁶

Regarding the government response to the uprising, three days after the Atile incident, the officials and the WPE officials in Mocha *Awraja* reported the problem to higher officials of Illubabor *Kifle Hager*. On the day, the peasants closed the street in the *Awraja* (January 11, 1986), the *Kifle Hager* administration, in collaboration with the police department, recruited and mobilized force from Buno Bedele, Gore, and Sorena Gabba *Awraja*. The officials mobilized the force to campaign against the rebellious peasants of the Mocha *Awraja*. On January 11, 1986, the marching force led by Colonel Bekele Degu, the first police force arrived in the capital of Mocha *Awraja*, Masha.¹⁴⁷ The force was given the responsibility to pacify the peasant rebellion in the *Awraja*. The following day, the force launched a counter-offensive against the guerrilla fighters. Despite the attempt of the government force, peasants determined to continue their offensive and took defensive measures in all the highland *Woreda* of the *Awraja*. Indeed, the arrived police force was unable to control the uprising in the *Awraja*.¹⁴⁸

Realizing the strength of the rebel fighters, the commander of the police force reported the case to the Illubabor *Kifle Hager* police department, to the *Kifle Hager* administration office and to the WPE party office. He requested additional force against peasant fighters. In response to the request, the *Kifle Hager* authorities responded urgently by sending additional battalion

¹⁴⁶Tamene, p.14.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁴⁸Informants: *Ato* Birhanu Marito, *Ato* Tamiru Beyene, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Girma Asrat.

militiarecruited from Buno Bedele, Gore, and Sorena Gabba *Awraja* to Mocha *Awraja* and also from Yeki and Godere *Woredas*. On 18 January, 1986, a collaboration police force and militialed by Lieutenant General Kebede Keno marched to Nonno *Woreda*. While marching, however, the guerrilla fighters from their Dollomaji fortress defended the force and killed the Lieutenant General. Consequently, the force could not penetrate deep into Nonno and retreated to their camp at Masha town.¹⁴⁹

Considering the fact that uprising in *Awraja* was beyond the *Kifle Hager* force, the police department of Illubabor*Kifle Hager*, the office of admiration, and WPE reported the case to the central government. In response, the Ministry of Defense sent two battalion of national military defense force to the *Awraja* in two directions. These defense forces were those stationed in the western region, from Jimma and Gambella. They campaigned to the *Awraja* in the southeast and north directions, respectively. The regular army from Jimma entered to Mocha *Awraja* through Kaffa *Awraja* and stationed at the administrative town of Yeki *Woreda*, Tepi, in Mocha *Awraja*. Likewise, led by Kumilachew Dagneh, the well-armed regular soldiers called “Terb Shalaqa” (wasp battalion) from Gambella entered through Gore *Awraja* and arrived and camped at the capital of Mocha *Awraja*, Masha, in the north. The *Kifle Hager* militiaand police force who were initially fighting the guerrilla fighters continued fighting as they were backed by the newly arrived regular army. The collaborative and united militiaforce and the army threatened not only the peasant fighters but also their supporters in all rebellious *Woreda* of the *Awraja*.¹⁵⁰

The defense force stationed in Tepi divided itself in two stations. One at the town and the other between Gesha *Woreda* in Kaffa *Awraja* and the Masha *Woreda* in Mocha *Awraja* in the

¹⁴⁹Tamene, pp. 14-15; Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp. 45-49.

¹⁵⁰Informants: *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel, and *Ato* Telila Kebede.

east. Besides, the government made a survey using two helicopters to make an air force attack on the peasant guerrilla fighters. Suspecting the attack, the peasants continued building a number of fortresses at places they considered a military strategies in each rebellious *Woredas*.¹⁵¹

Despite the threat from the united militiapolice force and the national army battalion, the peasant leaders played a significant role in the course of the fighting. They not only coordinated the peasant fighters but also persuaded neutral peasants to join their group against the united force of the government. The leaders in each peasant association of the four *Woreda* were exchanging information with middlemen spies. In the course of the fighting, the rebel fighters used a number of defense mechanisms. They cut down trees and laid across plains to hinder the fast movement of the government forces. They stretch the local net and tie a piece of iron sheet to it to signal the approaching of the government soldiers to their strategic fortress.¹⁵² They cracked big trees in dense forests, made a hole from where they were hidden, fired on them, and pose challenges to the government forces. Moreover, while wounded soldiers were taken to the *Awraja* health center or Jimma hospital, the rebellious peasants used traditional healing methods. Further, the rebel fighters assigned guards to the fortress and ordered women to prepare provisions for consumption by the guardians.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹Tamene, pp. 14-15.

¹⁵²*Ibid*, pp.15-16.

¹⁵³Informants: *Ato*Haile Arengo, *Ato* Birhanu Marito, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

Figure 5: Animut Kinde and Zelalem Wokayo discussing with representatives of the masses and peasant guerrilla fighters (27 January, 1986).¹⁵⁸

Nevertheless, the demands of representatives of the guerilla peasant fighters to the peace talk was unacceptable for the government forces. As a precondition to the peace settlement, they asked the government to stop or postpone the forced villagization program to the selected sites and to reduce the amount of the rural land use tax and to stop the forced national military service, transfer all civil servants and stop imposing various types of cash in kind contributions. Moreover, demanded mercy of government for peasant rebels who were involved in the uprising. Provide their long list and complex demands the government only agreed to the last demands. Accordingly, the representative of the rebels promised the surrender of the peasant fighters within ten days up to the first week of February, 1986.¹⁵⁹

Though the peace discussion brought nothing, twenty-three young men refused to take part in the national military service and small number of fighters showed their loyalty to the WPE in the *Awraja*. Nevertheless, the majority of them were ambushed in forest and continued their guerilla fighting against the government force.¹⁶⁰

Recognizing that the peace talks and the call for the peasants to surrender was not successful, the government resumed its military operation against the fighters. Accordingly, the government ordered the military leaders to launch military operations in two directions, in the north and the south. Beginning from 9 February 1986, the military commanders set out major operational expedition in the rebellious *Woredas* of the *Awraja*. Equipped with modern firearms, the

¹⁵⁸*Ye Mocha Awraja* *Eña Be Kililu Teftero Yenebru Ye Testita Chger...*, p. 38.

¹⁵⁹*Ibid.*; Informants: Ambassador Abera Bechro, *Ato* Birhanu Marito, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Tamiru Beyene.

¹⁶⁰Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp. 36; Tamene, p.17.

government forces made a determined fight to quell the peasant fighters who were armed with traditional and backward military weapons.¹⁶¹

Accordingly, Captain Melese commanded the regular army attacked from Tepi to the Andiracha *Woreda* in the north. Likewise, Major Anley led the military forces from Masha towards Andiracha to the south. While the soldiers were marching from Masha and approaching the Gongari fortress, the peasant fighters challenged the government force. The peasant fighters defended the large and well-armed soldiers for the time being from the fortress. Although, the soldiers were armed with modern weapons, they could not dislodge the fighters from their fortress. Captain Zeleke Maderasha, the commander of the army to the fortress was wounded in the confrontation and that worsened the situation. Embittered by the wounding of their captain, the army under the command of Lieutenant General Kuti began to use launchers and showering bombs/grenades on the peasant fighters in the fortress. Another force led by Captain Gashaw was also attacking the fortress from another direction.¹⁶²

In spite of the strong resistance the peasant fighters put up, the army was able to break the Gongari fortress after four hours of fierce fighting. Consequently, the peasant fighters surrendered to the army. Dislodging the fighters from their fortress, the army cleared of the rebel fighters from the surrounding. Moreover, the army burnt twenty-seven houses of the suspected rebels involved in the fighting in the Yina peasants association. For further crushing the fighters, the army was stationed at Yina. Though wounded, Captain Zeleke continued to command the army and called for the peasants come to a peace discussion. The peace process, however, was

¹⁶¹Informants: *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel, and *Ato* Telila Kebede.

¹⁶²Tamene, p.17.

interrupted as peasants opened fire and killed the commanders of mortar firing section of the army.¹⁶³

On the other hand, the military force led by Captain Melese from Tepi, in the south marched a long distance to the Andiracha *Woreda*. While the army was marching, however, the rebel peasants opened fire on the army from their Chinagawa fortress. As Captain Zeleke was wounded at the Gongari fortress, Captain Melese was also wounded at the Chinagawa fortress. In the military confrontation at the fortress, the rebel peasants killed a number of soldiers who were led by the wounded captain.¹⁶⁴

The army that was marching from Tepi and Masha that had already controlled the Gongari fortress in Yina planned a military operation against the guerilla fighters in the Andiracha *Woreda*. They prepared to attack the fighters from two directions, the Tepi army in the south and the Masha in the north. Accordingly to the military plan, the two commanders of the army led a military operation to the *Woreda*. Nonetheless, the peasant fighters determined to challenge the army that was marching from Tepi to the *Woreda*. Realizing the difficulty of the topography of the area, the peasants cracked and made a hole into a big tree in dense forest. Hiding themselves in the hole of trees, they shot a number of soldiers. Besides, the heavy rainfall of the area also made the operation of the army very difficult.¹⁶⁵

However, while reaching Yokichichi, adjacent to the capital of Andiracha *Woreda*, Gecha, the revolutionary military operation began to annihilate the guerilla fighters from February 11–18, 1986. Commander Abebe Haile and his deputy, Faris Awol, led the army. Despite the peasant

¹⁶³*Ibid*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁶⁴Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp. 45-47.

¹⁶⁵Tamene, pp. 18-20; Informants: Ambassador Abera Bechro, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, and *Ato* Haile Arengo.

fighters' hidden attempt to kill commander Abebe using a traditional weapon, the commander killed the fighters with his handgun (pistol). While commanding the army from Gecha, his army inflicted damage over the peasant fighters at the outskirts of Gecha town. Commander Asfaw Abrham's mortar firing in the army also showed great courage in annihilating the peasants, earning him the nickname "Gitarist."¹⁶⁶

Other prominent army leaders who involved in defeating the guerrilla fighters around Gecha, the capital town of Andiracha *Woreda* include comrade Tsegaye Mekonnen, Ali Kitesa, and Mekonnen Kebede. Therefore, with great sacrifices, the revolutionary army was able to reach and control Gecha town on February 11, 1986. The army stayed in the town for nearly a week.¹⁶⁷

As the result the peasant fighters retreated from Gecha and dispersed in the distance Andiracha *Woreda* peasant association: Duyina, Goja, and Shakibado. The commander of the army stationed in Gecha town was determined to crush the guerrilla fighters in each peasant association of the *Woreda*. Accordingly, Corporal Tamene Dessalegn led the military operation to Duyina and destroyed the peasant fighters. Likewise, a number of soldiers commanded by the wounded Captain Melese went to Goja. Yet, the rebel fighters built a strong fortress on the Hossigudi River. The strong fortress and difficult terrain of the area challenged the army and delayed the operation against the fighters. Despite the challenges, however, the army eventually defeated the fighters and controlled the fortress.¹⁶⁸ The army chased the rebel peasants to the main road that led to the dispersal of the peasants. As they lost the battle, the rebel fighters

¹⁶⁶Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp. 45-49.

¹⁶⁷*Ibid*, pp. 48-49.

¹⁶⁸Tamene, pp. 19-20.

preferred negotiations with the army and the government. Hence, they elected their representatives local elders and sent them to the army for the peace negotiation.¹⁶⁹

As described above, the army in the Masha *Woreda* broken the Gongari fortress and hastened the surrender of the peasant fighters. Stationed in Yina, the army under the command of Captain, Zeleke, began to move towards Gecha, where the Jimma army from Tepi had already controlled the town. Despite the attempts of the army, the peasants halted the fast movement of the army for the time being in the town. The rebel fighters destroyed the traditional wooden bridge built on the Dang River. The army, however, rebuilt the bridge using locally available resources and crossed the river and moved ahead to the Gecha town. Nevertheless, the peasants continued the blocking of the army movement by cutting and laying big trees across the road. They also built a fortress at Sholashuch,¹⁷⁰ where they fought one another for two hours. Later, however, the army broke into the fortress and continued to march ahead to Gecha. Again, the rebel fighters opened fire on the army near the Ganji River. Yet, the army scored a successful counter-offensive. The leaders of the peasant fighters retreated to Yina, where the army had already cleared the fighters. In spite of challenges from the rebel peasants and the harsh weather conditions of the area (rainfall), the army reached Gecha and joined the Jimma army that marched from Tepi and controlled the town.¹⁷¹

The retreated leaders of the peasant fighters to Yina blocked the road connecting the administrative town of the *Awraja*, Masha with the capital of Andiracha, Gecha for a month from

¹⁶⁹Informants: *Ato* Birhanu Marito, *Ato* Jemere Ambo, and *Ato* Tamiru Beyene.

¹⁷⁰Tamene, pp. 17-20.

¹⁷¹Informants: Ambassador Abera Bechro, *Ato* Birhanu Marito, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

11 February-11 March, 1986. The government used helicopter transport services in between the two towns of the *Awraja*.¹⁷²

In addition to annihilating the peasant rebels in Andiracha and some parts of Masha *Woreda*, the commanders of the army planned a military campaign through Masha to Nonno and Sale *Woreda* of the *Awraja* in the northwest. Though the army began to move in accordance with the plan, the peasant fighters had already built fortresses between Masha and Nonno *Woreda* at Dagale and Dollomaji. Despite the strength of the rebels, on February 24, 1986, the army, led by Captain Melaku Ayele, in collaboration with the 2nd and 4th captains, began military operations and the operation was successfully concluded on February 28, 1986. In the five days of the military campaign, the army scored decisive military victory over the peasant fighters at Dangale fortress Atile, Kella, Chega, and Gambella in Masha *Woreda* of the *Awraja*.¹⁷³

Similarly, on February 23, 1986, the military campaign led by Captain Birhanu Dereje in collaboration with the force coming from Gore *Awraja*, carried out military operations in Nonno *Woreda* of the *Awraja*. However, while the force from Dowa was crossing the Baro River, the rebel fighters challenged the army by firing bullets while the army was attempting to cross the river in the middle of the river. Though many of its members were lost in the water, the remaining army members able to cross the river with courage, the revolutionary slogan “the revolutionary motherland or death.” On the following day, the joint military force quelled the guerrilla fighters in Nonno *Woreda* at Koti (Asandabo), Darba, and Onose and controlled the capital of the *Woreda*, Birbirsä.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷²*Ibid.*; Tamene, pp. 19-20.

¹⁷³Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp. 45-46.

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*

Further, a separate army under the command of Gethamesay Tilahun marched to the northwest of Nonno against the fighters in Sale *Woreda*. The army cleared the fighters and put under control the administrative town of Combolcha *Woreda*. Successfully routed the rebel's fighters and controlled the town, the army led by Gethamesay continued to march in the southeast to Shekibado in Andiracha *Woreda*.¹⁷⁵ A number of the peasant's rebels managed to escape from the attack crashing the army. The peasants imprisoned pro-government civil servants at Shkbado and, were preparing to fight, the military force went to the area.¹⁷⁶ To many things difficult to the peasant fighters the army led by Gethamesay met a division of army formerly moved from Gecha to the area.¹⁷⁷ Thus, the two commanders of the forces planned to launch a joint military operation in and surrounding Shkbado. On March 12, 1986, the joint military force annihilated the rebels at Shekibado. They also controlled Shkbado and freed the prisoners of the pro-government civil servants. On March 13, 1986, the state army controlled all the military strategic places in each of the four *Woredas* of the Mocha *Awraja*.¹⁷⁸ The army brutally suppressed the guerrilla fighters and ended the uprising in the *Awraja*.¹⁷⁹

Consequence of the Uprising

As it has been elucidated so far, the peasants of the four districts of the Mocha *Awraja* military resisted the villagization program of the *Derg* government. They stood against the program and did their best to prevent its implementation in the *Awraja* as it would displace the households from their agricultural areas. Despite the attempts to implement the program, peasants killed the Mocha *Awraja* administrator and some other official of the *Awraja*. They also wounded officials

¹⁷⁵Tamene, p.22.

¹⁷⁶Informants: Ambassador Abera Bechro, *Ato* Birhanu Marito, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

¹⁷⁷Tamene, p.22.

¹⁷⁸Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp. 46-47.

¹⁷⁹Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Sharew Denbel, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

and other supporters of the program.¹⁸⁰In some places of the *Awraja*, the rebel fighters punished the supporters of the government. They killed a number of collaborator peasants, particularly in Nonno *Woreda* of the *Awraja*. Moreover, the rebels destroyed locally built bridges, looted money and properties of government offices, REYA, REWA, peasant associations, cooperative farms, and private houses with their livestock. They also burned down the government offices, peasant associations, REYA, REWA, cooperative farms, and buildings for the literacy campaign, together with their properties and documents in the highland *Woreda* of the *Awraja*.¹⁸¹

Similarly, the state army brutally executed some leaders of the guerrilla fighters. Among others, the army mercilessly killed Abebe Kochito, the leader of the fighters in Andiracha, at Gecha. Above all, the army massacred nine leaders and suspected supporters in Nonno *Woreda*, at Birbirs. ¹⁸² In sum, they cruelly massacred 29 prominent leaders and supporters at one site in the administrative towns of the highland *Woreda* of the *Awraja*. Like the peasant fighters, the army also burned down a number of houses of peasants together with their properties. They also cleared *enset* plantations and slaughtered livestock: goats, sheep, bulls, and cows, for consumption during their military campaigns in rural areas of the *Awraja*.¹⁸³

The government forces and the peasant guerrilla fighters fought one another at different places in the *Awraja*. On both sides, many people lost their lives and were wounded in confrontations. Due to political and social instabilities, forty primary schools were closed in rural areas. Consequently, the teaching-learning process was interrupted in the *Awraja*. Fearing the peasant

¹⁸⁰Informants: *Ato* Birhanu Marito, *Ato* Tareegn Abdisa, *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel, and *Ato* Telila Kebede.

¹⁸¹*Ibid*; Tamene, pp. 12-24.

¹⁸²Informants: Ambassador Abera Bechro, *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel, and *Ato* Telila Kebede.

¹⁸³Tamene, pp. 14-22; Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile and Tewodrose Deyino, Part I, p. 44.

fighters and the government army, some neutral peasants fled to forests and far-away relatives outside of the *Awraja*.¹⁸⁴

Immediately after to the ceasefire, the government recruited and sent 117 official campaigners to Mocha *Awraja*,¹⁸⁵ 49 from Kaffa *Kifle Hager* and 68 from other *Awraja* of Illubabor *Kifle Hager*.¹⁸⁶ The officials were given responsibility to restore law and order, disarm peasant fighters, restore the plundered materials and money to the government offices and individuals,¹⁸⁷ identify fighters who refused to surrender for the government army and continue the interrupted villagization program in the *Awraja*.¹⁸⁸ The officials in collaboration with the state's army disarm the peasants. They collected different old rifles with their ammunitions. They were also able to restore some of the plundered properties and money to government offices, mass organization like: REYA, REWA, cooperative farms and individuals.¹⁸⁹

Moreover, the officials and the army in jointly working captured 261 peasant fighters as captives. They presented them before the law.¹⁹⁰ While 177 of them were released in court decision, 84 of them were jailed¹⁹¹ in the *Awraja* and the prominent leaders were sent to the provincial, Mettu prison.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁴Informants: Ambassador Abera Bechro, *Ato Birhanu Marito*, and *Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*.

¹⁸⁵Tamene, p.23.

¹⁸⁶Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 51.

¹⁸⁷*Ibid*, p.51, 81. pp. 85-91; Tamene, pp. 23-24.

¹⁸⁸Informants: Ambassador Abera Bechro, *Ato Tarekegn Abdisa*, and *Ato Azage Aderaro*.

¹⁸⁹Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp. 85-91; Informants: *Ato Haile Arengo*, *Ato Sharew Denbel*, and *Ato Zena Welede Gabriel*

¹⁹⁰Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 82.

¹⁹¹*Ibid.*; Tamene, p.24.

¹⁹²Informants: Ambassador Abera Bechro, *Ato Shuke Gurmessa*, and *Ato Zena Welede Gabriel*.

such cruel and inhuman actions to abstain from opposing and fighting the government planned program.¹⁹⁵ They also developed hatred badly against the government force in the *Woreda*.¹⁹⁶

The occupied officials and the army obliged innocent peasants to provide provisions and money contributions. They also required them to slaughter their own sheep, goats, and heifers.¹⁹⁷ Prior to the peasant uprising, the officials of the *Awraja* selected a new site of the villagization for two or more *kebeles* of the adjacent areas. In the post-uprising period, however, the officials reselected new sites of the program for a *kebele* that was relatively closer to the agricultural land of the peasants. They also changed the design of the house to be built in accordance with the peasant's interests. Despite the attempt to implement the program, however, villagization at the reselected sites had been protracted for nearly a year.¹⁹⁸

The report of the Mocha *Awraja* agricultural department displayed that out of 88 peasant associations, 85 of them started to implement the program by the end of 1986 and continued until 1988. However, out of the total associations, the program was actually implemented in 64 associations at 123 reselected sites.¹⁹⁹

Nevertheless, peasants who were involved in the forced villagization in newly re-selected sites began to leave the village early in 1987 for different reasons. The reasons mentioned include: small size of the land allotted, being far located from agricultural land, and other social and economic problems. The new sites were not suitable for animal husbandry and agricultural activities. As the peasants were relatively far from their farm lands, wild animals destroyed and

¹⁹⁵Informants: Ambassador Abera Bechro, *Ato* Kebede Tafese, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

¹⁹⁶Tamene, p.24.

¹⁹⁷Informants: *Ato* Kebede Tafese, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, *Ato* Taresa Dureso, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

¹⁹⁸Tamene, p.24.

¹⁹⁹Mocha *Awraja* Agricultural Department, the first and second quarterly report, *megabit* 1981 E.C (March, 1989), Report File No. 43.

consumed their agricultural produce. The peasants also went to their farmlands with exhaustion, consuming their working time. Consequently, some family members suffered from hunger, could not participate in the social life of the community, paid the rural land use tribute, and made other irregular contributions needed from them to the government.²⁰⁰

Moreover, the new site exposed the youth to forced recruitment to the national military service. All these reasons forced the majority to give up the new village in favor of their former settlements. Further, after the collapse of the military regime, some peasants returned to the village they all returned to their home lands and rebuilt new traditional houses as they were doing before the villagization program of the *Derg*.²⁰¹

Table 6: Governor of Mocha *Awraja* and Their Deputies, 1974-1991

No	Name of chief administrators	Office Ca.	Deputy administrators
1	<i>Shamble</i> Galgalo Dayo	1974-1979	-
2	Jareso Alake	1980-1984	Tefera Admasu
3	Waladsambut Warengo	1985- January 1986	Tefera Admasu
4	Asefa Likasa	February 1986-1989	Tefera Admasu
5	Endesha Chorito	1989-1991	Hamesalaqa Tadese Shajo
6	Abera G/Igiziabher	1989-1991	-

Source: Informants, *Ato* Telila Kebede, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Walde Gabriel

The first two administrators were originally from Borena Pastoralist. As Borena pastoralist existed with uneducated individuals and destabilize the area, Emperor Haile Sellassie recruited

²⁰⁰*Ibid.* ; Annual Report, 1983 E.C, Report File No. 57.

²⁰¹Informants: Ambassador Abera Bechro, *Ato* Birhanu Marito, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

the young to educate them with modern educator at the center. On completion of their education, while Galgalo Dayo joins the army, Jarso Alake was employed as civil servant of the imperial regime. On the demise of the regime, the *Derg* appointed the administrator. The third administrator was killed in peasant uprising of the *Awraja*. On reorganization of the Mocha *Awraja* into Masha-Andiracha, Nonno-Sale and Yeki-Godere *Awraja* in 1989, the last three administrators administered independently their respective *Awraja* administration. Yet, the fifth was the only native administrator ever since the creation of the Modern Ethiopian Empire.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE *AWRAJA*

Road

In its long history, Ethiopia has experienced road problems that directly or indirectly affected the socio-economic status of the country. Similarly, Mocha *Awraja* following his ascendancy to the imperial throne, however, Emperor Haile Selassie I started building of roads precedes his reign in the country. By the mid-1934, the central government had started the Addis Ababa-Jimma road project. While the project reached the Omo River in Gibe, the Italian occupation of the country curbed the project.¹ In the span of their occupation, the Italians continued in road-building and bridging rivers, leading to connecting Jimma the Bedele-Gore in Illubabor.²

The Italian soldiers stationed at Gore and continued road building in dense forests south of the town to the capital of Mocha *Woreda Gizat*, Gecha. The Italians mobilized the surrounding local people in the process of road building to the administrative area that enabled them to camp soldiers in and the surrounding area of Gecha to administer the human and natural resources of the area. They also used the constructed road as connection between the Italians stationed in Gore in the north and the capital of the Oromo-Sidama administrative capital, Jimma, in the north-east.³

¹Mekete Belachew, Road Transport in Ethiopia, *Ethiopian Journal of Development Research*, Vol. V-VII, No.2, 1983, p. 81; Harold G. Marcus, *History of Ethiopia*, (California, California University press, 1994), pp. 136-137.

²Asefa Sutema, "A History of Toba Town from its Foundation to 1991" (B.A Thesis, Department of History, Bahir Dar University, 2003), p. 31.

³Informants; *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Taresa Dureso.

During the war of liberation, however, the Italians destroyed the roads and bridges they had built during the occupation, 1941. In the post-war period, one of the main problems of the restored imperial government was the rebuilding of these roads and bridges in the country in general and the southwest region in particular.⁴

In order to alleviate the road problems, the imperial government established diplomatic ties with the American government. With the support of the Americans, the Imperial Highway Authority (IHA) came into existence in 1951. The authority was engaged in building bridges over rivers between the 1950s and 1960s.⁵ The Three, Five-Year Plans for the nation's socio-economic growth were designed by the government.⁶

Through the First Five-Year Plans (1957-1961), which emphasized the infrastructure development of the country, it was limited to major cities rather than peripheral province.⁷ Despite the plan's promises, the central government could not implement the road project in Illubabor province in general and Mocha *Awraja* in particular owing to financial constraints and lack of skilled manpower.⁸

In 1962, *Dejazmach* Girmachew Taklehawariat, the governor-general of Illubabor province came up with the idea of developing the province. The governor also disclosed his idea to end administrative problems in three highland *Awrajas* (sub-provinces) namely Buno Bedele, Gore, and Mocha *Awraja*. He believed that before actual participation in developmental projects in the sub-province, discussion on the development was so important. Invited *Awraja* officials joined the discussion meeting he arranged and chaired at the capital of the province, Gore. The

⁴Bahru, *A History of Modern Ethiopia...*, pp. 187-188; Asefa, "A History of Toba", p.31.

⁵*Ibid.*; Ayele Kuris, "The Economy of Ethiopia: Principle and Practice", (second edition, 2006), pp. 5-6.

⁶Ayele Kuris, p. 3.

⁷Saheed A. Adejumobi, *The History of Ethiopia*, (printed in USA, Greenwood press, London, 2007), p. 100.

⁸Asefa, "A History of Toba Town" pp. 150-151.

governor-general also ordered officials of administrative units, including *balabats*, and local elders, to join the discussion. They discussed the development of the sub-province infrastructure and effective land tribute collection in the three highland sub-provinces. In turn, officials and administrative units had an obligation to inform the general public of the connection of roads, schools, health centers, and airfields in the three highland *AwrajaGizats* of the province.⁹ The governor-general made it obligation to join the meeting on the infrastructure development of the *AwrajaGizats*. However, reluctance they showed to participate the meetings result in the punishment of the *Awraja* officials. *Ye Kifle Hager Astedader Gubae* punished the *AwrajaGizat* officials by applying monthly salary cuts. Similarly, the *Awraja Astedader Gubae* (sub-provincial administrative council) used to punish *Woreda* governors with a monthly salary cut. The punishment was to be reported to the *Awraja Gimja Bets* (treasury) and further to the office of provincial administration.¹⁰ Despite the endeavor of the governor-general, the idea of developing the highland of *Awraja Gizat* in infrastructure was protracted until *Dejazmach Warqu Inquassielassie* was appointed governor-general of Illubabor province.¹¹

In 1964, the *Awraja Gizat* provided municipal administration to Tepi town in the *Yeki Woreda* of the *Awraja*.¹² However, *Kenagzmach Haile Denemero*, then governor *Andiracha* governor, did not actively implement the social services: airfields, schools, and governmental offices. Though the governor joined the meeting held at Gore, he was reluctant to begin the process of providing social services in the *Woreda*.¹³ As a consequence, the governor was delayed in

⁹Office of Illubabor Provincial administration to Mocha *AwrajaGizat* referring the three highland *Awraja Gizat*, 1214/1955 E.C, Ref No.215/ 2341/ 35, File No, 328.

¹⁰Informants: *Ato*Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel

¹¹Informants: *Ato* Feleke Teferi, *Ato* Haile Arengo, and Ambassador Abera Bechro.

¹²Informants: *Ato*Tadesse Admasu, *Ato*Molla Gessesse and *Ato* Feleke Teferi.

¹³See Appendix XXXII Folder No. File Number, Ref. No. 1940/746/13

getting involved, the Mocha *Awraja Astedader Gubae* punished him with 25 *birr* from his monthly salary in 1965.¹⁴

Yet, by the year, in order to alleviate problems of transportation between the *Awraja Gizat* and the provincial town of Gore. The government established two airfields for transportation in the *Awraja Gizat*: Abelo in Masha and Tepi in the Yeki *Woreda*, called *Jean Meda* (emperor's airfield). The government provided two airfields next to Gore,¹⁵ which the Italians built in 1935 for their own benefit during the occupational period.¹⁶ The Ethiopian Airline made the three airfields of the province part of its domestic flight branches. The airfields provided helicopter transport services per week to the capital, the provincial town, and Gambella in a trip for *Awraja* officials, civil servants, merchants, and students to Gore Haile Selassie High School in Gore.¹⁷ The Mocha *Awraja* offices also dispatched their administrative reports and messages via air transport to the provincial offices and also the center.¹⁸ Later, particularly, the Tepi airfield added coffee shipment to the National Coffee Board (NCB) at Addis Ababa. In the cargo transportation, the aircraft used to ship only the item to the board.¹⁹

In 1968, *Dejazmach* Warqu, governor-general of Illubabor province, founded an organization called the Illubabor Development Association (IDA). The primary objective of the organization was to help development of province through the participation of the local population. He made an obligation for every individual living in the three highlands of *Awraja Gizat* to contribute annually one *birr* and twenty cents (1*birr* and 20 cents). Merchants, civil servants, landlords, and

¹⁴See Appendix XVII, Mocha *Awraja* office of administration to *Dejazmach* Girmachew Takehawariat (*enderase* of the province), Ref No. 4008/2662/44, 19/11/1957 E.C, File No. 2158.

¹⁵ Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Molla Gessesse, and *Ato* Dessalegn Deseno

¹⁶Yihune Tsegaye, "Historical Heritage in Gore Town and its surroundings: since Nineteenth century, (M.A Thesis, Department of History, Gondar University, 2018), p. 56.

¹⁷Informants: *Ato* Ketema Ayino, *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

¹⁸Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* to Yeki *Woreda Gimja Bet*, Ref No. 167/892/65, 24/8/1965 E.C, File No. 1268.

¹⁹Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

tenants paid for themselves and were also forced to pay for the unemployed, youth, children, and even undelivered infants.²⁰ The *Awraja GimjaBets* of the province in general and Mocha *Awraja* in practical had been given the responsibility to collect the contribution from the general people in their respective administrative jurisdictions and deliver it to the provincial *Bejerond*. Archival sources confirm that since 1968, the Mocha *Awraja Gimja Bet* collected it differently from the newly introduced agricultural income tax for the *Awraja*. Though the governor-general planned to implement various developmental projects with the cost of IDA²¹ such as road building, bridges, public transportation means, and building schools and health centers, most of the implemented social services were restricted to Gore, and Buno Bedele *Awraja Gizat* along the highway.²²

The governor-general however, provided some visible social services to the Mocha *Awraja*. The endeavors of the governor focused infrastructure developments, such as building of schools and health facilities. The governor endeavored to connect Mocha *Awraja Gizat* with the road²³ and the bridge on the river between the provincial towns of Gore. Until 1968, the governors of Gore and Mocha *Awraja* mobilized their respective local people to jointly bridge the Baro River (boundary between the two *AwrajaGizats*) with local resources. By the year, *Dejazmach* Warqu ordered the two provinces to bridge the river as they had experienced long before. While the

²⁰Informants: *Ato*Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Taresa Dureso.

²¹An application from Sale Massango *Woreda Gimja Bet* to the *WoredaGizat*; 8/5/1962 E.C, Ref, No. 13/60; Mocha *AwrajaGimja Bet* to Gashaw Tena Rago- governor of Sale *WoredaGizat*, 9/6/1962 E.C, Ref No, 1649/1/□/, File No.156. Individual application to Sale-Massango *WoredaGizat* with private No. 13/62, dated on 5/6/1962 E.C.

²²Informants: *Ato* Tamiru Beyene, *Ato* Feleke Teferi, *W/ro* Aberash Dakito, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

²³A report of Mocha *Awraja* Administration to Illubabor Governor General, File no17 Folder No 02365. The National Archives of Ethiopia

governor of all *Woreda Gizats* in *Gore Awraja* were mobilizing the governor of Andiracha in the *Mocha Awraja* was reluctant to activate the local people for the communal work on the river.²⁴

In Mocha/ Sheka

In English

Aabi Kessobaanee Aabe'e Koojjatane□The sun has risen for from the east Aabi giyobaanee

Aachota Waac'c'atatan□The gold has sparkle from the west Shuunogaa P'chato Kindona

Kessonno□This is a time to do her and there Tunatone! Kaffina Ilu" aababo.²⁵Kaffa and Sheka

became together.

The governor general took administrative actions against the governor of Andiracha, *Woreda Gizat* for his unwillingness to invest in the infrastructure development of the province. He ordered the office of *Mocha Gizat*, Asfaw Waldatsadik, to ban *Kenagzmach* Haile Denemero from his governance of the *Woreda* and to quit his monthly salary. By the order of the office of the provincial administration, the *Mocha Awraja* governor presented him to the *Awraja Gizat* administrative council for further punishment. Moreover, the *Awraja Gizat* replaced him with acting governor until a formal governor was appointed to the *Woreda*.²⁶

In the Third Five Years Plans (1968–1973), the central government gave emphasis to increasing agricultural productivity in the country. Besides, the government gave eminence to road construction in Illubabor province, which would have been completed in the first five years of the national plan. The road project coincided with the office of *Dejazmach* Worku (1968–1974),

²⁴Ya Illubabor Hizb Yakuakuamew Yellimat ena Yemahiberawi Ediget Dirigit (Bulletin) Vol. I no. I. 1960 E.C. (in the hands of Ato Haile Arengo Masha town) pp.1-21; Amare Fentaw, “A History of Tepi Coffee Plantation”, (B.A Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2002), p. 12, 14.

²⁵Informant: Ambassador Abera Bechro; See Appendix XXXII, Illubabor Provincial office of administration to *Mocha Awraja Gizat*, Ref No. 1940/746/13, 27/6/1957 E.C.

²⁶Illubabor Provincial office of administration to *Mocha Awraja Gizat*, Ref No. 5/1/126; 6/10/1959 E.C File No. 952; *Mocha Awraja Gizat* to Andiracha *Woreda Gizat*, Ref No. 3765/1294/54,17/10/1959 E.C, See Appendix XXXII File No. 42; Ref No1/1082/211/ File No. 1940/746/13, Ref No. File No. 354/746/13.

who at the same time gave credit to provide social services in the province sponsored by IDA. Correspondingly, the central government contracted the road project from Aggaro-Mettu by a French company known as Razel.²⁷ The company completed the asphalted road construction to the capital of Illubabor province, Mettu (transferred from Gore), in 1970.²⁸

In spite of the fact that the Mocha *Awraja* remained one of the highland *Awraja Gizats* of the province, the central government did not plan to extend the road project as far as the *Awraja Gizat*. Nonetheless, while the central government was constructing the asphalted road to Mettu, *Dejazmach Worku* had been striving to connect Mocha with Gore *Awraja* and the cleared road in the province. The governor directed the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* with each administrative unit, particularly the *Woreda* and *Miktle Woreda Gizats*, and he mobilized their community in support of the building of roads in the *Awraja*. The people in each *Miktle Gizats* cleared the forest letting the already-started clearing road from Gore town in Gore *Awraja* in the north to Tepi town in the south in Mocha *Awraja*.²⁹

On the other hand, *Dejazmach* Tsehai Inquassielassie, the governor-general of Kaffa province (brother of *Dejazmach Worku*), activated the road construction from Jimma in the northeast to Tepi town in Mocha *Awraja*. The dry-weather service road construction from both provinces joined in Tepi town in 1970.³⁰

The two brother governor-generals in collaboration with known artists of the time at Tepi, warmly celebrated the completion of the road from two directions in Mocha *Awraja*.³¹ To the end, *Dejazmach Worku* acknowledged some officials of the Mocha *Awraja* for their brave deeds

²⁷Asefa, "A History of Toba Town," p. 32.

²⁸Mengesha, p.69.

²⁹An acknowledgment letter from *Dejazmach Worku* to *Ato* Haile Arengo and *Ato* Tadesse Gobena, Ref No. 12/1517/32, 15/8/1960 E.C.

³⁰Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, *Ato* Taresa Dureso, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

³¹Informants: *Ato* Kebede Tucho, *Ato* Haile Arengo, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

in the road construction in his formal messages he sent it in the same year.³² Yet, the imperial regime did not construct a standardized road that connected the *Awraja Gizat* with the adjacent *Awraja Gizats* as well as the provincial administrative centers, Gore and then Mettu.³³

Subsequent to the demise of the imperial regime, the military regime planned to construct a gravel road construction from Gore-Masha-Tepi in Mocha *Awraja* to Mizan Teferi in the Kaffa province in 1985. Though the central government had no plan initially, the drought that followed an acute famine in the north in 1984 sought a resettlement program in the relatively less affected southwestern Ethiopian region. One of the identified areas of the programs was Mocha *Awraja*. In the absence of a standard road in Mocha *Awraja*, the central government designed a gravel road project from Gore-Masha-Tepi-Mizan Teferi and constructed it with the support of Cuban engineers. While the road construction was going on, the Mocha peasant uprising broke out, causing instability and frustrating the road constructors. Yet, the office of Mocha *Awraja* administrative, police members and also some members of the national defense force accompanied the process of road construction that enabled the continuity of the project ahead in the *Awraja*.³⁴

Telecommunications

Soon after the coronation of Emperor Menelik, *Ras* Mekonnen visited Rome and returned from Italy with a telephone to Ethiopia. Following its introduction to the country, the emperor informed provincial governors that the telephone was crucial in administration. Despite the advice of Emperor, *Ras* Tessema Nadew, did not want to use the apparatus. But later, the

³²Ref No. 12/1517/32, 15/8/1960 E.C.

³³Informants: *Ato*Haile Arengo, *Ato* Feleke Teferi and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

³⁴Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile and Tewodrose Deyino, Part I, p. 109; Informants: *Ato*Alemu Dengaro, *Ato* Haile Arengo, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel..

emperor made him aware that it was important for urgent government affairs in the province.³⁵ Following the first telephone-telegraphic lines linking major towns such as Asmera and Harar, *Ras Tessema* connected the provincial town of Gore, the adjacent Bure, and Gambella with the apparatus, respectively, in 1907 and the two later in 1910.³⁶

Nonetheless, though Mocha *Awraja* had been one administrative unit under *Ras Tessema's* governance, the early modernization in communication did not make the Mocha *Woreda Gizat* beneficiary of this modern service (before being converted to *Awraja*). More than two decades and a half later, informants claim that the Italians networked modern wire telephone from Gore, where their battalions were stationed, to Gecha, the capital of Mocha *Woreda Gizat*.³⁷

In the post-war period, Emperor Haile Selassie began the process of introducing radio transmission to the country for civilian and military uses.³⁸ Moreover, in 1957, the imperial government set up the Imperial Board of Telecommunications (IBT) to stimulate socio-economic activities and administrative purposes among various governmental organizations.³⁹ Until 1960, however, the imperial officials in Illubabor province in general and Mocha *Awraja* in particular relied on radio and telephone to communicate with various administrative hierarchies in the province and at the center.⁴⁰

Beginning in the mid-1960s, *Dejazmach* Girmachew, in collaboration with the branch of the Imperial Board of Telecommunication (IBT) in Jimma, began the process of networking of the Illubabor province with modern wired telephones, essentially for government administration and

³⁵Phawulos Ngongo, *Dagmawi Menelik, Yemejemeria Itim*, (Addis Ababa, 1984), pp.253-258.

³⁶Bahru Zewdu, "Relations between Ethiopia..", pp. 320-321.

³⁷Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Feleke Teferi, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

³⁸Mengesha, pp. 71-72.

³⁹Asefa, "A History of Toba Town," p. 33.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*; Informants: *Ato* Girma Asrat, *Ato* Haile Arengo, and *Ato* Molla Gessesse.

customer communication lines. The IBT at Jimma, hand in hand with the provincial office at administration, networked Bedele-Mettu-Gore in Buno Bedele, and Gore *Awraja Gizat*.⁴¹

In 1967, 56 wired modern telephone lines connected to the capital of the province, Gore, of which three were linked to the office of provincial administration and also three to the provincial prison. While connecting 48 telephone lines to individual's residents, one line connected to private estate and one to Abune Kerilos (bishop).⁴²

In spite of the fact that Mocha *Awraja* had been one of the highland sub-provinces of the province, it remained with radio-telegram for government affairs at the capital of *Awraja* Masha and also *Woreda* administrative towns.⁴³ According to archival materials and oral data the *Awraja* officials and also civil servants in Mocha *Awraja* at Masha and Yeki *Woreda Gimja Bet* in Tepi used to communicate with the Ministry of Interior (MoI) with radio-telegrams until the downfall of the imperial regime.⁴⁴

Subsequent to the collapse of the regime, however, the military government provided semi-digital telephones to limited government offices, private organizations and residents in Masha and Tepi towns. Local residents were less interested in due to the high cost involved. Despite the willingness of the government, the majority of the town's residents had less wish for the phone as the cost of connecting was expensive that was more than 400 *birr*, and continued without improvement up to the military regime's overthrow in 1991.⁴⁵

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²Bernard, p. 7/20.

⁴³Informants: *Ato* Ketema Ayino, *Ato* Jemere Ambo, *Ato* Haile Arengo, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

⁴⁴Yeki *Woreda Gimja Bet* to Illubabor *Bejerond* Ref No.3415,2/11/1951 E.C, File No. 803

⁴⁵Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp.115-116; Informants: *Ato* Feleke Teferi, *Ato* Molla Gessesse, and *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa.

Emperor Menelik decreed establishment of modern postal system on March 9, 1894.⁴⁶ Three decades later, the imperial government opened a postal office in the Illubabor province Administrative Town of Gore in the 1920s. The provincial officials prepared and used the Ethiopian hand stamp, which contained the Amharic script. However, the Italians changed it into the Gore (Oromo)-Sidama postal office in 1937. The expansion of the postal system in administrative units was not as it was fast as in the province. More than three decades after the postal office, the office of provincial telecommunication opened the second postal office in Gore *Awraja* at Mettu town in 1956. The government revived its expansions in administrative towns for communication and as sources of state income, as payment for *timber* (stamp) was collected from customers.⁴⁷

As Mocha *Awraja Gizat* had been one of the highland sub-province in Illubabor province that early modernization was not adequately provided to the *Awraja*. Similarly, the imperial regime did not set up postal service during its long rules of administration.⁴⁸

After 1974, however, the military government opened and provided the first postal service at the administrative town of the sub-province, Masha, and then at Tepi, the capital of Yeki *Woreda* in the *Awraja*. Yet, the former was delivering services below the required standards for postal offices.⁴⁹

⁴⁶Ayele Kuris, pp.184-185.

⁴⁷Asefa, "Administrative History of Illubabor" p.153.

⁴⁸Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Feleke Teferi and *Ato* Girma Asrat.

⁴⁹Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p.

Education

Since the incorporation of Illubabor into the modern Ethiopian Empire in 1883, assigned priests have taught religious education in the province.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, though Christians existed for long prior to the expansion of Menelik, we there is solid evidence that the Mocha (Shekacho) people began and learned religious education in their respective administrative jurisdictions. Both historical sources, primary and secondary, have kept silent in this regard.⁵¹

In the early 20th century, Emperor Menelik began modern education by establishing a school in 1908.⁵² The imperial regime prioritized the administrative towns of Illubabor and Gore for their resource advantage. As a result, the center appointed influential figures and also aristocrats stemming from Gore and other province of scared resource. For this reason, the imperial regime introduced the administrative towns to modern education prior to 1935.⁵³ The establishment of Teferi Mekonnen School in 1925 inspired provincial governors to set up government primary schools in their respective province. In the southwestern region, the governor of Illubabor was the first to establish government primary school in 1929.⁵⁴ It was one of the thirty government primary schools established in the country before the Italian occupation of the country.⁵⁵

Though under one administrative umbrella, government schools were not providing the Mocha *Woreda Gizat* before 1935. Soon after the post-liberation period, however, schooling in Mocha

⁵⁰Yonas, "The History of Gore Primary..." pp.7-10.

⁵¹Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p.118.

⁵²Robert Z. Hess, *The Modernization of Ethiopia*, (Cornell university press, London, 1970), p. 28; Andergachew Tesfaye, "The Social Consequences of Urbanization" *Ethiopian journal of development research*, Vol.14 No.1, Addis Ababa, 1992, p.3.

⁵³Dechasa Abebe, "A Socio-economic History of Northern Shawa, 1880s-1935" (PhD, Dissertation, Department of History, University of South Africa, 2015), p.275.

⁵⁴Bahru, *Pioneers of Change...*, pp. 26-27.

⁵⁵Ye Iyobzer Zewde, *Ye Teramajoch Mecheresha Ena Ye Lewtu Inkiskase Bezemenewit Ityophia Ke 1930 Wochu Iske 1970 Wochu* (The Movement of change in Modern Ethiopia, 1930-1970), (Addis Ababa, 2010), p.110.

Woreda Gizat was started. In 1942, Emperor Haile Selassie appointed the well-known patriotic leader and loyal *Ras* Mesfin Sileshi to the post of governor-general of the Illubabor *Awraja*. The emperor assigned him to the *Awraja* he liberated from the Italians as the first *enderase* of the *Awraja*.⁵⁶

Immediately after his appointment, the governor-general in collaboration with the governor of Mocha *Woreda Gizat*, established the first two primary modern government schools in Mocha *Woreda Gizat* of Illubabor *Awraja* in 1942: Shkbado and Bungul Wachila primary schools.⁵⁷ The later was named in commemoration of Bungul, who contributed much to the consolidation of imperial expansion and administration. He was from the Gore region. As internal power struggle, he collaborated with the expansionist Menelik soldiers led by *Ras* Tessema Nadew, as he collaborated and remained loyal, the *Dejazmach* made him the ruler of Alle *Woreda* in the Gore region. Moreover, he accompanied the expansion of *Ras* Tessema from Gore, where the Shawan soldiers were stationed, to the Bench Maji region in 1898. Later, *Ras* Tessema appointed him governor of Yeki, surrounding the present Tepi town in the Sheka zone. Until recently, the school bore his name, Bungul Wachila Primary School.⁵⁸

A year later, the government built another school, Gecha *Medihanialem* primary school, in Mocha *Woreda* administrative town, Gecha. A decade later, the government established more than six modern government primary schools compared to the early ones in Mocha *Awraja Gizat* of Illubabor province.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Asefa, "Administrative History of Illubabor" p. 107.

⁵⁷ Abebe Getahun, A Historical Survey of the Majanger., p. 50; Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p.118; Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Sharew Danbal and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel..

⁵⁸ Asefa, "Administrative History of Illubabor" p. 31.

⁵⁹ Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 118-124.

In early modern education, the central government, in collaboration with the provincial office of administration, assigned teachers to the school of Mocha *Woreda Gizat* in Illubabor *Awraja*. Nevertheless, the government did not pay monthly salary to assigned teachers. In place of cash payments, the Mocha *Woreda Gizat* used to force students to contribute grains for the teachers. The payment of grains in local measurement was decreed and passed as an educational tax in 1947.⁶⁰

Subsequent to the decree, the government set up a local education board to supervise and ensure that the provincial educational department correctly implemented the educational tax decree of the central government.⁶¹ Budget for school and monthly salary for teachers began to allot to Illubabor province. The budget stemmed from the educational tax collected from the masses. Besides, the central government also allotted a significant portion of educational funds to the province. In turn, the province began to pay monthly salaries in cash to a limited number of teachers taught in the first three historic government primary schools in Mocha *Awraja Gizat*: Bungul Wachila, Shkbado, and Gecha Medihanialem Primary Schools. The government also started to allot budget to the schools for educational tasks.⁶²

Though a small amount of educational funds were allotted from the central government, the province collected the least taxes for the fiscal years 1948–1949, next to Gamo Gofa in the country.⁶³ In spite of the fact that the province started implementing the decree of educational tax, the Mocha *Awraja* could not collect adequate educational taxes and finally it even

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, Asefa, “Administrative History of Illubabor”, p. 118-119.

⁶¹Fassil, pp. 6-7.

⁶²Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 118-124.

⁶³Fassil, p.45.

interrupted the collection. It was resulted from less supervision activities sector and *Woreda* governors of the *Awraja Gizat*.⁶⁴

In 1948, *Dejazmach* Tasew Walelu, the governor-general of Illubabor province (who succeeded *Ras Mesfin Sileshi*), ordered the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* to effectively collect educational taxes and expand modern education in the Mocha *Awraja Gizat*. The *Awraja* office administration and the offices of the *Awraja* schools directed the *Woreda* governors to implement the orders of the higher authorities in their administrative units. Although orders were given five, the Gecha and the Yeki *Woreda Gizat* governor's reluctance to the implementation of the orders passed hierarchically down to their administrative units. The interruption of educational tax led to the closure of schools and further the departure of teachers and students in the *Awraja Gizat*.⁶⁵

In 1950, the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* reported to the Illubabor provincial Educational Department and provincial office of the administration that the condition of educating children in the *Awraja* nearly returned to the pre-1942 period. In return for the inefficiency and interruption of educational tax collection, the Mocha *Awraja Gizat* implemented administrative measures against the *Woreda* governors of the sub-province. The office fired the governors with ten *birr* from salary they earn per month.⁶⁶

The collected tax in the Illubabor province remained insufficient to support school and teacher salary payment in the province. Under such conditions, the provincial office of administration reported the problem to the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts. The central government positively responded to the request by providing 6,384 *birr* financial aid to the province. The

⁶⁴Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 118-124.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*

⁶⁶*Ibid.*

province, in turn, divided the fund among its sub-province, including Mocha *Awraja Gizat*.⁶⁷ Nonetheless, the budget allocated to the province was too small such that the province again reported to the emperor that 33 (thirty three) government schools were closed due to the limited educational budget in the province. The report displayed that the province could not pay salary and cover educational costs in the entire province. Based on the request, the emperor permitted 96,368 *birr* for running educational activities in the province.⁶⁸

The province allocated it to the sub-provincial administrative units. From the total figure, 24,220 *birr* went to Mocha *Awraja Gizat*. The *Awraja* in turn allotted the amount to the teacher's salary and the school budgets of the sub-province, respectively 21,840 and 2,380 *birr*.⁶⁹

Beginning from the mid-1950s to the end of the 1960s, the government established another eight schools and added to the pre-existing three primary schools in the Mocha *Awraja Gizat*. In general, from 1942 to 1968, the government established twelve government schools in the *Awraja*. Of the total number of schools, half were primary schools, and the rest were secondary schools. With the non-existence of high schools, students began to take secondary national examinations in the sub-province.⁷⁰

By the beginning of the 1950s, a promising educational system came into being in Ethiopia. A period of educational expansion apparently happened in the country.⁷¹ Though the government tried to bring an educational system to Illubabor province in general and the Mocha *Awraja* in particular, the majority of rural children could not go to school. The government established

⁶⁷Yonas, p.78.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*

⁶⁹*Ye Illubabor Kifle Hager Temhre Bet Woch Tshfte Bet Taric*, 1976; The History of Illubabor Office Schools, 1076 E.C, p. 120.

⁷⁰Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp. 118-124.

⁷¹Fassil, pp.1-2.

schools only to administrative towns in the province. Only children living in these towns had the opportunity to attend the school. Mostly, the ruling class and rich people in the province and the Mocha *Awraja* had the opportunity to send their male children to the existing government schools.⁷²

At least at the beginning, in Mocha *Awraja*, one could not see the enrollment of female students in the already established school. Beginning from the 1950s to 1968, however, a very small number of female students (102) attended schools. Yet, the enrollment of male students folded the number of female students fifteen times (1,528) in the span of years in the *Awraja*.⁷³

Nevertheless, as the government gave emphases to modern education, the number of schools and enrollment of students persistently increased in the *Awraja*. The late 1960s could be considered as the turning point in the modern education of the Mocha *Awraja*. *Dejazmach* Warqu gave leadership and played a role in the establishment of a number of government schools in both urban and rural areas of the *Awraja*.⁷⁴ As it has been described so far, *Dejazmach* Warqu founded the Illubabor Development Association, a little before he was assigned to the post of governor-general of the province. The provincial sub-province of Buno Bedele, Gore, Mocha, Gambella, and the newly structured Soren Gabba *Awraja* (1970) contributed to the development of the entire province. With the cost covered by the association and limited financial support from the center, a number of government schools were set up in Mocha *Awraja* administrative unit on the eve of the Ethiopian Revolution.⁷⁵

⁷²Asefa, "Administrative History of Illubabor," p. 153.

⁷³Sheka Zone Educational Department, annual report 1994 E.C.

⁷⁴*Ibid*; Informants: *Ato*Haile Arengo, *Ato* Ketema Ayino, and *Ato*Sharew Denbel.

⁷⁵Bernhard, pp.7-8/20; Asefa, "Administrative History of Illubabor," p.153; Informants: *Ato* Feleke Teferi, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

Besides, the central government launched a project known as Elementary School Building Units (ESBU). Financed by the center, the project built an elementary school in Illubabor province. The sub-province won the project in a competition of probability at the provincial level and attracted it to their administrative units of the *Awraja Gizat*. Accordingly, the Mocha *Awraja* won the competition and attracted the project to *Woreda Gizats* of the sub-province. The project built primary schools in Nonno and Sale *Woreda Gizats* of the *Awraja*. The project was responsible for the provincial office of administration. While the office played the cost of buildings that come from the central treasury, the Mocha *Awraja* controlled and supervised the school building in the *Woreda Gizat* of the *Awraja*.⁷⁶

Following to the downfall of the imperial regime, the military government established more than twenty schools, mostly in rural areas of the sub-province. For the first time, the government also opened two secondary schools in the capital of sub-province Masha and Yeki *Woreda*, in 1976 and 1978 respectively. The students of the school began to take the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination (ESLCE) in 1978.⁷⁷ Until the government opened the high school, students in the *Awraja* were forced to go 56 kilometers to the Gore Haile Selassie I high school in the capital of the province.⁷⁸ Moreover, the military government also began to provide nursery education in both Masha and Tepi towns in 1980.⁷⁹

⁷⁶Informants: *Ato* Feleke Teferi, *Ato* Tarekegn Abdisa, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

⁷⁷Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp. 118-124.

⁷⁸Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Feleke Teferi and *Ato* Girma Asrat.

⁷⁹Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p.121.

Table 7: A Summary of Government School in Mocha *Awraja* Gizat (1942-1991)

No	Regime	Number of primary school	Number of secondary school	Number of high school	Number of nursery
1	Imperial	16	6	-	-
2	Military	29	7	2	2
Total		45	13	2	2

Source: Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 120.

The table shows that the Imperial and the Military regimes provided a number of schools in Mocha *Awraja*. Though both regimes established equal number of schools, the later provided more number of secondary schools than the former regime. The Military government also established high schools that the Imperial regime never attempted in the *Awraja*.

Electricity and Water Supply

For a long time, the *Awraja* experienced problem of electricity. The imperial government did not provide the electricity to the *Awraja* even using diesel generators. Following the collapse of the regime, however, the military government installed two diesel-electric generators in the administrative towns of Masha and Tepi four and six-hour service per day. While the authority of Ethiopian Electric Light Power and Authority (EELPA) controlled the Tepi diesel generator, the Masha town administration controlled and administered the Masha diesel electric generator services. The later had two diesel generators, each 56 Kilowatt Ampere (KWA). The special committee organized by the town administration supervised the diesels that they provide to the town residents.⁸⁰

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Ambachew Chorito, and *Ato* Jemere Ambo.

Regarding pure water supply, according to the provincial governor-general, Girmachew Taklehawariat, Mocha *Awraja* began to provide municipal administration to Tepi town in 1963 before *Awraja* administrative town Masha.⁸¹ Subsequent to the opening of the municipal, pure water was supplied to limited residents of the town, which continued without improving the services until 1991.⁸² Yet the other five *Woreda* towns, including the *Awraja* administrated town, did not have access to pure water during the period under study. The supply was restricted to Tepi with less access and remained below 10% in the *Awraja* until the collapse of the military regime in 1991.⁸³

Health Facilities

Before the introduction of modern health facilities, the Mocha people used to use traditional medicines to cure different diseases. Since the incorporation of the area into the Ethiopian empire building (1898) to the post-liberation period (1941), the imperial regime did not provide any modern health facilities. Besides to the traditional medicines of the local people, the higher authorities of Illubabor *Awraja* sent mobile health teams with medicines to provide medical services to the people in the event of the prevalence of epidemic disease in the study area.⁸⁴

The imperial regime did not give sufficient attention to the construction of modern health facilities to the administrative town of Illubabor *Awraja*, Gore. However, by the request of *Ras* Nadew Abba Wallo, the governor, Doctor Lambie of the American Presbyterian Mission opened

⁸¹Sheka Zone Department of Water, Mineral and Energy, 2008 first quarter annual report to Sheka Zone council. Folder No. File No. □/□/□/2058/4604/09; Informants: *Ato* Mekonnen Dinka and *Ato* Tadesse Admasu.

⁸²Sheka Zone Department of Water. File No. □/□/□/2058/4604/09, File No. 6/7/118/88, Folder No. File No. 11/8/223/8

⁸³*Ibid*; Abera Goletto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p. 128.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p.125; Informants: *Ato* Ketema Ayino, *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Tamiru Beyene, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

a modern health center in the 1920s called The American Mission Medical Center. The mission assigned physicians and other staff to deliver health services including the delivery of pregnant women.⁸⁵ The mission was delivering services not only to the town dwellers but also to the people of the surrounding areas. Individuals who got chronic diseases from Mocha *Woreda Gizat* used to visit the medical center to get medical treatments mostly using animal transport system.⁸⁶

Soon after the restoration of the imperial regime in 1941, however, Illubabor *Awraja* began to provide modern health services in clinics and health centers. In this regard, *Ras Mesfin Sileshi* established the first health clinic in Gecha in 1942.⁸⁷ Nonetheless, a health team comprising of community nurses and environmental health specialists from the provincial town continued mobile health services in the rural areas of the study area.⁸⁸

At the beginning of the 1950s, the province began to provide medical services using clinics in the Mocha *Awraja*. The widely prevalent epidemic disease in the Yeki *Woreda* was the immediate reason behind providing the health facilities in the *Awraja*. In 1945, an acute epidemic disease, malaria prevailed in Yeki *Woreda Gizat* of the *Awraja* and continued until 1947.⁸⁹ In two consecutive years, it killed more than 1,040 people, including *balabats*, and ordinary people in different localities of the *Woreda*.⁹⁰

⁸⁵Asefa, “Administrative History of Illubabor,” p. 75.

⁸⁶Informants: *Ato Agito Galito, Ato Bekele Dureso and Ato Getahun Geremew.*

⁸⁷Archive: No Folder No, Unnumbered: *Bejerond Temteme Wolde.* No file No. Mocha *Woreda Gizat* governor to Illubabor province, Meskerem, 27, 1941 E.C; *Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp.125-132.*

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 125; History of Sheka Zone Health Department, N.P.

⁸⁹A report of Mocha district administration to Illubabor Governor General, File No 9 Reference No 1208 The National Archives of Ethiopia Addis Ababa.

⁹⁰Report of Mocha *Woreda Gizat* to Illubabor *Awraja Gizat*, Ref. No.139/200, 15/6/1939 E.C; *Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp. 126-127.*

Mocha *Awraja Gizat* reported the problem to the office of the Illubaborprovincial Administration. Based on the report, *Ras Mesfin* sent three health mobile groups with medicines from Gore to Yeki *Woreda*. Besides, the governor-general advised the community in an open advertisement that individuals must maintain their hygiene with soap or warm water and *endod* (local soap). He also advised that the community must maintain the neatness of their surroundings. Moreover, the governor promised the community to open a modern health clinic in the town of Tepi.⁹¹ Accordingly, the office of the provincial administration, in collaboration with the *Awraja Gizat*, established a modern health clinic in the town in 1948. Nonetheless, the provision of the clinic in the *Awraja* had been protracted for three decades until the coming to power of the *Derg* military regime. That means the imperial government interrupted the establishment of health clinics except the ones that were already providing service into Gecha and Tepi towns, respectively, the capital of the *Awraja* and Yeki *Woreda* in the *Awraja*. However, as epidemics and malaria had been common in Yeki *Woreda*, the government gave priority to establishing a health center at its capital, Tepi, rather than the sub-provincial administrative town, Masha, and provided the town in 1966. Moreover, the government permitted the establishment of a privately owned Hosina Clinic and rural drug store to operate and provide health services in the town. Nonetheless, other administrative units of the *Awraja*: Masha, Meti, Nonno, and Sale *Woreda Gizat* remained without health facilities until the ascendancy of the military regime to power in 1974.⁹²

Though Illubaborprovince was considered as peripheral and remote in general, Mocha *Awraja* is relatively farther because of the absence of roads, the dark forests, and the cloudy climate. The

⁹¹*Ibid.*

⁹²*Ibid.*, 126-132.

central government used the province in general and Mocha *Awraja* in particular as a place where politically suspected individuals were punished in *Gizot* (banishment).⁹³

For instance, *Dejazmach* Hallie Selassie Gugsu who was founded to be an Italian collaborator during the war of liberation in Ethiopia was imprisoned in the study area. The British jailed him in Asmera. Later, the British handed him over to the Ethiopian government in 1948. The government sentenced him to death. He was first kept in confinement in Arsi and later transferred to Gore in Illubabor province, where he stayed prisoner until 1974.⁹⁴ Likewise, Abe Gubenga, the author of the Amharic book, criticized the administration of the imperial regime in his book, which was also banned in the Mocha *Awraja* administrative town, Masha, where he was deprived of free movement. He stayed there until *Dejazmach* Warqu freed him and appointed him head of the provincial municipality.⁹⁵ *Dejazmach* Warqu himself and Demise Alamirew (Gore *Awraja* governor) were transferred to Illubabor province as punishment for their unjust administration.⁹⁶

In 1959, the government set up provincial health department in all the 14 provinces of the country, including Illubabor province. Despite the plan to be headed by qualified physicians, the department was vacant in the province. A decade later, 2 hospitals, 5 health centers, and 16 health stations were established in the province.⁹⁷ From the total, only two were already established in the Mocha *Gizat*.⁹⁸ In terms of manpower, the central government allotted 5

⁹³Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Feleke Teferi, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

⁹⁴Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, p.146.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*; Informants: *Ato* Haile Arengo, *Ato* Feleke Teferi, and *Ato* Zena Welede Gabriel.

⁹⁶Femyhough Timothy, p.225.

⁹⁷International Development Association, Documented of International Bank of Reconstruction and Development Report, No.PA 143a Agricultural Sector survey Ethiopia Vol, 3 annexes 12-23, East African Region, 1973, annex 17, pp.1-2.

⁹⁸Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp.126-132.

doctors, 7 midwives, 9 health officers, 7 community nurses, 11 sanitarians, and 40 dressers to the Illubabor province.⁹⁹ Out of the number of health experts, 2 community nurses and 2 dressers went to Mocha *Awraja* to be further allotted to the already-provided two clinics in the *Woredas* of the *Awraja*.¹⁰⁰

Soon after its coming to power, the military regime established more health clinics to the Yeki *Woreda* of the Mocha *Awraja* in 1978; Bechi, Shai, Dorcha, and Fide in 1983. The government established other health clinics in Masha *Woreda*: Kanga, Yina, and Dagale, respectively, in 1976 and later in 1988. The government also provided a health center to the *Woreda* and the *Awraja* administrative towns, Masha, in 1978. Moreover, it established two clinics in Meti, two in Nonno and one in Sale *Woreda* of Mocha *Awraja*.¹⁰¹

Besides to the endeavors of the military government, the government-owned Tepi Coffee Plantation used to provide medical services using health clinics in and the surrounding of its plantation. Accordingly, the organization provided the Yeki *Woreda* in and the surrounding areas of the plantation with four health stations: Komi (1983), Baya (1986), Shoshi (1986), and Tsanu (1988). At the center, the organization also established a Tepi coffee plantation clinic in 1984.¹⁰²

Table 8: A Summary of Health Facilities in Mocha *Awraja Gizat* (1942-1991)

No	Provided by	No. of health clinics	No. of health centers	Hospitals	Remarks
1	Imperial government	2	1	-	Restricted in Tepi and Masha

⁹⁹International Development Association, annex 17, pp.1-2.

¹⁰⁰Sheka Zone Health Department, 1994, report, n.p.

¹⁰¹Abera Goleto, Ambachew Chorito, Ambacha Shawo, Teshome Haile, and Tewodrose Deyino, Part II, pp.126-132.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*

2	Military government	11	1	-	Provided clinics all over the six <i>Woredas</i>
3	Tepi coffee plantation	5	-	-	Restricted in Yeki <i>Woreda</i> surrounding Tepi
4	Private	1	-	-	Only in Tepi town during imperial regime
α	Total	19	2	-	

Source: Sheka Zone Educational Department; Abera, Anbachew, Jemere, and Tewodrose, Part II, pp.125-132.

As can be seen from table, the Imperial and the subsequent Military government provided a number of health clinics and health centers to the *Awraja*. As the table shows, the military government established more than five folds of the Imperial regime. Yet, both regimes provided equal number of health centers. The Military government owned Tepi coffee plantation organization also established more than two folds of clinics than the imperial regime probably to resist epidemic diseases in the surrounding of the coffee plantation in Yeki *Woreda* of the *Awraja*.

Conclusion

Soon after the liberation of the country from the Italians occupation the imperial throne the Empire. The decree of the emperor restructured the administration of the country into twelve *Awrajas*. Illubabor was one of the *Awraja* that consisted four *WoredaGizats*. The Mocha *WoredaGizat* which was placed under the *Awraja* was one of the *WoredaGizat* reorganized into three administrative levels: the *WoredaGizat*, the *MikitiWoredaGizat* and *MikitiMisilane*. The administrative levels of the *Awraja* were dynamic. In 1946, the emperor decrees another administrative restructuring of the country. In accordance, while Illubabor*Awraja* elevated into *TeklayGizat*, the Mocha *WoredaGizat* converted into *AwrajaGizat*. The administrative hierarchies of the *Awraja* reorganized into three level: the *AwrajaGizat*, three *WoredaGizats* and three *MikitiWoredaGizats*. The former *MikitiMisilane* disappeared from administrative levels of the *Awraja*.

Similarly, the imperial administration reorganized the existing administrative levels of the *Awraja* in 1970. While some *MikitiWoredaGizats* restructured into new *WoredaGizat*, others merged into the adjacent old *WoredaGizats* of the *Awraja*. The need for restructuring the *MikitiWoredaGizats* emanated from absence of employees and well organized government offices at the administrative level. Moreover, the administrative level had no budget allotment for tasks performed at the level. Further, the grassroots looks down the administrative level as having less authorities. Since then, the *Awraja* restructured into two administrative levels: the *Awraja* and six *WoredaGizats* with non-existence of the *MikitiWoredaGizat* in administrative levels.

In the center-periphery administration of the regime, the emperor used to appoint governors and the MoI sent to the *Awraja*. On the behalf of the central government, the governors administer both human and resource of the *Awraja*. Starting from the center, administrative hierarchies control the land resource and its revenue to the state. The MoI the provincial administration, the *Bejerond*, the *AwrajaGizat*, *Gimja Bet*, the *WoredaGizat*, *Gimja Bet* and the local elites control and administer the government land in the *Awraja*. The central government grant its land to soldiers, patriots and supporters. The MoI sent eligible with certificated of the land granting to Illubaborprovince. The province further let the legalized individuals down to the administrative levels. The Mocha *Awraja*, *WoredaGizat* and local elites where the government land is available. Yet, bureaucracies at each administrative level did not allow all eligible to receive the land in the *Awraja*. In spite of the emperor decree, civil servants had faced the same fate.

Above all, though the emperor permitted land grants to landless and unemployed nationals, officials hindered the grant to the majority of the decreed reserve. Hence, the center periphery administration of the imperial regime did not profile the landless and unemployed natives. The government, the royal family and landlords leased out their land with quit profitable arrangements to the landless tenants. They also sell their land and wealthy individuals purchase at the profits. Moreover, the land measurement in eye estimation in 1950 also accelerated the land sell and privatization.

Despite the order of the central administrative bureaucracies were hindering the government land sell to landless tenants of the *Awraja*. The imperial administration of the land resource in the *Awraja* had only profited the government, royal family, landlords and supporters of the regime. Nonetheless, the poor remained neither member of the administrators nor the right to access the land in the *Awraja*. Moreover, the administration of the regime reduced the status of the landless

into tenancy that resulted in poverty of the family members. Hierarchically, the administrative levels controlled the payment of land tribute, land tax, educational and health taxes to the state.

The land owners paid all in accordance of the classification of their lands. Though the owners had the obligation to pay, they force tenants leased their lands to contribute to be paid in their names. Moreover, lately the government decreed the agricultural income tax that all tillers pay in accordance of the extensive they tilled the land. It doubled the governance of the disadvantages in the *Awraja*.

The *WoredaGimja Bet* embezzled government revenue collected from land. Corruption was also rampant in government land lease. The administrative council at each administrative level punished both crime committed employees. The council also punished the *Woreda* governor and the *Gimja Bet shum* for failing or inefficient revenues collection in the *Awraja*. At each level administration, officials work for peace and report the security or the state of insecurity to the administrative hierarchies.

Following the demise of imperial regime the *Derg* restructured Illubabor*Kifle Hager*. Likewise, it reorganized the Mocha *AwrajaGizat* and its six *WoredaGizat* into *Awraja* and *Woreda* administrations. Toward the end of its rule, the military government revised the administration and detached the *Awraja* from Illubabor*Kifle Hager* and reorganized and placed it under the Kaffa *akababi astedader* which it had center at Mizan Teferi. The new administrative structure which functional for a brief period until the demise of the military regime in 1991.

Ascended to the state power, the *Derg* launched various reforms in the country. One of it was *Ediget Behibret Yeiwqetena Yesera Zemecha*. To implement the campaign, the government summoned university and high school students and sent them to the country side. Yet, the center did not let the student's campaigners to the Mocha *Awraja* administration. In place of the

campaigners function the central government employed land reform administrators and sent to the *Awraja*. The reform administrators established peasant association elects their leaders and distribute land to the landless of the *Awraja*.

The historical land reform of the *Derg* and its implementation appeared to liberate peasant from their long subjugation. The reform ended landlordism, abolished tenancy, allows peasants to consume the fruits of their labor, established agricultural producing cooperative farm. It further ended land sell and its leases. The reform implementation creates the harmonious relationship between peasants and the government. As year progressed, however, the WPE interfered in the internal affairs of the peasant association and made their leadership the members of the party. Though the REYA and REWA were assumed independent of politics, the WPE and filled their leadership the member party. The *Derg* launched programs suit for implementation of socialist political ideology in the country in general and Mocha *Awraja* in particular.

The popular land reform and its implementation however, followed by unpopular programs of the government. Among others, the resettlement program and an obligation of peasant in the process of its implementation, the selling of produces of agricultural producing co-operatives by officials, recruitment of youth for national military service and forced villagization program made peasant unhappy. While the former programs were the background of dissatisfaction, the later led to the immediate cause of peasant rebellion against the implementation of the program in the *Awraja*. The forceful attempts of the government to implement the program did not allow bear any advantages for the peasant and also the government but disadvantages on both sides. Though the government quelled the uprising, the implementation of the program remained passive and ceased together with the downfall of the regime in 1991.

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List of Informants

No	Name of Informants and their titles	Sex	Age	Interview		Remarks
				Place	Date	
1	Abera Bechro (Ambassador)	M	73	Masha	12-15/10/2023	He had been civil servant but now retired. He has ample knowledge of the <i>Awraja</i> and wrote different aspects of the area
2	Aberash Dakito (W/ro.)	F	71	Masha	18/3/2024	She was a teacher and retired now. As her father told her the administrative history of the <i>Awraja</i> , she has some knowledge of the area.
3	Ambachew Chorito (Ato.)	M	69	Masha	24/3/2024	He had been a resident of Atile Village since 1986 and had knowledge on the peasant uprising that took place in Atile <i>Woreda</i> .
4	Arega Terefe (Ato.)	M	70	Tepi	12-13/10/2023	He had been <i>Woreda Gimja Bet Shum</i> and then Expert in <i>Woreda</i> and Zonal Finance Department. He narrates well the administrative history of the <i>Awraja</i> .
5	Aster Endesha (W/ro.)	F	57	Masha	15/2/2024	She is a teacher and well narrates the administrative history of the <i>Awraja</i> during the military regime.
6	Azage Adiraro (Ato.)	M	68	Gecha	7/3/2024	He had been expert in <i>Woreda</i> and Zonal Economic Department. He has good knowledge of revenue administration of the <i>Awraja</i>
7	Befekadu Debela (Ato.)	M	80	Masha	15/11/2023	He had been civil servant in both regimes and then retired. He had good knowledge of the history of the <i>Awraja</i> . But unfortunately died a month after the interview.

8	Belayne Wegru (Ato.)	M	67	Masha	17/3/2024	He is civil servant. He remembers he administrative history of the <i>Awraja</i> in Military regime, especially the National Military service.
9	Birhanu Marito (Ato.)	M	68	Masha	12/3/2024	He had been civil servant of Sheka Zone Culture and Tourism Department. He narrates the administrative history of the <i>Awraja</i> in a good way.
10	Bogalech Beyene (W/ro.)	F	74	Masha	14/12/2023	She is householder. She remembers the miserable life in Imperial regime and also the administration of the <i>Awraja</i> in Military regime.
11	Dessalegn Deseno (Ato.)	M	72	Gecha	24/1/2024	He was civil servant but now retired. He displays well the administrative history of the <i>Awraja</i> in both regimes.
12	Fekadu Hamdo (Ato.)	M	73	Masha	12/10/2023	He was an old man and respected in the community, and also he is agriculturalist.
13	Feleke Teferi (Ato.)	M	70	Masha	17- 18/11/2023	He had been civil servant and then retired. He narrates the administration of the <i>Awraja</i> in both regimes in a good way.
14	Getachew Ayele (Ato.)	M	66	Masha	11/10/2023	He was a civil servant and now retired and also a son of <i>balabat</i> , well know about the history of Mocha people.
15	Getahun Geremew (Ato.)	M	77	Tepi	29/11/2023	He had been civil servant in imperial and Military regime. As he witnessed the history in both regimes, he displays the general administrative history in a good way
16	Girma Asrat (Ato.)	M	78	Masha	6/12/2023	He had been civil servant and then Masha <i>Woreda</i> administrator in <i>Derg</i> regime but now retired. As the son of <i>balabat</i> and his father had been the Gore <i>Awraja</i> judge, he has good knowledge of the administrative history of the <i>Awraja</i> .
17	Hawero Abera (Ato.)	M	58	Masha	16/12/2023	He was a merchant and well know about the trading activities, he came from Tepi, and practicing in coffee trade in Masha and

						Gecha, now he live in Masha town.
18	Haile Arengo (Ato.)	M	87	Masha	13-17/10/2023	Sequentially, he had been <i>Mislane</i> , governor of <i>WoredaGizat</i> in Imperial regime and civil servant in Military regime. Now he is retired. As he was authorized to implement the reforms, has considerable knowledge of the administrative history of the <i>Awraja</i> made him one of the key informant to my work.
19	Haile Kotachew (Ato.)	M	68	Gecha	24/3/2024	He had been Zonal Cabinet, expert different Zonal sectors and the retired. He has good knowledge of the administrative history of the <i>Awraja</i> in Military regime.
20	Haile Yebo (Ato.)	M	70	Masha	8/11/2023	He knows well when traditional worship of <i>Ek'k'o</i> and <i>Kobbo</i> (traditional forest management) first began.
21	Jemere Ambo (Ato.)	M	70	Masha	14/10/2024	He was civil servant and then retired. Now he works at Sheka Zone Peoples Development Association. He has extensive knowledge of the administrative history of the <i>Awraja</i> in both regimes.
22	Jemere Dakito (Ato.)	M	61	Gecha	17/3/2024	Recently retired from Sheka Zone Educational Department. He narrates well the administrative history of the <i>Awraja</i> in 1960s and also the Military regime.
23	Ketema Ayino (Ato.)	M	60	Masha	16/1/2023	He was knowledge of the general socio-political and infrastructure development throughout the period under discussion.
24	Kebede Tafese (Ato.)	M	67	Masha	8/10/2023	He had been a cadre in Military regime and then has been secondary school teacher. Now is retired. As he forced the reform implementation, he has good knowledge of the administrative history of the <i>Awraja</i> in Military regime.
25	Kifle Bekele (Ato.)	M	59	Masha	18/3/2024	He is civil servant. He remembers he administrative history of the <i>Awraja</i> in Military regime, especially the National Military service and the resettlement

						program in the <i>Awraja</i> .
26	Mamo Walasha (<i>Ato.</i>)	M	85	Masha	27- 28/3/2023	He had been head of <i>balabat</i> and <i>melkegna</i> of the imperial regime in the <i>Awraja</i> . He was also the elected to the Parliamentary system but suspended in 1974. Though he has ample knowledge of the history, he disorder ideas emanates from his oldness.
27	Mekonnen Dinka (<i>Ato.</i>)	M	59	Masha	18/3/2024	He is civil servant. He well knows the history of the <i>Awraja</i> in the Military regime.
28	Molla Gessesse (<i>Ato.</i>)	M	79	Tepi	25- 27/3/2023	He had been civil servant in Imperial and Military regimes and then retired. As he witnessed, he displays the general administrative of the <i>Awraja</i> in a good way in both regimes.
29	NuryeHussen (<i>Sheik</i>)	M	65	Masha	6/12/2023	He was a Muslim trader came from Kaffa under the imperial period. He knew about the trading activities of Tepi Town but now retarded.
30	Selamu Deyino (Pastor)	M	71	Masha	14/12/2023	He is the pastor of Masha Full Gospel Church and had extensive knowledge in the origins and spread of Protestantism when he prepared a research paper that partially fulfilled the requirements in theology degree.
31	Sharew Denbel (<i>Ato.</i>)	M	78	Masha	13- 17/10/2023	In imperial regime, he had been the <i>Woreda</i> and the Mocha <i>Awraja Gimja Bet Shum</i> . He was also civil servant of the <i>Awraja</i> in <i>Derg</i> regime. He displays the general administrative history of the <i>Awraja</i> in an excellent way. He remained one of my key informant to reconstruct the history
32	Shibiru Kumsa (<i>Ato.</i>)	M	85	Masha	18/10/2023	He had been civil servant in both regimes and now retired. He has extensive knowledge in the <i>Awraja's</i> administrative history under both regimes. Chronologically, he displays the history of the <i>Awraja</i> .

33	Shuke Gurmesa (Ato.)	M	67	Tepi	14/3/2024	He was civil servant and now retired. As he forced the implementation of reforms in the <i>Awraja</i> , he displays the land reform and related co-operative farms, resettlement and Villagization programs of the <i>Derg</i> regime.
34	Telila Kebede (Ato.)	M	70	Masha	16/10/2023	He was civil servant and now retired. He displays the history of the <i>Awraja</i> in Military regime and also the causes, courses and consequences of the peasant uprising in 1986.
35	Tamiru Beyene (Ato.)	M	68	Masha	24/3/2024	He had been Chairman of REYA in Mocha <i>Awraja</i> and then expert and head of Sheka Zone Agricultural Department but now retired. He describes well the administrative history of the <i>Awraja</i> in Military regime
36	Tarekegn Abdisa (Ato.)	M	71	Masha	25- 28/10/2023	He was civil servant and retired. As the son of <i>balabat</i> , he represented his deceased father and administered in grassroots in Sale <i>Woreda Gizat</i> . He has an excellent general knowledge of the <i>Awraja</i> . He relates the history of the area and even the region to the national and global politics of the period. He remained one of the outstanding key informant in my work.
37	Taresa Dureso (Ato.)	M	79	Masha	18- 19/10/2023	During the Imperial and the Military regime, he was civil servant in the <i>Awraja</i> . He knows well with his eye witnesses and performing various reforms of both regimes. Hence, he displays well the general history of the <i>Awraja</i>
38	Tenagena Token (W/ro.)	F	54	Masha	15/10/2023	She is a teacher in Masha town in Masha primary and secondary school.
39	Wondimu Negerasha (Commander)	M	58	Masha	17/3/2024	He is commander in Sheka Zone Prison Institute. He narrates the history of peace keeping, the recruitment of youth to the National Military service and the peasant rebellion in the <i>Awraja</i> in Military regime.

40	YassinArebu (<i>Sheik</i>)	M	61	Masha	6/12/2023	He was the committee's chairman and had knowledge about the mosque and the town's development.
41	Yeshi Bacha (<i>Wr/o.</i>)	F	59	Masha	12/3/2024	She is civil servant of the Masha <i>Woreda</i> office council. She displays some knowledge the history of the <i>Awraja</i> .
42	Zelege Sachachew (<i>Ato.</i>)	M	63	Masha	12/10/2023	He was a remarkable informant about the history of traditional socio-economic aspects of Mocha people.
43	Zena Welede Gabriel. (<i>Ato.</i>)	M	74	Masha	24- 26/10/2023	He was civil servant and retired now. As his father served long the imperial regime, he grasped some knowledge from him before his death. Himself also remained one the outstanding officials of the <i>Derg</i> and administered in various posts. Hence, he has ample knowledge of the history and remained one of the key informants in my work.

Appendix I

King Gahochi	1552-1560
Gaki Gawochi	1560-1590
Gina Gawochi	1590-1610
GammiGawochi	1610-1630
Chechi Gawochi	1630-1670
Bedi Gawochi	1670-1740
Giba Gawochi	1740-1780
Tuge Nechochi	1780-1782
Tume Afochi	1782-1785
Shegi Nechochi	1785-1800
Bedi Nechochi	1800-1805
Techi Nechochi	1810-1820
GalliGawochi	1820-1850
Degi Gawochi	1850-1887
Techi Gawochi	1887-1898

Source: Werner J. Lange, *History of the Southern Gonga: South-Western Ethiopia*, (Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1982, p.103.